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VOLUME 73 JANUARY 1969 NUMBER 1

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The drawing on this month's cover, and the others used as tailpieces throughout the issue, are among the two thousand original designs for jewelry from a recent acquisition of the Art & Architecture Division, seven large folio workbooks (1899–1901) of the Paris firm Bassett & Moreau. The designs, graceful, bold, asymmetrical, range from preliminary pencil sketches and outlines to careful ink and full-color renderings. They give an idea of the new freedom in form and materials (the combination of stones and the introduction of enamels) which marked the *art nouveau* period. Almost every conceivable kind of jewelry is represented: brooches, pendants, necklaces, tiaras, earrings, rings, and combs. The notebooks were purchased with the fund established in 1958 by Mrs Lathrop Colgate Harper in memory of her brother-in-law, the diamond merchant James P. Harper. See Front Matter, p 9, below.

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Front Matter

That the Truth Shall Prevail . . . .

A letter of frustration, scholarly frustration in a long and almost fruitless attempt not simply to pursue the truth, but, when found, to get it into the record — such a letter, from Professor Julian Mates of C W Post College, has been sitting on the editorial desk and conscience for some time.

"Your essay on 'The John Street Theatre Picture' is not buried or forgotten," we wrote the author about a year ago. "Theoretically we would like to publish it in our *Bulletin*. It exemplifies the kind of frustration all of us have had but failed to record. But there are difficulties." Some of these, we explained, were structural — see our intrusive remarks below. One difficulty vanished when the exhibition referred to in Mr Mates' climax was dismantled. At this date without more ado we must publish:

The John Street Theatre Picture

By Julian Mates

What you have to understand is that I am not by nature a trouble maker. I tend to be shy, diffident, self-conscious, and fearful of notoriety. Otherwise, you will think I am merely attempting to embarrass a good many people.

The proper place to begin is with the fact that no one has a picture of New York's John Street Theatre. It is not terribly important that no one has a picture, and it would not be important if someone had. But no one has. The theatre was significant in its day and remains mildly interesting to scholars burrowing into early Americana. On a recent pilgrimage to its site (I confess to having an antiquarian interest in the early American drama), I found a plaque on the wall of 15 John Street. It was pleasant to come upon the plaque, since it meant that others shared my interest, or at least one other. Finding the approximate location was not difficult — the New York *Gazette* of December 14 1767 (the year the theatre opened), had made it fairly clear: "To prevent Accidents by Carriages meeting it is requested that those coming to the House may enter John-Street from the Broad-Way, and returning drive from thence down John Street into Nassau Street, or forward to that known by the name of Cart and Horse Street." A playbill in the Harvard University Theatre Collection suggests that nearly thirty years did not suffice to resolve the traffic problem; ladies and gentlemen were requested "to order their Coachmen to take up and set down their Horses Heads to the East-River, to avoid confusion." John Street traffic even today continues to point its head toward the East River, though one-way signs at each end of the street seem to offer the visitor somewhat less latitude than the polite requests of the eighteenth century. Still, d'autre temps, d'autre traffic regulations.

The plaque, as I say, was not difficult to find; it is on the north side of John Street (the south side of John Street has a plaque, too, a little further east, and it gives some fascinating conjectures about the naming of John Street in 1699, but I recognize that the point is irrelevant to the one I am attempting to make here). It reads: "Near this site was located the John Street Theatre, 1767–1798. During the Revolution, while the city was occupied by General Howe's troupes, British army officers took part as players and playwrights. Here on April 16, 1787 was presented Royall Tyler's play 'The Contrast' the first comedy by a native author produced in America." It goes on awhile about Washington visiting the theatre,

but I was already mildly put off. General Howe's troupes did act here during the Revolution, but so did General Clinton's; why is General Clinton ignored, and why is it not noted that during the Revolution the house was renamed the Theatre Royal? The whole thing smacks of special pleading. Even the fact that "The Contrast" is mentioned suggests someone's point of view, since the comedy was not the first *written* in America by an American. (Speaking of the Theatre Royal reminds me that the treasurer for the year 1779 left his receipt book where it could eventually be donated to the New-York Historical Society, and no American did that.) But there is something about the John Street Theatre which seems to lead men to bend the truth a touch, and that is precisely the subject of these remarks.

Some years ago, I was looking into the early drama in this country for a study I was preparing. A very little research sufficed to show me that much of our theatrical life in the eighteenth century centered in the John Street Theatre; during the thirty years of its existence, the best players in America appeared here, and the best acting company used it as a base for its peripatetic offerings. As was natural, I desired to see a picture of the theatre. Many books included such a picture, always the same picture, and I assumed that it was the only one extant. But as I came, through diaries and newspaper accounts, to know more of the John Street playhouse, I came to find increasing flaws in the representation universally offered. I was young, however, and, as I say, diffident.

A trip to Harvard University on another project served to prove what I had only suspected. At the time, William Van Lennep was curator of the university's theatre collection. When I inquired about a picture of the John Street Theatre I was told that none exists, that, indeed, Mr Van Lennep had published an article proving that the one picture universally used was, in fact, a fake. I cite the journal, so that my subsequent actions and the responses they evoked may be placed in proper perspective: *Theatre Notebook* (an English publication), July – September 1950, pages 86–88. In thorough fashion, Mr Van Lennep traced the history of the engraving of the John Street Theatre interior. He found many difficulties with the picture, some of which I had already noted. Not only were the curtains on the sides wrong, but the picture contains errors in lighting, in seating, and in capacity. But all of this was merely adjusting the victim's head on the block; Van Lennep dropped the blade by proving that the original for the engraving was a Westminster performance of about 1850! [*Editor*: What was "wrong" about the curtains? Their being there at all, apparently: we shouldn't have to read nine paragraphs further to find out. And we shouldn't be left to deduce that "a Westminster performance" means London, not New York. Rub it in; in a shaggy dog story the lurking points of significance need not remain hidden.] [*J.M.*: No comment.] His handling of the business was, I may say, thoroughly competent. But his conclusion was optimistic; the picture of the John Street Theatre accepted for so long is erroneous, and "now that it has been discredited," a much later engraving of Philadelphia's Chestnut Street Theatre becomes the only picture we have of the interior of an early American playhouse.

It is all very well to refer to a later picture, but the Chestnut is a theatre of another era. For the stage historian it is precisely one of the earlier theatres in America which is of interest, and a picture, even an erroneous one, is not given up lightly.

Subsequently, I learned much more about the John Street Theatre, enough

to fill out a reconstruction in my mind. I learned through letters from the managers of the actual size of the place; I learned of its decorations, including the motto inscribed over its proscenium (*"Quicquid agunt homines"*). I found which foods (fruits, pies, nuts) and drinks (brandy and gin) were sold in the lobby, and which were the most effective weapons with which to pelt a recalcitrant band. I came to know of heating facilities (a stove in the lobby, though many brought their own foot warmers) and seating arrangements (one of these found servants arriving early in the pit to save places for their masters, and then ascending to the gallery to watch the performance). I pieced together bits and snippets about prices and hours, about wallpaper and ventilation, about scenery and musicians, about, in short, as has been said of another subject, more than anyone in his right mind would care to know, of the John Street Theatre. But not deliberately. The John Street Theatre came clear to me only as a by-product of other researches, and the clearer it became the more obvious was the spuriousness of the representation Van Lennep had so neatly destroyed.

My adventures, if the word be not too strong for a series of impulses which sent me, each time, back to my studies, defeated, were merely begun. The first of these had to do with a television program. I keep a set in my basement, which is unheated; thus, I only venture to watch when a particularly interesting program is forthcoming, and then only in coat and gloves with the addition of a blanket to cover my legs. The New York *Times* had mentioned a program purporting to trace the history of comedy in America. I gathered my woolens and, at the appropriate hour, seated myself before what my students refer to facetiously as the flicker box. The opening moments of the program (after, of course, a series of animated advertisements) showed a series of pictures of the early American stage and there, sure enough, was the ersatz John Street Theatre. The rest of the show was puerile, though I stayed, as a matter of duty, until the end; I went upstairs and immediately penned a letter to the station, thanking them for their efforts, assuring them of my sincerity, and informing them that in the event the program was ever repeated, they ought to know that their picture of the John Street Theatre was not correct. They never answered.

The program has never, to the best of my knowledge, been shown again, so we are all square. Still, I should have taken the lack of response as an omen.

Other research led me into areas removed from our early drama, but the John Street Theatre was never far from my consciousness. It was, you may say, almost forced there. For example, I was looking at playbills in the Museum of the City of New York (they have, of course, one of the finest collections in the country). While resting my eyes for a moment, I asked an assistant curator, a kindly, solicitous man, if a picture of the John Street Theatre had been unearthed. He smiled happily. "We have an excellent picture," he informed me, and he brought out for my inspection a copy of the same print I had so often seen before. He was shocked, I must say, when I pointed out to him the flaws in the picture; I added the coup de grace by giving him the reference to Van Lennep's article. He thanked me, effusively, and I went back to work. I felt, how shall I say, satisfied; I had traced a little piece of truth, and I had helped to disseminate it, or at the very least, I had prevented the spread of inaccuracy.

Some months later, I needed to return to the Museum of the City of New York in order to check a reference. I arrived

a little earlier than I had planned, so I browsed awhile in their shop, where various items to be found in the museum are for sale, or, rather, their reproductions are, such memorabilia as post-cards, books, documents on parchment, and the like. One post-card, not available on my previous trip, had been added to the collection, and caught my eye — a post-card sized reproduction of the picture of the John Street Theatre. I had lost again.

My next run-in with the picture whose ubiquitousness was beginning to haunt me came in The New York Public Library. I had read that the Music Division was holding an exhibition relating to early American music. I entered the library from the forty-second street side, so that once through the turnstile I would merely have to turn right to be in the Music Collection. [*Ed.* This was before the *Division* moved to Lincoln Center in November 1965.] The long corridor leading to the Collection was lined with items, priceless, or at least rare. And a feature of the exhibition was the same picture of the John Street Theatre. Just before leaving I told a young woman behind the desk of the mistaken picture; she assured me that those who had set up the showing would be startled to learn of their error, and would certainly remedy the matter as soon as possible. I thanked her, left her, at her request, a card citing Van Lennep's article, and went away. I am afraid I cannot report whether the exhibit was removed, since I had no occasion to return for a while, but I should say, judging from my other experiences, that — but no, that is unfair.

At about this time, one of my books was ambling slowly past the printer. My editor at the Rutgers University Press was George Griffin, and it was his idea that since I so frequently referred to the John Street Theatre in my pages, I should include a picture of that venerable institution. I told him that to the best of my knowledge no picture exists, and I included a brief account of the spurious picture. "Don't worry," he assured me, "we subscribe to the best picture-finding service in the country. If a picture of the John Street Theatre is to be found, they'll find it."

Some weeks went by, and one day George called, filled with excitement. He had just received a picture of the John Street Theatre. "Are words carved on the walls?" I asked. "Yes." "Are the curtains at the sides of the stage?" "Yes." "Are there box seats, or at least stage boxes?" "No." The mountainous organization had labored to bring forth the same old molehill.

Only two other occasions remain for me to relate. The first was fairly recently at the new Vivian Beaumont Theatre. Downstairs, a large exhibition area told the story of the development of the theatre in New York.

[*Editor*: My dear Professor Mates, here you are starting a new theatre myth of your own. Dare we hope to — what was your expression — drop the blade on it in a paragraph? What you mistook for the "downstairs" of the Vivian Beaumont Theater (alas, that is the spelling of the neighbor of our Theatre Collection) at Lincoln Center was not downstairs but on a level with the main level of the theatre; it was the Plaza Gallery of the Shelby Cullom Davis Museum of The New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, subtitled in 7-inch bronze letters over the door "The Library & Museum of the Performing Arts." Sorry. Now on with the show.]

The whole [Mates resumes] was entitled in tall letters, "Memorable Moments, The Performing Arts in New York, 1732–1965." And the very first case showed a picture, under which was written, "The John Street Theatre, Home of the Old American Company (1768–1798)." I need hardly mention

that the picture was the same one used everywhere.

I took the elevator to the fifth floor, where [*Ed.*: No, no, there was a mistake in numbering the first year; the fifth floor is now really the third floor; the Plaza Gallery, at first the third, is now the first. Anybody in the 21st century trying to establish the details of the Lincoln Center buildings will need a dozen Van Lenneps!], where, of course, the Theatre Collection of The New York Public Library is now beautifully housed. I showed my identification to the guard, settled my books and note cards before me at a table, and picked up the memoirs of Joe Cowell from the shelves that line one side of the room. On my way back to my seat I stopped for a moment at the desk where a round little man rested occasionally from bouncing officially hither and yon about the collection. I gathered my courage. "Pardon me. May I trouble you for a moment?"

"You'll have to wait your turn," he said. "I have people lined up to trouble me until 1968."

I have not the kind of personality able to cope with that sort of thing, so I smiled, hesitantly, and started back to my seat. He stopped me, suggested that he had been joking, and asked what he could do. I said, "I don't mean to be officious, but that exhibition downstairs of the New York theatre — ."

"Yes, yes. Go on."

"It includes a picture of the John Street Theatre. But the picture is wrong; that is, the theatre represented is not the John Street Theatre."

"Of course," he responded. "*We* know *that*."

We stared at each other a moment or two, and I stole meekly back to my work. [*Ed.*: The exhibition is now *down*.]

My last experience with the John Street Theatre came only a month ago. That is, I trust it is my last. I am not going to kill the myth, or try to. I recognize that Don Quixote is a figure of fun, and my windmills are subjects of laughter to others, whatever their reality to me. My last experience, then, came as had the first, at the Harvard University Theatre Collection. William Van Lennep is dead now, and others that I used to work with are no longer there. I intended to ask Miss Helen Willard, the new curator, or one of her assistants about a picture of the John Street Theatre, but my courage failed. It was here, at Harvard, that I had first discovered the truth about the picture; I could not bear to learn that a genuine picture had still not been unearthed. And so, I kept my counsel and asked no one.

Each day an assistant would take me down, down, past a series of locked doors, on various stairways and elevators, always down, until we reached the lower depths of Houghton Library, where the Theatre Collection is incapsulated. And each day I sat at a desk, my lamp the only light in that vast cavern, working through piles of material, but still reluctant to ask that which I most would know.

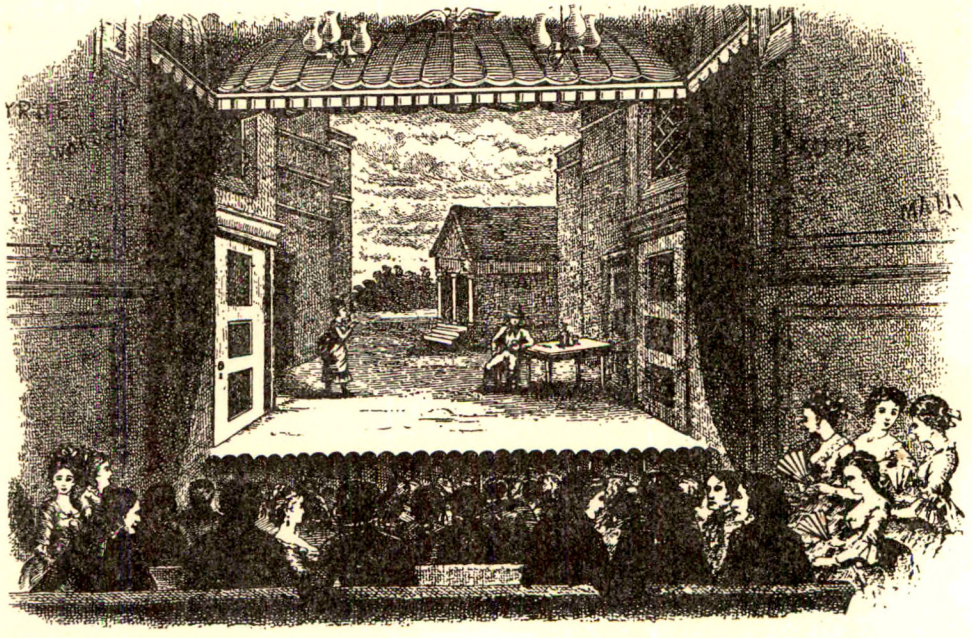
One day, the assistant was called upstairs on some sort of emergency. I was left alone, with instructions to telephone when I wanted to ascend (only a ring of keys can open all the doors necessary to get upstairs, even if the stranger could find his way in the dark, past moving platforms, echoing corridors, hidden stairways, and the like). As soon as I was alone, I walked quickly to those stacks where are kept pictures of theatres in the United States. I had little difficulty in extricating the box that contained New York theatres, early ones. I carried the box to my desk and opened it, and I confess my hands shook a little. After all, when a scholarly discovery is made anywhere, Harvard will soon

have it, or a copy of it — or why else be Harvard?

Inside the box was a large manila folder labeled "18th century." And inside the folder were dozens of prints, more than I had seen since I began my investigation, dozens, I say, of the same picture of the John Street Theatre I had been staring at for years.

And so, the cycle was complete. I began at Harvard and ended there; whatever the John Street Theatre originally looked like, that secret is buried safely in time. The mythical picture will go on being accepted as a likeness of the old playhouse between Broadway and Nassau Street, and no harm will, I suppose, have been done. Still, my faith in the verities has been shaken. That picture of Shakespeare, for example. Is it really of another man, chortling to himself throughout eternity at an immortality he has achieved because of a tendency of man to believe most truly in that which he can most truly see?

[*J. M., postscript, Dec 31 1968:* I attended the Modern Language Association convention last week. Most book publishers had stalls to exhibit their wares, and I browsed happily, ordering a book here, greeting an old friend there. At the booth allotted to the Harvard University Press a book was displayed which will not be released until January 1969: *The American Playhouse in the Eighteenth Century*, by Brooks McNamara. It is a slim, elegant volume, with glossy paper and lots of white space on each page. Not many pictures are included, but *two* full-page reproductions proudly display the same old John Street Theatre picture. However, Mr McNamara has done his homework; underneath both pictures is the caption "Spurious picture of the John Street Theatre." Two full pages to show a nineteenth-century British theatre in a book devoted to American playhouses in the eighteenth century! I am grateful for "Spurious" in the caption, but I have no



This, Prof Mates reminds us, is NOT the John Street Theatre.

hope. Even scholars in future who know the truth will, by the addition of "spurious," be able to go on reproducing forever a picture which seems to hold them in thrall. My antipathy to engraven images, if I may be permitted the neologism, grows apace.]

Gems in Print

Some of the workbooks mentioned in our cover note are being displayed in the current exhibition in the Main Lobby of Central Building. Over fifty other books and prints, some rare, some contemporary and unusual, have been selected from the acquisitions of the Harper jewelry fund to illustrate the diversity of the Library's holdings in this field, encompassing the history, design, and utility of gems, jewelry, and work in silver and gold. Selected mainly from the Rare Books, Art & Architecture, Prints, and Science & Technology Divisions, the exhibits include recent books with handsome full-color plates and such rarities as a copy of an edict of Francis I (printed in Paris, 1543, and one of the twelve earliest French printed documents in the Library) which came from the collection of one of the greatest scholars of the French goldsmith's art, Henri Nocq. Along with the *art nouveau* designs, there are workbooks from earlier periods — Baroque and Gothic Revival — through which one can study the development of the jeweler's craft. Somewhat unexpected items among these Harper Fund acquisitions of the past decade are: a compendium (1727) of the lives of the five saints who were goldsmiths or silversmiths; and the two-volume French Revolutionary official inventory — submitted to the Assemblée Nationale and printed in 1791 — totting up the jewels and other precious chattels of the French royal family.

New Trustee

Mr Whitney North Seymour, Jr was elected a Trustee of the Library at the January 8 meeting of the Board. He succeeds Mr Norman H. Strouse, who had recently retired as president of the board of J. Walter Thompson advertising agency and resigned as Trustee of the Library.

Mr Seymour has been particularly active in community affairs, including the drive to preserve the Jefferson Market Courthouse and transform it into the Jefferson Market Regional Branch library. As a writer and as State Senator and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Housing, he has put forward significant new proposals relating to urban problems: education, urban design, judicial reform, and consumer protection. He is also the editor of the forthcoming book *Small Urban Spaces* (to be published this spring by New York University Press). A partner in the law firm of Simpson Thacher & Bartlett, Mr Seymour is presently a director of the New York County Lawyers' Association and a member of the Executive Committee of the New York State Bar Association.

Communication:

Robert Southey and Thomas Moore on the Battle of Copenhagen

By GEOFFREY CARNALL
University of Edinburgh

STUDENTS OF EARLY nineteenth-century political satire will be grateful to Professor Burton R. Pollin for making the text of "A Danish Tale" more generally available, and for providing an account of the context of this anonymous parody of Southey's "Battle of Blenheim," attacking the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807.[1] In one particular, however, Professor Pollin is slightly misleading. He implies that the condemnation of the Copenhagen affair which Southey expressed so vehemently in private never found its way into his published writings. It is, of course, true that Southey did not publish his views on the subject immediately. But when he came to write the "History of Europe" for 1808 in the *Edinburgh Annual Register*, he felt no inhibitions in saying exactly what he thought about it. The opportunity arose in the third chapter (written at the end of October 1809)[2] where he had to give a summary of the Copenhagen debates in Parliament. The arguments for and against the expedition are fairly stated, and Southey remarks that "there have been few public measures upon which persons accustomed to think alike differed so widely." But Southey's own opinion is quite uncompromising: the bombardment of a capital city, surprised in time of peace, was a "dreadful circumstance . . . and awakened feelings of horror and indignation in a very considerable portion of the English people." He accepted that ministers could not properly be required to produce the evidence on which they had decided to undertake the expedition, and conceded that French designs against the Danish fleet certainly existed and would have been successful. But — and Southey emphasised his dissent with a use of the first person singular most unusual in an annual register —

> I nevertheless regard the expedition as disgraceful and detrimental to Great Britain, unjust because it was unnecessary, and impolitic in every point of view in which it is possible to consider it. We ought not to have hazarded such consequences for such a cause. What if the fleets of the

[1] *Bulletin of The New York Public Library* LXXII (October 1968) 507–517.

[2] A letter to Tom Southey dated 18 October 1809 speaks of copy for the *second* chapter being despatched that day. See *Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey*, ed J. W. Warter (London 1856) II 169.

> North had been brought out against us? Was there an English seaman whose heart would not have leaped for joy in sure and certain expectation of victory, if he had beheld them upon the seas? [8]

As it was, there was a serious stain upon the humanity of England. Southey, in fact, would have admitted the full force of Peterkin's reproof in "A Danish Tale":

> Let England war with women then.
> We'll never fight with less than men.
> (lines 94–95)

The "History of Europe" was anonymous, and the authorship not widely known. Anonymity, however, was no more a sign of timidity here than it was in the *Quarterly Review*. Southey's overriding concern was to put his views into circulation, and he prided himself on the amount of free and fearless thinking that he was able to inject into public discussion. He cannot fairly be accused of having muted the expression of his views on Copenhagen.

It is just possible, of course, that the author of "A Danish Tale" intended an oblique attack on Southey's changed view of the war with France, exploiting the contrast between the humanitarian pacifism of "The Battle of Blenheim" and the poet's more recent opinions. But one may question whether Southey was a sufficiently conspicuous target in 1807–1808 to warrant an attack of this kind, nor indeed was the change in his political position clearly enough defined in the public eye to make such an attack widely intelligible. It is much more likely that the parodist simply found in "The Battle of Blenheim" a convenient point of departure for his own criticism of the Copenhagen affair.

Who was the parodist? Quite possibly it was Thomas Moore. The translator of Anacreon might well have found the appeal of the octosyllabic couplet strong enough to override any inclination to imitate Southey's stanza. The concluding passage, with its briskly dainty turn of natural description, would not have been out of place in the *Epistles, Odes, and other Poems* of 1806. Contempt for peers, so evident in "A Danish Tale," is similar to that found in "Corruption; an Epistle"; and the hit at the pious Gambier, who "prais'd the Lord, and — went to pray," anticipates the castigation in "Intolerance; a Satire" of the "canting crew" who rule Ireland — "Blood on their hands, and scripture on their lips" (line 60). Above all, the manner, mer-

[8] *Edinburgh Annual Register for 1808* (Edinburgh 1810) pt I p 52–53.

curial and impertinent, anticipates the characteristic tone of Moore's later satires. It is not easy to substantiate this claim briefly, but it may be enough to observe Moore's trick of an occasional abrupt break in the line to secure emphasis:

> A Peer is — what I'm not quite sure —
> He gets a pension when he's poor . . .
> ("A Danish Tale" 88–89)

> So, let your list of *she*-promotions
> Include those only, plump and sage,
> Who've reach'd the *regulation*-age;
> That is — as near as one can fix
> From Peerage dates — full fifty-six.
> (*Twopenny Post-Bag* II 85–89)

We know that in the spring of 1808 Moore was trying to "catch the eye of some of our patriotic politicians, and thus be enabled to serve both *myself* and the *principles* which I cherish."[4] "A Danish Tale" is just the kind of poem one might have expected him to be writing in these circumstances, and this attribution, were it to prove correct, would provoke speculation about what other unacknowledged poems of his remain to be discovered in the columns of the Opposition press.

[4] Letter to Lady Donegal, 29 April 1808. See *Letters*, ed W. S. Dowden (Oxford 1964) I 128.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Professor Pollin is preparing a response.

The Emergence of the Dialogue of the Dead in England

By FREDERICK M. KEENER
Columbia University

A GENRE WHICH Samuel Johnson pronounced obsolete two centuries ago,[1] the dialogue of the dead is now sufficiently neglected to require not just a definition before anything is said about it but also some defense of saying anything at all. The term signifies a play-like account of conversation between ghosts, typically in prose and without any framing narrative, set in the classical underworld (so that Charon and other infernal deities frequently have their say), usually just a few pages long, and likely to be satirical — but not always so, for the genre also admits the edifying deliberations of dead worthies. It had its classics, the authors mentioned by George, Lord Lyttelton in the preface to his own dialogues: "Lucian among the Ancients, and among the Moderns Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray, and Monsieur Fontenelle, have written *Dialogues of the Dead* with a general Applause."[2] That applause suggests one reason why the form ought not to be entirely forgotten: apart from translations and reprints, almost two hundred dialogues of the dead were published in eighteenth-century England, for all sorts of readers, in books, pamphlets, magazines, and newspapers; and whatever pleased many deserves investigation, even if it did not please long. Yet there is only one book-length history of the form, Johan S. Egilsrud's *Le "Dialogue des morts" dans les littératures française, allemande et anglaise (1644–1789)* (Paris 1934), a study of imposing breadth but, as Henry Knight Miller has remarked, much in need of amplification.[3] Egilsrud's fifty-odd pages on the English dialogues prove least satisfactory at the beginning, where the earliest work mentioned is *Dialogues of the Dead. Relating to the present Controversy Concerning the Epistles of Phalaris* (1699), by William King (1663–1712).

King, however, was by no means the first Englishman to write a dialogue of the dead. In the pages that follow I have attempted to trace the recovery

[1] A grant from the Columbia University Council for Research in the Humanities aided me in preparing this article. Thomas Tyers recorded Johnson's discouraging question — "when he would give over writing in the obsolete cast of dialogues of the dead?" — in the preface to *Conversations Political and Familiar* (London 1784) p v.

[2] *Dialogues of the Dead* 5th ed (London 1768) sig A2.

[3] *Essays on Fielding's Miscellanies: a Commentary on Volume One* (Princeton 1961) 396n. Egilsrud's book contains an extensive but incomplete and not wholly accurate bibliography of English dialogues of the dead (201–213).

of this ancient form during the years surrounding the Restoration. The tale has intrinsic interest, since some of the earliest English dialogues may still divert a reader, but that is not all. As Northrop Frye has written,[4] the dialogue of the dead is akin to other species of "Menippean" satire that flourished in the eighteenth century — witness *Gulliver's Travels*, especially the Glubbdubdrib episode in Book III, as well as Fielding's *Journey from This World to the Next* and even Blake's *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, where the narrator enjoys a postprandial interview with Isaiah and Ezekiel. Hence study of the forgotten genre may illuminate a larger, living subject, not to mention another just beginning to receive its due, the non-theatrical literature of the years preceding 1700. Perhaps most important, the dialogue of the dead deserves consideration as a form which may be called characteristically Augustan, not simply because it was invented by a classical author but because it provided the stately mind of a man like Lyttelton with a means of pursuing the proper study — men — by setting exemplary personages a-talking, figures like those that throng Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes*, Pope's *Temple of Fame*, and innumerable other works of the period: men of the remote and recent past who, by discussing their often parallel lives, could provide large draughts of the vicarious moral experience which the eighteenth century savored and prescribed.

Just why King chose so apparently unheralded a form is unknown; he does not seem to have explained his choice. In Lucian's *True History*, Homer is made to say that the thought of beginning the *Iliad* with Achilles' anger came without premeditation, and King could have settled as casually on the dialogue of the dead. A learned man (D.C.L., Oxford, 1692), King may have been moved by admiration for Lucian, while the occasion of King's dialogues, the dispute with Richard Bentley which provoked Swift's *Battle of the Books*, itself could have recommended a genre permitting the ancients to comment on modern affairs: in King's second dialogue, Phalaris confronts the sophist who, according to Bentley, wrote the tyrant's epistles! These possible explanations are all reasonably compatible; it is also tempting to say, and perhaps true, that Fontenelle's *Nouveaux Dialogues des morts* had something to do with King's decision (none of Fénelon's colloquies had appeared when King's were published).

Egilsrud calls Fontenelle's dialogues of the dead "l'œuvre destinée à influencer le plus directement d'autres auteurs, tant étrangers que français, en

[4] *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton 1957) 310.

désignant cette forme à leurs propres essais" (p 43). A prodigious reader, King must have known Fontenelle's work; King's editor, John Nichols, said "nothing of the humorous kind escaped his notice," [5] and indeed, few English readers could have failed to notice the dialogues of Fontenelle. A partial translation was published in 1683, the year they appeared in France. The next year, another incomplete translation was published, as well as a continuation of the first.[6] The dialogues drew enough attention for the publisher of a 1688 translation of *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* to advertise it, on the title page, as "by the Author of the *Dialogues of the Dead*," while in the short "Life of Lucian" Dryden composed during the 1690s he proclaimed Fontenelle the best imitator of Lucian in French, "in his *Dialogues of the Dead*; which I never read but with a new pleasure." [7] Swift read them too, at Moor Park, in about 1697.[8] And there can be no doubting Fontenelle's power to attract imitators: John Hughes's translation of the *Nouveaux Dialogues* (1708) contains two of the translator's own colloquies. But nothing inside or outside William King's *Dialogues of the Dead*, except their having been written later, implies any debt to Fontenelle.

The French dialogues found a cordial welcome in England — where Lucian's were already quite at home, in English as well as Greek. What may be called Lucian's "extra" dialogue of the dead (that is, an example of the form not included in the collection so named), a work the Fowlers call "Voyage to the Lower World" and the Loeb edition "The Downward Journey or The Tyrant," was translated by Francis Hickes and published in 1634. Thomas Heywood's translation of five of the *Dialogues of the Dead*, in verse, came three years later, in 1637, and in 1638 Jasper Mayne put ten into English prose. But Mayne's translation was not printed until 1663, when it was published jointly with another edition of Hickes's. In 1684–1685 appeared the first English version of Lucian's *Works*, the earlier of these years bringing forth a separate, miscellaneous collection, in verse, containing eleven of the *Dialogues of the Dead*; and as the seventeenth century waned, much evi-

[5] *The Original Works of William King, L.L.D.* (London 1776) I xxvii ("Memoirs of Dr. King").

[6] Benjamin Boyce, "News from Hell: Satiric Communications with the Nether World in English Writing of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *PMLA* LVIII (1943) 431–432. *The Infernal Observator* . . . (1684), still another translation of Fontenelle (unidentified as such by Boyce and attributed mistakenly to Luke Beaulieu), is mentioned later in the present article (see note 22 and text).

[7] *Of Dramatic Poesy and Other Critical Essays*, ed George Watson (London 1962) II 211. The translation of *Entretiens* was John Glanvill's.

[8] A. C. Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith, eds *A Tale of a Tub* . . . by Jonathan Swift, 2nd ed (Oxford 1958) lvi; cf p 365.

dence became available [9] to support Robert Burton's earlier assertion, in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), that "almost all posterity admire *Lucian's* luxuriant wit." [10]

Posterity could read Lucian in Latin too. Erasmus' translation of thirteen of the *Dialogues of the Dead* circulated widely,[11] also his own *Colloquia*, where one finds a dialogue evidently derived from Lucian's fourth — with a twist. A disconsolate Charon figures in both, in Lucian lamenting the scarcity of passengers (really their fares) and in Erasmus complaining that the hordes killed in Christendom's wars have sunk his boat. This strikingly Lucianic colloquy was known to many seventeenth-century Englishmen. A translation of the entire *Colloquia* appeared in 1671, and later Sir Roger L'Estrange translated a selection, the edition of 1689 including the dialogue set in Hades.[12] Here is his rendition of a passage in which Alastor, like Lucian's Mercury, quizzes Charon:

> I thought you had carry'd *Shadows* only, not *Bodies*. What may be the Weight, I prethee, of a *Cargo* of *Ghosts*? *Ch.* Why, let 'em be as Light as *Water-Spiders*, there may be enow of them to do a bodies Work. But then my *Vessel* is a kind of a *Phantome* too. *Al.* I have seen the time, when you had as many Ghosts as you could Stow a-Bord; and Three or Four Thousand more hanging at the Stern, and your Barque me thought never so much as felt on't. *Ch.* That is all according as the Ghosts are: For your *Hectical, phthisical Souls*, that go off in a *Consumption*, weigh little or nothing. But those that are Torn out of Bodies, in a Habit of Foul Humours; as in *Apoplexyes, Quinzies, Fevers*, and the like: But most of all, in the Chance of *War*: These, I must tell ye, carry a great deal of Corpulent, and gross matter, along with them. *Al.* As for the *Spaniards*, and the *French*, methinks they should not be very *Heavy*. *Ch.* No not comparatively with the Others: And yet I do not find them altogether so

[9] Francis Hickes, trans "The Infernall Ferrie, Or The Tyrant" *Certain Select Dialogues of Lucian* . . . (Oxford 1634) 71–88. Thomas Heywood, *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramma's* ed W. Bank (Louvain 1903) 123–139. Jasper Mayne, trans *Part of Lucian Made English from the Originall. In the Yeare 1638. . . . To which are adjoyned those other Dialogues of Lucian as they were formerly translated by Mr Francis Hicks* (Oxford 1663) 47–66. Ferrand Spence, trans *Lucian's Works* . . . 5 vols (London 1684–1685): "Dialogues of the Dead" I 133–186; "The Tyrant: or the Infernal Ferry" II 45–62. *Lucians Dialogues, (Not) from the Greek: Done into English Burlesque* (London 1684) Part I p 5–10, 13–20; Part II p 1–2, 5–13; evidently based on Spence's translation (see Part II p iv).

[10] *The Anatomy of Melancholy* ed A. R. Shilleto (London 1893) I 84.

[11] Hardin Craig "Dryden's Lucian" *Classical Philology* XVI (1921) 141. C. R. Thompson *The Translations of Lucian by Erasmus and St. Thomas More* (Ithaca, N Y 1940) 16, 22.

[12] "Hell Broke Loose. Col. XXI" *Twenty Two Select Colloquies Out of Erasmus Roterodamus. . . . The second Impression . . . with the Addition of two Colloquies to the Former* (London 1689) 265–272. The earlier translation was *The Colloquies, or Familiar Discourses of Desiderius Erasmus of Roterdam, Rendered into English. . . . By H. M. Gent.* (London 1671) where this dialogue occupies p 403–407.

> Light as Feathers neither. But for the *Brittains*, and the *Germans*, that are rank Feeders, I had only Ten of 'em a-Bord once, and if I had not Lighten'd my Boat of part of my Lading, we had all gone to the Bottom.

Later, when Alastor asks whether Charon cannot build another boat, the reader discovers that "the woods that were in *Elyzium*, are all destroy'd: Not so much as a stick left . . . with burning Hereticks Ghosts." Shades, it turns out, are combustible as well as weighty! This is an exemplary dialogue of the dead. As Thomas Brown said in the preface to a later edition of L'Estrange's translation, Erasmus captured Lucian's "Graces with such Success, that 'tis difficult to say which of the two is the Original" [13] — a comment addressed to the *Colloquia* in general but fully pertinent to the one where Charon speaks. Dryden, in the "Life of Lucian," called Erasmus the best imitator in Latin.[14] Though many topical references date the colloquy, a spirit of playful, slightly macabre absurdity like Lucian's, as in the passage quoted, animates the moralist's point.

No more than Erasmus did Englishmen need Fontenelle's example to write such dialogues. Long before Fontenelle wrote anything, even before his century of life began, an original dialogue of the dead had been published in England: *A Description of the Passage of Thomas late Earle of Strafford, over the River of Styx, with the conference betwixt him, Charon, and William Noy* (n p 1641). Here, in a congenial Hades, Strafford may reasonably anticipate relaxing in what promises to be an eternity of lighthearted, mildly satirical conversation. The anonymous author wrote with Lucian in mind. At one point, when Strafford laments the abundance of "Mercury's" — that is, periodical writers — spewing forth lampoons on earth, Noye has some practical advice: "They may doe well to read *Lucian*, he will teach their Pamphlets wit and innocence." King's *Dialogues*, like this one, have more in common with Lucian's than Fontenelle's. Charon and other mythological figures speak in King's whereas Fontenelle pointedly eschewed them, and more important, King and Lucian share the technique of using favored spokesmen, who are immediately identifiable as such, to lambaste fatuous opponents. In Fontenelle the satire is subtler, the irony more complex, the question of sympathy for characters more problematical.

But to write dialogues of the dead, an Englishman of Dryden's time need not have known the work of any foreigner — Lucian, Fontenelle, or Erasmus.

[13] "The Life of Erasmus" *Twenty Select Colloquies Out of Erasmus Roterodamus. . . . To which are added, Seven New Colloquies* . . . (London 1699) sig b6v.

[14] *Of Dramatic Poesy* . . . II 211.

The period teemed with controversy, much of it religious in one way or another and disposing satirists not just to ridicule or revile their enemies but to damn them, to drive them into Hell and describe their activities below. In a useful article published some twenty-five years ago, Benjamin Boyce surveyed the use of infernal motifs in English satire of the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.[15] His bibliography, which lists more than one hundred works published before 1700, and which he compiled before the appearance of Donald Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue*, might easily be expanded today. Perhaps the best known of the works Professor Boyce listed, Donne's *Ignatius His Conclave* (1611), is representative of most in that the words of its speakers — Loyola, Machiavelli, and other contestants for supremacy among the damned — lie embedded in narrative, here the account of a dream. When men of the mid-seventeenth century chose to create outright dialogues on subjects infernal, their productions tended to resemble Donne's more than Lucian's; for example, the characters of a piece published in London as late as 1681, *Cromwels Complaint of Injustice: or, His Dispute with Pope Alexander the Sixth, for Precedency in Hell*, also strive to become Satan's second in command. In this and other such vindictive, generally cheerless, thoroughly occasional dialogues, characters from classical mythology seldom appear, ancients never.[16] Almost all the speakers are Englishmen whose funeral meats have scarcely cooled — if, considering the near ubiquity of disinterred Cromwell, a still more disquieting image is not in order. The setting remains Donne's Hell, a medieval inferno with no tincture of Hades about it, and the prevalence of characters regarded as villainous emphasizes that fact even when the locale goes nameless or is loosely called Elysium.[17]

[15] "News from Hell" 402–437. In seeking to complement this article, I have concentrated upon infernal satire in the specific form of dialogues; I have not reproduced information Boyce gives about works closely related to the dialogue of the dead, for example the brief poems like Herrick's "Charon and Phylomel." And two particular replies may be made: The issues Boyce examined of the periodical *Mercurius Infernus* . . . (1680), which he classified among "direct imitations of . . . Menippean dialogues" (p 417), are such in subject only; they are not dialogues. As for William King's one dialogue of the dead apart from his collection of 1699, Boyce's publication date of 1691 (p 407) is wrong, as Colin J. Horne has shown in "Dr. William King's *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*," *The Library*, 4th ser xxv (1944) 37, 43. Internal and external evidence proves the dialogue could not have been completed before the early 1700s.

[16] *Bradshaw's Ghost: Being a Dialogue Between the said Ghost, and an Apparition of the Late King Charles* . . . (n p 1659); *A Party Between The Ghosts of the Late Protector, and the King of Sweden, At their Meeting in Hell* (London 1660); *A Satyr, By way of Dialogue Between Lucifer, and the Ghosts of Shaftsbury and Russell* (London 1683), and *A Dialogue Betwixt the Devil and the Whigs* (n p 1684) are all set squarely in Hell, the destination of everyone in *A New Meeting of Ghosts at Tyburn. Being A Discourse of Oliver Cromwell. John Bradshaw* . . . (London 1660).

[17] Two dialogues in verse hover uncertainly between Hell and Hades: *Bradshaw's Ghost; A Poem: or, A Dialogue between John Bradshaw, Ferry-man Charon, Oliver Cromwel, Francis*

However, though closely related to these works, two dialogues of the mid-seventeenth century illustrate significant departures from them — not, it seems, because the innovators imitated Lucian directly but because they sought effects which the Hellish manner could not supply. Cromwell speaks in one, *A Dialogue Betwixt the Ghosts of Charls the I, Late King of England: and Oliver The late Usurping Protector* (London 1659), an eight-page pamphlet that gives Charles the opening words:

> *Tell me who thou art that thus presumest to disturb the Ashes of one that hath been at rest this ten years.*
>
> *Oliver.*
>
> It is he that sent thee to that Rest, who now would fain be at rest himself, but cannot.
>
> Charles.
>
> *Ha! what doth mine eyes behold, that grand* Rebell *and* Traitor *which was the destruction of me and my Family, I command thee to be gone; Was it not enough that in my life time by thy open force, and thy cunning and secret Plots, thou and thy Emissaries took away my life, and extirpated my Family, and the Lord knows what ruine thou hast brought upon the poor Kingdomes, that I once happily Governed, but that thou must now pursue me after Death.*
>
> *Oliver.*
>
> O Sir, Pray forgive me, for you cannot imagine the tortures of conscience that I indure, when I call to mind all my ambitious and damnable Plots, to ruine you and yours, and to set my self in your stead; It was I that laid the Plot to draw your Subjects obedience from you, under pretence of Religion and Liberty; It was I that after we had Routed your Army . . . , by my dam'd Policy and Power, broke off the Treaty, and all to get the Government my self.

Crude though it is, this amounts to a dialogue of the dead as the genre was understood during the eighteenth century. Cromwell speaks here, as he does in other, more conventional dialogues of the years following his death, and he is clearly a damned soul. ". . . Hold my pains come on me," he exclaims at the end; "I must leave you, and repaire to my Station." But the dialogue is more than just an exercise in literary damnation. Cromwell does not speak with another of his kind; his companion is a good man. Hence the setting of

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Ravilliack, and Ignatius Loyola (n p 1660), where Bradshaw becomes "Lord President of Hell" but Charon has a prominent part and Pluto is mentioned; and *A Dialogue between Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury, and Captain Thomas Walcott, Upon their Meeting in Pluto's Kingdome* (London 1683), where the setting is at one time called Hell, at another Elysium. A third poem, more securely set in Hades — *Pluto, the Prince of Darkness, His Entertainment of Coll. Algernoon Sidney, Upon His Arrival at the Infernal Palace* . . . (London 1684) — is a broadside ballad.

the dialogue cannot be Hell, and accordingly, nothing is said about its identity. Cromwell and Charles speak in a vacuum, an unspecified place where two shades may converse without raising any distracting questions in the reader's mind. A like setting, or lack of it, occurs in many eighteenth-century dialogues, particularly those which are soberly "historical" in tone and subject. Styx, in modern times at least, runs toward burlesque: Lyttelton mentions the river, the ferry, Charon, the infernal judges in humorous dialogues like the one involving an English duelist and an American Indian, but in his most serious conversations, like that between Louis XIV and Peter the Great, he tends to ignore the speakers' surroundings. The seventeenth-century author, by choosing to make Cromwell confront the good, saved man he had wronged, achieved a measure of poignancy — a quality foreign to the Hellish manner. And the same may be said of another, earlier dialogue of the dead, its title a generous account of the contents: *Strange Apparitions, or The Ghost of King James, With a late conference between the ghost of that good King, the Marquesse Hameltons, and George Eglishams, Doctor of Physick, unto which appeared the Ghost of the late Duke of Buckingham concerning the death and poysoning of King James and the rest* (London 1642). A slight tie with the prevailing manner of infernal satire — the use of a narrator — becomes apparent only in the last line of the last page.

Between the publication of Fontenelle's dialogues, in 1683, and that of King's, in 1699, several original dialogues of the dead were printed in England, but none may be traced with certainty to Fontenelle's precedent. Indeed, one work of this time seems to represent, as on a diptych, the transition from the seventeenth century's Hellish ways to those of Lucian, Erasmus, King, and the eighteenth-century writers: *Nunctus Infernalis: or, A New Account From Below. In Two Dialogues. The First From the Elizium Fields, Of Friendship. The Second From Hell of Cuckoldom, Being the Sessions of Cuckolds. By Charles Gildon, Gent. With a Preface by Mr. Durfey* (London 1692). In the second dialogue, patterned on Machiavelli's *Belphagor,* Lucifer briefly interrogates many of the newly dead — Italians, Spaniards, Frenchmen, beaus, parsons, poets — and learns that each incurred damnation somehow as a result of his wife's infidelity. Then, after dismissing the cuckolds to horrible quarters in Hell, Lucifer proclaims "a general *Play-day* and *Jubilee*" for the devils: "Let none therefore loiter away his time in tempting the *Marry'd,* for one *Woman* will out-do a *Legion* of you." Brimstone steams from these pages; from those of the first dialogue, however, the scent is of asphodels. Just returned from a transmigration during which he lived as an Englishman, Timon of Athens criticizes modern Europeans, concluding that true

friendship is now impossible, whereupon he and Laelius reminisce about what friendship was in antiquity. "The First is the more gravely severe, and a nearer Imitation of *Lucian* (who is an Author esteem'd by all the Ingenious Worthy to be imitated)," Thomas D'Urfey commented, going on to compare the first dialogue with Lucian's employing Alexander and Hannibal, the twelfth of the *Dialogues of the Dead*. Somewhat more guardedly, Gildon observed in the dedicatory epistle that "*Lucian* himself . . . first gave me the *Hint* of introducing the *Dead*, as *Interlocutors*; and in that only have I imitated him."

But the "Ingenious" mentioned by D'Urfey, would they not have savored Fontenelle as well as Lucian? Did Gildon owe something to Fontenelle? The question calls for a complicated answer. In the dedicatory epistle, Gildon asserts that when he wrote he had yet to read — not Fontenelle, who goes unmentioned, but "the incomparable *Boileau*." Boileau had written a dialogue of the dead, *Les Héros de roman*, during the 1660s, and it had been published in 1688, in an unauthorized edition.[18] Pluto questions and embarrasses a train of affected characters from contemporary romances, much as Lucifer does the cuckolds in Gildon's second dialogue. But *Les Héros*, untranslated until 1700,[19] not published in an authorized edition until 1713,[20] was never to have much effect on English authors.[21] It is unlikely that Gildon had Boileau's dialogue in mind, for he goes on to say that "we may perceive some *Glimmerings* of the *Beauty* and *Witt* of that Great Man, through the abominable *Jargon* of his *Scotch Translator*." Gildon, it seems, meant *The Infernal Observator* . . . (1684), a translation of Fontenelle with a title page identifying the author as "Mr. Boileau"; the translator was one Alexander Fraser.[22] As for Gildon's disclaimer, I think it should be believed. His comments suggest only a slight acquaintance with Fontenelle's work, which he does not seem to have read in French, and there is no hint of Fontenelle in Gildon's "classical" dialogue. What is more, there is evidence that Gildon was independently drawn to Lucian: he contributed to the translation of Lucian's works, begun in the 1690s but not published until 1710–1711, which

[18] Thomas Frederick Crane, ed *Les Héros de roman: dialogue de Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux* (Boston 1902) 27, 37–38 (Introduction).

[19] Boyce "News from Hell" 416.

[20] Crane 165n.

[21] One possible exception, a long, dreary dialogue of the dead called *The Heroes of France: in a Dialogue between Monsieur De Louvois, Colbert, Seignelai, Montchevreuil, Sarsfield and Waldeck* . . . (London 1694), seems to be a translation from the French; see *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* LXXVII (1961) 1167.

[22] D. M. Lang "Fontenelle and the Infernal Observator" *Modern Language Review* XLV (1950) 222–225.

contains the "Life" by Dryden.[23] As claimed, it was probably Lucian's example which prompted Gildon's use of dead speakers; in other respects, the dialogue between Timon and Laelius derives from Cicero's *Laelius*, with which it shares Cicero's eponymous character, the subject of friendship, the form of dialogue, and a solemn tone. *Laelius*, it may be observed, had been given some special prominence by a translation issued a year before Gildon's pamphlet.[24]

The last dialogue of the dead to be noticed here is — except for several in King's collection — surely the most memorable produced in England during the seventeenth century: "The Calendar Reform'd: or, A pleasant Dialogue between Pluto and the Saints in the Elysian Fields after Lucian's manner. Written by Sir Fl. Sh—rd in the Year 1687," the title it bore when first printed, about five years after Fleetwood Sheppard's death, in 1704.[25] The author was a prominent courtier under Charles II; it was in quest of Sheppard that the Earl of Dorset came to the Rhenish Wine Tavern on the day he discovered young Matthew Prior.[26] But Sheppard had small affection for James — or James's religion, as "The Calendar Reform'd" makes plain. Written, it seems, during the year of *The Hind and the Panther*, Sheppard's dialogue wittily probes the more legendary recesses of Roman Catholic hagiography, and though the presence of so many patently Christian souls in his Elysium recalls older controversial pieces, outrightly Lucianic elements preponderate. Pluto examines the long-dead saints:

> . . . Where were you Born?
>
> St. *George*. Some say in *Cappadocia*, others in *Coventry*.
>
> *Pluto*. Why truly *Coventry* lies very near *Cappadocia*. But what a plague, can't you tell where you were Born?
>
> St. *George*. — And others have affirm'd, that *Alexandria* in *Ægypt* was the place of my Nativity: For my part I cannot precisely tell where I was Born, but that I was Born somewhere or other, I hope your Majesty has the Charity to believe.

English St George's being here in addition to such as the hapless St Ursula demonstrates that Sheppard's skepticism comprehended more than just the

[23] Craig 159.

[24] *Cicero's Lælius. A Discourse of Friendship. Together with a Pastoral Dialogue Concerning Friendship and Love* (London 1691).

[25] *Miscellaneous Works, Written by His Grace, George, Late Duke of Buckingham. Collected in One Volume from the Original Papers. . . . Also State Poems . . .* (London 1704) sig L1–M2. For the suggestion that Thomas Brown may have retouched Sheppard's dialogue while editing this volume, see Benjamin Boyce, *Tom Brown of Facetious Memory: Grub Street in the Age of Dryden* Harvard Studies in English XXII (Cambridge, Mass 1939) 17n.

[26] Charles Kenneth Eves *Matthew Prior, Poet and Diplomatist* (New York 1939) 14–15.

beliefs of the Roman Catholic party, that his purpose had something in common with the "Scoffer" Lucian's (an epithet Charles Cotton employed in the title of his 1675 burlesque of that author). Anyone familiar with Lucian's thirtieth dialogue of the dead, in which Sostratus cannily pursues Minos into the admission that his system of reward and punishment is absurd, will find little new in Sheppard's tactics. Though the statement about "Lucian's manner" in the title may be an editor's addition, it is accurate enough.

William King's *Dialogues of the Dead*, then, were not unprecedented in England. Nor is the later popularity of this seemingly obscure genre unaccountable: it flourished from traceable roots in seventeenth-century English writing, nourished by the eighteenth century's preoccupation with classical literature and the moral uses of history, with satire, eschatology, and the dialogue form. Over 1,500 dialogues of various kinds were printed in England between 1640 and 1750,[27] while increasing disbelief in the doctrine of eternal damnation [28] moved writers to forsake Hellish satire and disposed readers to accept the literary disinterment of Hades. It was Lucian's dialogues, more than Fontenelle's, that attracted English imitation. But chiefly, the genre exercised its own magnetism, inviting authors to show Cromwell repentant and saints incredible, and to allow Laelius and Phalaris a few posthumous observations at the expense of modern manners and learning.

[27] B. V. Crawford "The Prose Dialogue of the Commonwealth and the Restoration" *PMLA* XXXIV (1919) 601.

[28] See D. P. Walker *The Decline of Hell: Seventeenth-Century Discussions of Eternal Torment* (Chicago 1964).

Boswell in Search of the Intentional Fallacy

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IN A CLASSIC ESSAY written in collaboration with Monroe C. Beardsley, Professor Wimsatt has remarked, "It is not so much a historical statement as a definition to say that the intentional fallacy is a romantic one." [1] If this is true, then Socrates, whom Wimsatt quotes to illustrate the origins of the fallacy, is a romantic, paradoxically enough; for indeed one might argue, not only that the fallacy was widespread before the Romantics, but also that Romantic critics like Coleridge and Goethe were the first to point out the fallacy as such. These Romantics, at least, constituted the study of the poem itself as the true end of criticism, thus escaping from the excessive attention that late eighteenth-century critics like Dr Johnson had given to the poem's *Sitz im Leben*.[2] There is an air of special pleading about Wimsatt's "definition," which, while disclaiming any historical content, implies that the critic is returning from the Romantic, Dark Ages to an era of light and critical objectivity. In this respect, Professor Wimsatt himself seems a typical late Romantic.

It will be useful to review Socrates' remarks before turning to the real subject of this essay, Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. Not only in the passage quoted but in many others, Socrates at once accepted the traditional divinity of poetry, with its attendant impersonality of the poet, and yet decisively subordinated this inspiration to reason and the *logos* — an area roughly the same as what we call "intention."

> I went to the poets, tragic, dithyrambic, and all sorts. . . . I took them some of the most elaborate passages in their own writings, and asked them what was the meaning of them. . . . Will you believe me? There is hardly a person present who would not have talked better about their poetry than they did themselves. Then I knew that not by wisdom do poets write poetry, but by a sort of genius and inspiration.

Because of the primacy of *logos*, Socrates' disciples are forced to choose between a truth located beyond poetry and a truth located in the poet; they are not permitted to find truth in the poem, that shadow of a shadow. The resulting art is the Socratic dialogue, as Friedländer has shown,[3] a poem that

[1] W. K. Wimsatt, Jr and Monroe C. Beardsley "The Intentional Fallacy" *The Verbal Icon* (New York 1958) 6.

[2] René Wellek *A History of Modern Criticism* (New Haven 1955) 1 79.

[3] *Plato: An Introduction* (New York 1964).

leads beyond itself, lacking either comic or tragic finality. The kind of unity that properly belongs to a Socratic dialogue will, I hope, provide an illuminating analogy for analyzing the conversations which are the most obvious feature of Boswell's art in the *Life of Johnson*. In either kind of dialogue, the writer's intention is the most important structural fact we have, and we can scarcely erect a critical fallacy on this, our only key to understanding.

It must be confessed, however, that Johnsonians have not made much use of this key. At least since Macaulay, critics have been trying to extract some kind of unity from Boswell's subject by discarding Boswell's treatment of it. Behind Johnson's paradoxical and contradictory exterior, Macaulay saw a deep historical continuity hidden from Boswell himself; Professor Bronson discovers a sonata-like thesis, antithesis, and synthesis; [4] Professor Clifford finds a logical development of character.[5] The discovery of the Boswell papers has switched our attention from the historical Johnson to the materials Boswell used for the *Life* — from Boswell drunk (and under Malone's influence) to Boswell sober, if Boswell can ever be said to be sober. But one must finally insist that history will never tell us what the *Life* is "about"; that we have really been engaged in rewriting the *Life*, not in examining its truth as literature. Or is it literature at all? The critics seem to be caught in a critical dilemma, for if the *Life* is literature, their proceedings seem particularly rampant examples of the biographical or intentional fallacy; if the *Life* is history or biography, perhaps their approach is the only correct one, for the biographical fallacy cannot surely be fallacious when applied to biography. The real question posed by this dilemma is whether these Aristotelian categories make any sense at all when used to characterize works like the *Life* or a Socratic dialogue.

In a fine Socratic vein, a great deal of recent Johnson scholarship concludes that Boswell wrote the *Life* "not by wisdom . . . but by a sort of genius and inspiration." Boswell's objectivity towards himself has rightly been stressed by Professor Bronson, but towards Johnson, most scholarship has emphasized Boswell's repeated injunction to "*be* Johnson," and his gradual impregnation with the Johnsonian ether. These views are valuable antidotes to the Macaulayan misconception that Boswell's art was a kind of low cunning by which a mediocre talent sought to aggrandize itself. But despite many rich hints, I think Professor Bronson has mistaken the dialectic by which Boswell arrived at wisdom — the quarrel is not so much between

[4] Bertrand H. Bronson *Johnson Agonistes and Other Essays* (Berkeley & Los Angeles 1965).

[5] James L. Clifford *Young Sam Johnson* (New York 1961).

Boswell and Boswell as between Boswell and Johnson; and their relationship may be more accurately explored by comparing it to that of Plato and Socrates.

Not only Boswell, but also Mrs Thrale and Sir John Hawkins, indeed, occasionally compare Johnson to Socrates,[6] and the historical parallel is not without wit to keep it sweet for us today. Their common ugliness, unlikely wives, their fondness for young men, sexual abstinence, indifference to discomfort and pain, their birth, their age, their interest in trade-processes and manufactures, their reverent skepticism, addiction to conversation, their avowed inward viciousness combined with an outwardly blameless life, all substantiate the accuracy, if not the inevitability, of the allusion. Even the general circumstances of their lives are resonant with witty allusiveness. Johnson found his Aristophanes in Foote, though unlike Socrates, he restrained the mimic's licentiousness with a threepenny stick; [7] The Club is an eternal Symposium, where his audience imbibed, over punch, Johnson's scrupulous respect for truth; and Boswell, it need hardly be said, plays at "being Johnson" in the *Life* as Plato played at "being Socrates" in the *Dialogues*. Plato too, like Boswell, was of noble birth, and Plato too was away when his teacher died.

This lively allusiveness is of course a kind of game by which Boswell bandies about the banal but popular rejection of Johnson as a Sage. Johnson's unkempt, uncouth appearance, the violence and gloominess which never brought the philosophic mind, are precedented in antiquity just as in Dryden's portrait the unkingly wantonness of Charles II is precedented and playfully justified, by the character of David and the patriarchs. The Greek philosophers are excellent material for this kind of game.[8] "When somebody declared that there is no such thing as motion," we are told, Diogenes "got up and walked about" — Johnson refuting Berkeley. "Plato had defined Man as an animal, biped and featherless, and was applauded. Diogenes plucked a fowl and brought it into the lecture room with the words 'Here is Plato's man' " — Johnson and Mrs Macaulay. Johnson and George III — "I find it does a man good to be talked to by his Sovereign. In the first place, a man cannot be in a passion. . . ." Johnson was interrupted and never fin-

[6] *Thraliana* ed Katharine C. Baldeston (Oxford 1951) I 166, quoting Frances Reynolds; Sir John Hawkins, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* ed Bertram H. Davis (New York 1961) 175, 204.

[7] Where material may easily be located in the index to the standard one-volume edition of the *Life of Johnson* (Oxford 1957), I have omitted specific references; otherwise, page references are to this edition.

[8] The following examples of the philosophic mind are taken from Diogenes Laertius.

ished his observations but the comic counterpart in Diogenes and Alexander is too tempting to be resisted. Johnson ran Thrale's brewery — Thales speculated in olive oil. There is no need to extend the list. At least in fable, the Greek philosophers are an engaging group of wise guys more akin to the Indian gurus, Hasidic rabbis, and Zen masters than to what one reared in the so-called Christian humanist tradition might conceivably call a "sage." Here Boswell might find an extraordinary wealth of precedents to prove that almost any kind of behavior, from spitting in people's faces or accidentally falling into ditches to masturbating in public, might justly cohere with the character of a philosopher. Such was the goodly virtue of those antique times.

The difference between this kind of behavior and the behavior of a madman, however, was precisely the *logos* or intention of the philosopher. This is delightfully clear in the life of Pyrrho, the sceptic, who "held that there is nothing really existent, but custom and convention govern human action. . . ."

> He led a life consistent with this doctrine, going out his way for nothing, taking no precaution, but facing all risks as they came, whether carts, precipices, dogs or what not, and, generally, leaving nothing to the arbitrament of his senses; but he was kept out of harm's way by his friends, who, as Antigonus of Carystus tells us, used to follow close behind him.[9]

The Stoic who wrote this account is of course pillorying the absurdities of Scepticism, and this, I think, is precisely the parallel which is instructive for students of Johnson. In the lives of the philosophers and in the *Dialogues* of Plato, and in no other lives in antiquity, the intentional fallacy runs mad. The reader is ceaselessly invited to extract a *logos* from highly erratic and seemingly illogical actions, and his task is not a little complicated by the indirect intention of the narrator. As Paul Friedländer has said of Plato's *Dialogues*, the historic Socrates cannot be separated from Socrates as Plato conceived him without distorting the meaning of both:

> It would not be correct to say that Plato gave the answer after Socrates had posed the question. The question — seen as a demand for clarity and a turning of the Socratic existence toward the object itself (and turning, at the same time, the disciple toward the same object) — already contained the answer in a very definite sense. Moreover, Socrates through his life was the answer that Plato gave in philosophic form. The Platonic Socrates proclaims what the historic Socrates was, confirming Heidegger's

[9] Diogenes Laertius (Loeb ed) II 475.

> insight that "any answer is valid only as long as the question pertaining to it remains alive." [10]

I think the experience of students of the *Life of Johnson* has many parallels. though there are important differences also. But isn't the nineteenth-century attempt to extract the historical Socrates from his Platonic matrix precisely analogus to the Quest for the Historical Johnson which Croker, Macaulay, and Hill embarked on? The only difference is that the Johnsonians are still in hot pursuit.

This quest has two movements. In the first, all known sources are radically dissected for their historical core — the apothegms, pericopes, anecdotes, and so forth from which the mediate sources were constructed. From this dark night of the soul, in a second movement, a new whole is forged by whatever measure of psychological and historical insight the scholar possesses. The aesthetic assumption here is surely that a biography is completely inorganic — to vary the metaphor once more, the clay may be easily remolded once it is removed from its wire form. This notion is not at all modern, but Aristotelian, of course. A biography — he uses the life of Hercules as his example — has no beginning, middle, and end. I think we may agree with Aristotle in this instance, but the example is really banal. Would the same distinction between a poem and a life hold for Plato's *Dialogues* or the Gospel of St John?

That it *ought* to hold for Plato's *Dialogues* may, I think, be briefly proved. A poem is a heterocosm, whole and complete in itself, whereas a life is by definition in this world or *cosmos* and dependent for its meaning on the connection. It is clear, nevertheless, that Aristotle's description of an ideal poem may be understood as a rhetorical statement about the relation between the poem and its audience as well as a purely aesthetic statement about the structure of the poem itself. When, at least, the hero's recognition and the turning point of the action coincide, there is a formal equivalence between the hero's *logos* — the mental condition which we all can share, and his *erga* — the deeds which none of us can or would want to do. The essence of tragedy as Aristotle defines it is thus deeply Euripidean:

> We know the good, we apprehend it clearly,
> But we can't bring it to achievement.[11]

[10] *Plato: An Introduction* 136.

[11] *Hippolytus* lines 380–381 (tr Richmond Lattimore). As Cedric Whitman has shown, though Aristotle takes *Oedipus Rex* as his prime example of tragedy, his theory really distorts the meaning of the play — *Sophocles: A Study of Heroic Humanism* (Cambridge, Mass 1951) 22 f.

And of course this view of tragedy is opposed to the Socratic doctrine, that to know the good is to do it, whose formal embodiment is the dialogue. If we now invert these rhetorical views and restate them aesthetically, it would seem that Aristotle's distinction between a poem and a life will also serve to distinguish a tragedy and a Socratic dialogue.

Now, the difference between a Platonic dialogue and the labors of Hercules is precisely the deeply felt unity — the *logos* — of the dialogue. Friedländer even speaks of the dialogue's "organic unity." [12] But if he implies by this that the unity of a dialogue is the same as that of a poem, I think he is mistaken. As he elsewhere admits, the "basic attitude" of Socrates, "critical and inquiring, is opposed to that taken by a poet with regard to the world and man," though he insists that Plato was both a biographer and a poet.[13] I don't mean to deny the mythic element in Plato's dialogues, but I would stress the fact that these myths are formally set in the framework of the encounter which occasions the dialogue in the first place. In this sense, Plato's myths are caused by the encounter, and are not themselves the principles of an action. Or if, finally, the myth may be said to be the beginning of the action, it is only true in a dialectical sense. What is the beginning of the *Republic*, the encounter with Kephalos or the myth of the Cave? Both and neither, one would say, the dialogue has neither beginning, middle, nor end. To distinguish this kind of unity from the unity of a poem, we might say that a dialogue has no unity but an identity.

This distinction may be rephrased in a number of ways. The hero of a myth or story, of course, has no identity; his birth is typically obscure or divine, and the story turns on his discovery of this hidden self. But this hidden self is not his identity — it is essential that it should be irreconcilably opposed to the self he knows. The hidden self of Socrates, however, is the same as the one he knows; as we see from the *Symposium*, barefooted Socrates and "tenderfooted" *Atē* are one and the same. Socrates has nothing to discover in himself — he "knows nothing" — though others are always discovering *Atē* and *Eros*, the golden images of the gods and other divine things in him. Everyone about Socrates goes through peripeties and discoveries while he remains the same, whereas everyone about Oedipus realizes the truth even before he himself discovers it.

Another way of restating the difference between a poem and a dialogue might be drawn from the difference between an encounter which occasions

[12] *Plato: An Introduction* 163.
[13] *Plato: An Introduction* 172.

a dialogue and the myth which occasions a poem. We must, I think, believe that the encounter actually happened, because a dialogue cannot rest on the improbable possible if its problems and questionings are to remain permanently significant. This is not true of myth, even when we know that the story we are being told actually happened. Xerxes is a mythical figure in Herodotus. Supposing that all the events of his life actually happened, we still would not be compelled to see them as a myth — Xerxes doesn't himself. Supposing that Herodotus invented many salient details, or that we might bring to bear new details from other sources, we would still not have impugned the "truth" of Herodotus' story, unless we are ready in a positivist way to reject myth as such.

The episode from the life of Pyrrho which I quoted before has a different relation to history. If Pyrrho did not ignore "carts, precipices, dogs and what not," as his biographer claims, the very meaning of his doctrine that "nothing is really existent" becomes obscurer. We may still accept the biography as Stoic satire, of relevance to a Stoic, but it ceases to have any relevance for us. If on the other hand Pyrrho actually behaved in this fashion, we may still sense the satire, but his life remains problematic and interesting. If the life of Jesus is a vegetation myth, it loses all its ethical and logical content — there are, after all, better vegetation myths which preserve more archaic features of the story. And conversely, when we subject the myths of Knossos, Mycenae, and Tiryns to historical scrutiny, we engage in a dialogue with the past. When we study the Biblical past and learn that certain features of Abraham's story may be explained by the structure of the Hurrian family,[14] the fact is interesting not because it replaces the Biblical story with some kind of unquestioned truth, but because we can ask questions of Abraham which the myth itself would not permit — we encounter Abraham on a new plane.

These distinctions between a dialogue and a story, finally, may be seen as a distinction between truth and intention. One might compare the responses of Socrates and Oedipus to the oracle at Delphi. Both of them understand that the oracle, in the words of Heraclitus, "neither speaks, nor hides, but it σημαίνει — makes signs." [15] Oedipus treats the sign as an indicative, as a revelation of the truth about himself; Socrates understands it as an imperative — he must somehow prove that the oracle is right. Neither assumption is inconsistent with the other, and yet any child knows that Oedipus has made

[14] See *Genesis* ed E. A. Speiser (New York 1964). xl f.

[15] Heraclitus (ed Diels) fr 93.

a fatal mistake, and that the story will end by revealing his total ignorance of the truth. Oedipus has started down the first leg of a double course — the metaphor is Aeschylean [16] — and somewhere, somehow, by the very nature of his journey, he will come to the peripety and the race home. Socrates has also committed himself, of course, but there is no more of an indication where he is off to than there is to Abraham's journey. Because they obey imperatives and not indications, we may say that they seek empire — Abraham indeed is promised it. Like the founders of an ancient city, they move in a circle about their future walls. What are their stories "about?" They are encyclopedic, moving about the world, their promised empire.

The analogy of Abraham, however, suggests too much of a story or myth, because his journey is in history. Socrates is purely a mental traveller, and Abraham is only an allegory of Socrates, we might say — or *vice versa*, depending on our sense of ultimate realities. To summarize the argument so far, we may simultaneously describe the wholeness of their lives and the formal distinction of the dialogue's identity from the poem's unity by a set of transformations in the Aristotelian description of a poem. In a dialogue, instead of actions, there are intentions. Instead of a recognition and a peripety, there is an avowal of ignorance and a conversation. Because a dialogue has neither beginning, middle, nor end, the avowal of ignorance and conversation have no fixed structural position, like their structural analogues in a poem. And finally, also because a dialogue has no beginning, middle, nor end, instead of death, there is life, life so inextinguishable that even old age cannot defeat the promise, that even on the edge of death one may vow a cock to Aesculapius and start to learn music.

To turn from these majestic realities to the *Life of Johnson*, one is initially filled with a sense of loss. The *Life* is a kind of mock-dialogue, obeying all the rules but filled with a different substance, just as Johnson is a kind of mock-Socrates, full of contradictions that — for Boswell at least — lead to no logical resolution.

> Man is, in general, made up of contradictory qualities; and these will ever shew themselves in strange succession, where a consistency in appearance at least, if not in reality, has not been attained by long habits of philosophical discipline. In proportion to the native vigour of the mind, the contradictory qualities will be the more prominent, and more difficult to be adjusted; and, therefore, we are not to wonder, that Johnson exhibited an eminent example of this remark I have made upon human nature.[17]

[16] *Agamemnon* lines 343–344.

[17] *Life* 1399.

Johnson, as Boswell thus portrays him, is consistent in religion and morals and inconsistent in everything else, a man of ostensibly encyclopedic range whose opinions are trustworthy only in part. On all subjects except religion and morals, he is essentially a sophist, not a philosopher. And because he makes no claim to total consistency, all his strange tics and mannerisms are as meaningless and illogical as a mania.

In appearance, indeed, the *Life of Johnson* is very far from a dialogue or philosopher's life. The chronological arrangement of the materials, the portrait of Johnson as a child and the story of his development into the Great Lexicographer, are features without a parallel in Greek biography. Their source is rather to be sought in Christian biography, from the Gospels to the Saints' Lives. These external features, however, do not occupy the same structural position in the *Life of Johnson* as in these sources. From the very opening of the *Life*, the reader is aware that the only reason for telling these events is Boswell's encounter with Johnson in 1763; *that* is when the *Life* begins dialectically, and not with Johnson's birth in 1709. Through the encounter in 1763, Boswell was converted to the principles of truth by which the *Life* would be written many years later. The story of Johnson's life from 1709 to 1763, accordingly, is a structural counterpart to the stories of *Atē*, *Eros* and Socrates with which the guests entertain each other in the Symposium. These playful stories, half-truth, half-fable, are a kind of *praeparatio evangelica* for the meeting with the Sage.

This is clearest in Boswell's playful portrait of Johnson as a child. As in the Gospels or the Saints' Lives, the hero's *enfances* or childhood deeds foreshadow his future greatness. Johnson is *puer senex*, prematurely wise,[18] an eternal old man, just as he appears in the quotation from Horace on the title page.

> Lucilius confided his secrets to his writings as though they were trusted friends, never turning elsewhere when things went badly nor when things went well; and so it happened that the old man's whole life — *omnis vita senis* — lay open as though it had been described on a votive tablet.[19]

Young Sam is an eager High-Church Tory at three years old; an outstanding scholar, "borne triumphant" by his companions at ten. Like many a saint, he is not greatly interested in childhood games — he is *gravis*, serious even as a

[18] On this trope, see E. R. Curtius *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, tr W. R. Trask (New York 1953) 98 f.

[19] *Sermones* II 1 30–34. Boswell quotes only lines 33–34, but obviously alludes to the whole passage I have given.

child. Again, when he is nearsightedly groping his way homewards from school,

> His school-mistress, afraid that he might miss his way, or fall into a kennel, or be run over by a cart, followed him at some distance. He happened to turn about and perceive her. Feeling her careful attention to be an insult to his manliness, he ran back to her in a rage, and beat her, as well as his strength would permit.

Like his spiritual ancestor, the "infant Hercules of Toryism," as Boswell calls him, is thoroughly grown up from birth.

If these stories are the formal equivalent of the hero's childhood deeds, however, Boswell tells them in a way that destroys their mythical significance. Sam's learnedness does not foreshadow his future greatness but in fact causes it; the "manliness" he displays towards his school-mistress is actually an instance of Johnson's "impetuosity of temper," with which he struggled all his life. The logical interpretation here takes precedence over the mythical one. Johnson's youthful gravity has only one exception, but it is comically fatal for any symbolic meaning:

> His only amusement was in winter, when he took a pleasure in being drawn upon the ice by a boy barefooted, who pulled him along by a garter fixed around him; no very easy operation, as his size was remarkably large.

Boswell playfully converts the typical gravity of a sage into pounds and ounces, and he is right to "account for it" in this way, since Johnson was not in fact a particularly grave old man — his inextinguishable laughter rings throughout the *Life*. His High-Church Toryism is also ironic, though in a different way. Boswell did not consider this *parti pris* the wisest side of Johnson, but he does not need to explain away an anecdote which conclusively proves that Sacheverell's hysterical sermons were fit doctrine for babes — the only wonder is that Johnson did not outgrow them. All these stories, in short, take place in the *Life* through Boswell's rationalizing intelligence and not strictly as stories or symbols in the myth that "the child is the man in miniature." They direct our attention toward Boswell's encounter with Johnson in 1763 and to the intentions which only then began to form.

But these intentions make sense only in the to-and-fro of dialectic. Unless we had read such stories of half-truth, half-fable, we would never have been in a position to understand why Boswell wanted to meet Johnson in the first place.

> Though then but two-and-twenty [he tells us], I had for several years read his works with delight and instruction, and had the highest reverence for their author, which had grown up in my fancy into a kind of mysterious veneration, by figuring to myself a state of solemn elevated abstraction, in which I supposed him to live in the immense metropolis of London.

Boswell's first encounter with Johnson fully justifies this superstitious dread, but within days he is chattering away to the Sage, "quite at ease as his companion, though I had all possible reverence for him." This experience is decisive for Boswell. He tells Johnson that a friend, Sir James Macdonald, "had a great respect" for Johnson "though at the same time it was mixed with some degree of terror." Johnson's reply is both reassuring and prophetic: "Sir, if he were to be acquainted with me, it might lessen both." Many years later, Boswell again found himself with Johnson, "quite easy, quite as his companion":

> upon which I find in my Journal the following reflection: 'So ready is my mind to suggest matter for dissatisfaction, that I felt a sort of regret that I was so easy. I missed that aweful reverence with which I used to contemplate MR. SAMUEL JOHNSON, in the complex magnitude of his literary, moral, and religious character. I have a wonderful superstitious love of mystery; when, perhaps, the truth is, that it is owing to the cloudy darkness of my own mind. I should be glad that I am more advanced in my progress of being, so that I can view Dr. Johnson with a steadier and clearer eye. . . .'[20]

As this passage implies, Boswell is already moving toward a new mystery; the dialectic has destroyed his illusions only to hand him a deeper, more insoluble mystery — the logically irreconcilable contradictions of Johnson's identity.

Every fact of Boswell's existence is transformed in the tension of this encounter. When he is away from London, the reader longs for him to return so that the dialogue may be resumed. The letters — a traditional part of a philosophic life — are here an intentionally inadequate substitute for conversation; in one, we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face. The movement of the dialectic, however, is not "upwards," as in Plato or Paul,[21] but a transcendence downwards into brilliantly clear but isolated realms of fact. Even the tone of Johnson's voice becomes part of the dialogue between master and pupil, in Boswell's half-playful, half-anguished longing to discover a resolution:

[20] *Life* 896.

[21] *Plato: An Introduction* 65 f.

> I cannot too frequently request of my readers, while they peruse my account of Johnson's conversation, to endeavor to keep in mind his deliberate and strong utterance. His mode of speaking was indeed very impressive; and I wish it could be preserved as musick is written, according to the very ingenious method of Mr. Steele, who has shewn how the recitation of Mr. Garrick, and other eminent speakers, might be transmitted to posterity *in score*.[22]

As in the Platonic dialogues, the Sage remains unchanged, and the pupil is converted; in both, the dialectic ends in music, but Boswell's is an earthly music, audible to the ear, and not the music of the spheres.

In this connection, it is interesting to observe how much of the *Life* revolves about Boswell's travels to and from London. These tours are the formal correlative to the turning of the dialogue, to conversation and conversion. They are precedented in the *theoroi*, the sacred embassies which left the Greek cities to exchange ideas and gather information, and whose disinterested inquiry is the model of philosophic theory or speculation.[23] Like another Solon visiting Croesus or a Socrates seeking out reputed wise men, Boswell visits Johnson only to discover inconsistencies and contradictions which would never have come to light without this inquiry. In this sense, Boswell is the true philosopher and Johnson is the sophist; but this is only apparently the case, because Boswell's quest for truth is guided by principles he has learned from Johnson. As C. B. Tinker said long ago, Johnson "is not merely the subject, but in the last analysis the author too."[24] Johnson has told Boswell to keep the journal which forms the basis of the *Life* and which finally, after twenty years, astonishes even Boswell himself; Johnson has taught him discrimination of character; Johnson himself, in the *Lives of the Poets*, gave the example for the "minute selection of characteristical circumstances" in Boswell's "Flemish picture" of his friend. Who, then, is following whom? And who is being led?

Some light is thrown on this kind of dialectical unity by Kafka's superb parable, "The Truth about Don Quixote":

> Without making any boast of it Sancho Panza succeeded in the course of years, by devouring a great number of romances of chivalry and adventure in the evening and the night hours, in so diverting from him his demon, whom he later called Don Quixote, that his demon thereupon set out in perfect freedom on the maddest exploits, which, however, for the

[22] *Life* 599–600.

[23] Werner Jaeger *Paideia* tr Gilbert Highet (New York 1944) III 259.

[24] Cited in W. J. Bate *The Achievement of Samuel Johnson* (New York 1961) 43.

> lack of a preordained object, which should have been Sancho Panza himself, harmed nobody. A free man, Sancho Panza philosophically [*gleichmütig*] followed Don Quixote on his crusades, perhaps out of a sense of responsibility, and had of them a great and edifying entertainment to the end of his days.[25]

Like Sancho in the parable, Boswell had created a demonic image of Johnson the "old man," Boswell's "old man" in fact; suddenly, by a chance encounter which was hardly a matter of chance, the demon objectified in Johnson and went its separate ways, and Boswell was thereupon freed to record the *omnis vita sensi*, the man's whole life, "perhaps," as Kafka says, "out of a sense of responsibility."

But Sancho was finally freed from his demon in the parable and Boswell's demon never completely left him. This is apparent in Boswell's experimental attitude toward Johnson: "If, Sir, you were shut up in a castle, and a new born child with you, what would you do?" or again, "I wish I saw you and Mrs. Macaulay together." What will happen if I stop writing Johnson, Boswell wonders, and instantly resolves on the experiment. He eggs Lord Charlemont on to ask Johnson whether he is really taking dancing lessons from Madame Vestris. Johnson starts, but falls in with the joke, "For why should not Dr. Johnson add to his other powers a little corporeal agility? Socrates learnt to dance at an advanced age. . . ." But these fantasies are no more absurd than the facts we do know about Johnson. The most striking justification for Boswell's fantasy is the famous episode in which Johnson succumbs to the charm of Wilkes. Dialectically, just because Boswell has transcended his fantasy and entered the "real world" of fact, the facts themselves have become fantastic. The *logos* which rejects myth only returns the seeker to the world of myth.

In the last analysis, however, this detailed resemblance between the *Life of Johnson* and the philosophic lives of antiquity is only a mock-resemblance. Mrs Macaulay and Madame Vestris are not mythic figures except in the very special and very modern sense that Mrs Porter and her daughter are. Plato and Socrates believe that they have actually seen the truth which they cannot express in words ἄνω, "up there." One cannot imagine asking "what if" of this divine realm: "What if you were living in a cave" makes mockery of the *Republic's* meaning; "what if you built your house upon a rock" makes a ridiculous hash of the Gospel. This transformation of a choice between an imperative and an indicative into a conditional is not necessarily blasphe-

[25] *Parables and Paradoxes* (New York 1963) 179.

mous, or irreverent, however. Pascal transforms the young man's question to Jesus, "what shall I do to be saved?" into the anguished argument of the Bet. Boswell's mockery of philosophy is reverent because the possibilities created by "what if?" give an illusory freedom to the human condition, and also because Johnson particularly cherished such illusions. When Sir William Scott remarked to Johnson,

> 'What a pity it is, Sir, that you did not follow the profession of the law. You might have been Chancellor of Great Britain, and attained to the dignity of the peerage; and now that the title of Lichfield, your native city, is extinct, you might have had it.' Johnson, upon this, seemed much agitated; and in an angry tone, exclaimed, 'Why will you vex me by suggesting this, when it is too late?'

The character of Suspirius, in the *Rambler*, is another case in point.

A mock-dialogue is thus a kind of inverted mock-epic, in which life is mocked by poetry instead of poetry by life. Boswell is quite conscious of this dimension of his work. He calls Johnson *both* another Agamemnon, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, *and* another Hercules, and in a particularly interesting passage, compares the *Life* to the *Odyssey*:

> Amidst a thousand entertaining and instructive episodes the HERO is never long out of sight; for they are all in some degree connected with him; and HE, in the whole course of the History, is exhibited by the Author for the best advantage of his readers.
>
> '—— Quid virtus et quid sapientia possit,
> Utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulyssen.'

As this quotation shows, Boswell himself drew no distinction between a life and a poem, except, perhaps, in a purely formal way. In theory, Boswell believed that both lives and poems alike were held together by chains of association and causation.

This principle of association, once it is accepted, necessarily destroys any distinction in kind between a poem and a life, as Hume quite rightly argued:

> . . . A Biographer, who should write the life of *Achilles*, would connect the Events, by shewing their mutual Dependence and Relation, as much as a Poet, who should make the Anger of that Hero, the Subject of his Narration, contrary to Aristotle. Not only in any limited Portion of Life, a Man's Actions have a Dependence on each other, but also during the whole period of his Duration, from the Cradle to the Grave; nor is it possible to strike off one Link, however minute, in this regular Chain, without affecting the whole Series of Events, which follow. The Unity of

> Action, therefore, which is to be found in Biography or History, differs from that of Epic Poetry, not in Kind but in Degree.[26]

In practice, however, Boswell partially freed his work from Hume's rigorous conclusion by a kind of dialectic, as I have shown. In practice, Hume too, one recalls, fled from systematic philosophy to human conversation in the famous autobiographical excursus which ends the first book of the *Treatise on Human Nature*. The dialectical pull between an enclosed system or myth and the haphazard, open encounter of conversation is everywhere in Hume and Boswell, and still a part of our experience today. The saying of Heraclitus, which is also the myth of the Cave, was surely meant to say, "The way up and the way down are one and the same." For us today, as for Hume and Boswell, it means, "the way in and the way out." [27] The identity of dialectic has changed from a movement upwards to a movement within this world.

One detailed example of this dialectic movement must suffice for all. In 1763, as Boswell's *Journals* show, "We talked of Me" and the various strategems and inviolable plans by which this volatile being might attain philosophic consistency. In the *Life*, much of these purely personal problems are necessarily submerged in the larger intention. Boswell is now only "a young man, a stranger and a Scotchman" or, more briefly, a "young gentleman." [28] Though the substance of the *Journals* faithfully reappears, it bears on the meaning of Johnson's life and not on Boswell's. In 1776, there is an interesting return to these events, when Boswell succeeds in bringing together Johnson and Wilkes, both of whom he met for the first time in 1763. Again, the encounter takes place at a bookseller's, again Garrick's avarice, the famished Scots, and Mrs Macaulay's footman enter into the conversation. Again, Boswell's heroes "talked of Me." *Iam, iam redeunt Saturnia regna*, the Golden Age returns.

In 1776, however, Boswell enters the conversation only momentarily, when Wilkes confesses his amusement that *his* Boswell should be a friend of Johnson and Johnson that *his* Boswell should be a friend of Wilkes. It is their awareness of this inconsistency which brings them together as much as their common antipathy to the Scots. This, too, is an inconsistency in the context of Boswell's friendship with both men. It is only a step from these contradictions for Wilkes and Johnson to discard their principles entirely

[26] *Treatise on Human Nature*, in *The Essential Works of David Hume* ed Ralph Cohen (New York 1965) 59.

[27] Heraclitus (ed Diels) fr 60. The Greek might be translated either way.

[28] *Life* 290, 320, 360.

and laugh at each other's favorite jokes on George III and republicanism. The deeper irony of these transformations, however, is that in the meantime Boswell himself has changed from "a young man, a stranger and a Scotchman" to a citizen of the world who can sit in judgment on such provincialism. Even if he had said nothing at all, even if his heroes had never mentioned him, the conversation would still be about Boswell. Yet it is a Boswell who is both *idem et alter*, while his friends preserve a comic fixity of character.

To return to my opening theme, we may now see the limitations of Professor Wimsatt's attack on intentionalism as well as those of its defenders. All define the intention of a work of art as something dead and unchanging. This assumption is perhaps adequate for discussing poems like the *Odyssey* or lives like the Labors of Hercules, but it is not responsive to the changing dialectic intention of works like the *Life of Johnson* or the Dialogues of Plato. In such lives, if the artist is faithful to his experience, his intention depends on where he is in the work, or "when" he is, to speak more precisely. We cannot begin to understand the structure of the *Life of Johnson* unless we are willing to attribute intentions to Boswell and watch them being modified. We may, to be sure, speak of Boswell in 1763 as a *persona* of Boswell in 1791, to use the language of the Yale School. This mask, however, is a historical reality. To treat it as a conscious fiction is to verge on the platitudes of Macaulay. To treat it as a pose or an "act" or a subconscious creation, with most modern interpreters, is to ignore the long preparation by which Boswell immerses us in Johnson's life just in order to prove that this pose was virtually inevitable. Boswell would not have been who he was and he could not have discovered who he was in 1791 unless he had met Johnson in 1763. We should not trivialize this experience for the sake of art. The *Life* was written "by wisdom" and not "by genius and inspiration."

The Marriage Metaphor in the *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*

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THE WEDDING FEAST which serves as a background for the Mariner's tale in Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* is an aspect of the poem whose function has not, I believe, been fully appreciated. To be sure, commentators have not ignored the poem's nuptial setting. Humphry House views the wedding background and the Wedding-Guest's interruptions as creating a contrast between "the visible bodily world of human beings marrying and giving in marriage and an invisible world of spirits and the dead where quite a different system of values is to be learnt."[1] Similarly, G. W. Knight sees a dramatic opposition created by the "irruption into the natural human festivity of a wedding party of the Mariner's story of sin, loneliness and purgatorial redemption."[2] To Charles Owen Jr, the wedding feast and Wedding-Guest represent the "obligations as well as the inclinations of ordinary life work[ing] against the spell of the tale"[3]; and to J. D. Boulger, the nuptial festivities and the anxiety of the Wedding-Guest permit a vivid contrast between the "orderly rational world of conventional bride and wedding gaiety" and the world of "dream" and "imagination."[4] Such observations are sound as far as they go: no one can deny that Coleridge has created a most striking contrast between the ordinary and the extraordinary, the visible and the invisible, festivity and suffering. Yet observations like these leave an important question unanswered. Why is a wedding celebration more appropriate in Coleridge's poem than, say, a village fair, a country dance, a high-spirited tavern party, or any other festivity unconnected with the idea of marriage? Why, in short, the specific choice of a wedding festivity as a backdrop for the Mariner's narrative?

Humphry House justly observes that the parallels between the natural and the spiritual are a distinguishing characteristic of *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*.[5] Thus, stagnation, thirst, wind, rain — carrying age-old associations with spiritual life — help to convey the inner spiritual states of

[1] *Coleridge* (London 1953) 96.

[2] *The Starlit Dome* (New York 1960) 84.

[3] "Structure in *The Ancient Mariner*" *College English* XXIII (Chicago 1962) 262.

[4] "Christian Scepticism in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*" *From Sensibility to Romanticism* ed F. W. Hilles and Harold Bloom (New Haven 1965) 447.

[5] *Coleridge* 101.

the Mariner. Now, just as various external phenomena in the poem mirror spiritual states, so the poem's nuptial situation, I believe, points to a union entirely spiritual — the wedding of the Mariner's faculties to all created things. Marriage as an analogue for spiritual union has a basis in scripture itself: we are familiar with the Old Testament references to the marriage of God and Israel, and with the famous New Testament reference to the wedding of the New Jerusalem and Christ the Lamb. Marshall Suther is right in remarking that the poem's nuptial celebration seems an allusion "vaguely biblical." [6] While retaining its literal character throughout, the wedding celebration at the same time objectifies the Mariner's union of mind and heart to the natural world and to the God who "made and loveth all." Coleridge is using one world to objectify another: the idea of loving intimacy on one plane to externalize loving intimacy on another, a union on a material level to reveal a union basically spiritual. The concrete, material world of a wedding celebration helps to reveal what is otherwise invisible.

It is the Mariner's unpremeditated blessing of the water snakes which, as we know, signals a new and loving phase in his relationship to the physical world. But Coleridge prepares us to see the Mariner's loving relationship to the creation as a wedding by presenting his prior, disdainful approach to the world in terms also suggestive of a marriage — though a hellish one, indeed. Before the world of all created things becomes his bride, the "Night-mare Life-in-Death" wins him to herself. An ambiguous and vaguely defined figure, she is partly intended, as Darrel Abel observes, "to prompt a reader to strain fearfully to comprehend a preternatural and therefore ultimately incomprehensible horror"; [7] but in the context of the poem she seems cast, also, as something of a bride figure who stands in grim contrast to the bride, "red as a rose," whom we see at the beginning of the poem:

> Her lips were red, her looks were free
> Her locks were yellow as gold:
> Her skin was as white as liprosy,
> The Night-mare Life-in-Death was she,
> Who thicks man's blood with cold.
> (lines 190–194) [8]

If the name "Life-in-Death" refers to the appearance of life in a dead person, or of death in a living person, or to the apparent coexistence of life and

[6] *Visions of Xanadu* (New York 1965) 91.

[7] "Coleridge's 'Life-in-Death' and Poe's 'Death-in-Life'" *Notes and Queries* II (1955) 219.

[8] Quotations from Coleridge's poetry are from *The Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* ed Ernest Hartley Coleridge (London 1949). G. W. Knight, *The Starlit Dome* p 86, sees "Life-in-Death" as "a feminine harlot-like figure."

death, then this spectral figure helps, on the one hand, to objectify the Mariner's death-like state already imaged by the drought and physical stagnation. But she represents, also, the world which the Mariner in his pride and contempt has unwittingly embraced — a world which has all the appearances of death, a world seen as lifeless, meaningless, and grotesque. It is significant that "Life-in-Death" forces the Mariner to live with dead companions in agonizing loneliness. Under her domination the Mariner questions with a prideful morality the justice of the universe and continues to feel contempt for the creatures of the calm:

> The many men, so beautiful:
> And they all dead did lie:
> And a thousand thousand slimy things
> Lived on; and so did I.
> (236–239)

While she exercises her power over him, the world is ugly beyond endurance — beyond what the senses can bear:

> I closed my lids, and kept them close,
> And the balls like pulses beat;
> For the sky and the sea, and the sea and the sky
> Lay like a load on my weary eye,
> And the dead were at my feet.
> (248–252)

The Mariner sees, in its bleakest form, "that inanimate cold world" Coleridge later spoke of in "Dejection: An Ode" — that "cold world allowed / To the poor loveless ever-anxious crowd" (lines 51–52). The "Nightmare Life-in-Death" may be seen as the embodiment of that world, and it is to that world that the Mariner is first wedded.

When natural beauty — the watersnakes in moonlight — releases in the Mariner a "spring of love" and a blessing of undeliberate charity toward "God's creatures of the great calm," the Mariner enters into a new relationship with the universe — into a new marriage. The imagery is suddenly that of dance, song, and music. It is as if nature and the angelic spirits are rejoicing: the heavens burst into life, a hundred fire-flags hurry to and fro, and the stars dance between (313–317); the sweet sounds of the angelic troop who inspirit the crew are like a sky-lark's song, like the sea- and air-filling jargoning of "all little birds that are," or like the sounds of musical instruments (358–364); and the pleasant noise of the sails is like that of a hidden brook "That to the sleeping woods all night / Singeth a quiet tune" (370–372). These sights and sounds are the counterpart of the loud bassoon

and the merry din; they provide the festive accompaniment to the poem's spiritual marriage — the marriage of the Mariner's mind and heart to God's world.

Now one of the extraordinary things about the Mariner's "marriage," if I may be permitted to call it that, is the way it affects his manner of seeing the world; and here the biblical overtones become more pronounced. The Mariner who weds himself to created things can be said to see a new heaven and a new earth. Except for those passages in which the Mariner describes the dead and ugly universe which contempt and disdain created, he presents to his auditor a world in which objects are not dead but alive with intelligence and purpose. In passages like the following, personification is more than a conventional "poetic" device; it conveys the special quality of the Mariner's perception of the world:

> The Sun came up upon the left,
> Out of the sea came he:
> (25–26)

Or:

> And now the Storm-Blast came, and he
> Was tyrannous and strong:
> He struck with his o'ertaking wings,
> And chased us south along.
> (41–44)

Or again, the ocean's

> great bright eye most silently
> Up to the Moon is cast —
> (416–417)

and the moon "graciously . . . looketh down on him" (420–421).[9] In the words of R. C. Bald, the Mariner "speaks throughout as one seeing things for the first time in the history of the human race . . . . everything he sees has a life and being of its own."[10] In *Revelation* 21, the "new heaven and a new earth" which will supplant the original creation is a result of the marriage between the holy city of New Jerusalem and Christ the Lamb. In Coleridge's poem, the new heaven and new earth is the experience of a single man

[9] I am indebted to R. H. Fogle, "The Genre of the Ancient Mariner" *Tulane Studies in English* VII (1957) 120, for pointing out passages like these in which natural objects are possessed of will and intelligence.

[10] *Selected Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (New York 1956) viii. Of the world the Mariner comes to know following his conversion, Charles A. Owen Jr writes: "It is a world full of presences and meaning. The ordinary, the repetitive, the routine no longer exist." The Mariner's world "has the freshness and wonder of the never-before-travelled, the never-before-seen. . . . Each external thing that impinges on his awareness he perceives distinctly and with delight as a thing in itself rather than in its ordinary causal relationships." *College English* 264–265.

who weds himself not to Christ but to God's creation. In Coleridge's poem, also, the new heaven and earth does not await the destruction of the old. Embracing the creation in love, the Mariner finds his world transformed in the here and now.

That the biblical metaphor of a marriage creating a new heaven and earth may well have been in Coleridge's mind when he wrote *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* is suggested by the fact that he alluded directly to the book of *Revelation* in "Religious Musings" (1794–1796). In the early 1790s, Coleridge, like members of certain Protestant sects of the time, seemed actually to have regarded the French Revolution as a prelude of a return to felicity on the model of Biblical prophecy.[11] In "Religious Musings," Coleridge indicates that he expected that the storm of Revolution would be followed by a blessed time when the good man's spirit will drink "Strange bliss which he shall recognize in heaven" (352–354). Then would come the Millennium and the rising of "The mighty Dead" to a new life, and ultimately the passing away of this earth and the creation of a new heaven and earth:

> such delights, such strange beatitudes
> Seize on my young anticipating heart
> When that blest future rushes on my view:
> (355–357)

Coleridge did not long continue to regard the Revolution as part of the working out of biblical prophecy. By 1797 he came to believe that human well-being and a genuine renovation in the human situation depended not upon external revolution but upon spiritual change within the individual — the kind of change we see in the person of the Mariner.[12] In a sense, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* shows Coleridge retaining the ancient faith in apocalypse but interpreting it not as a change in the world but as a change in man's world-view.

It is not straining a point to say that the marriage metaphor of *Revelation* was probably in Coleridge's thoughts when he composed the *Rime*: a specific reference does occur in some well-known lines he wrote four years later.

[11] See H. W. Piper *The Active Universe* (London 1962) 47–52 and Meyer Abrams "English Romanticism: the Spirit of the Age" *Romanticism Reconsidered* ed Northrop Frye (New York 1963) 33 ff.

[12] "One good consequence which I expect from revolution," Coleridge wrote to his brother George in March 1798, "is that individuals will see the necessity of individual effort; that they will act as good Christians, rather than as citizens and electors; and so by degrees will purge off . . . the error of attributing to governments a talismanic influence over our virtues and our happiness, as if governments were not rather effects than causes of that which we are." *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* ed E. L. Griggs (Oxford 1956–1959) 1 395–396.

Seeking to account for a change in the quality of his perception of the world, for the disappearance of a "light" and "glory" formerly seen in nature, Coleridge in "Dejection: An Ode" (1802) concluded that "joy" is the condition that marries us to the phenomenal world and gives us by way of wedding portion a heightened experience of the outer world:

> Joy, Lady: is the spirit and the power,
> Which wedding Nature to us gives in dower
> A new Earth and new Heaven,
> Undreamt of by the sensual and the proud —
> (67–70)

Since afflictions have bowed him to earth, Coleridge implies that the wedding of his own faculties to the physical world is a thing of the past.

Wordsworth and Coleridge were on terms of closest intellectual intimacy in the winter and spring of 1798. It should not surprise us, therefore, that in the same month in which the *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* was composed, Wordsworth in a passage of blank verse intended for *The Recluse* spoke of a spiritual marriage producing a fresh perception of the world:

> Paradise and groves
> Elysian, Fortunate Fields — like those of old
> Sought in the Atlantic Main — why should they be
> A history only of departed things,
> Or a mere fiction of what never was?
> For the discerning intellect of Man,
> When wedded to this goodly universe
> In love and holy passion, shall find these
> A simple produce of the common day.
> (47–55)[13]

Wordsworth's allusion to *Paradise Lost* and the book of *Revelation* are fairly apparent. Extending the marriage metaphor, Wordsworth declares that he will sing "the spousal verse / Of this great consummation" (57–58); he will alert the benighted to the true way of happiness by showing "How exquisitely the individual Mind . . . to the external World / Is fitted: — and how exquisitely, too / The external World is fitted to the Mind" (62–66). The "creation" or fruit of this marriage of mind and external world is a transformed world in the here and now — "paradise" in the "common day." Dis-

[13] These lines are from the passage beginning "On Man, on Nature, and on Human Life" which Wordsworth wrote early in March 1798. The passage appeared in the Preface of 1814 to point up the theme of *The Excursion* and to serve as a "prospectus of the design and scope" of the parent poem *The Recluse*. Ultimately, the passage formed the conclusion of "Home at Grasmere," Book I of the unfinished *The Recluse*. Quotations from Wordsworth's poetry are from *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth* ed E. de Selincourt and H. Darbishire (Oxford 1940–1949) 5 vols.

enchanted, like Coleridge, in purely political approaches to human well-being, Wordsworth also found the scriptural metaphor of a marriage producing a new creation particularly apt for conveying his sense of a transformed world available to those who would approach the physical world in "love and holy passion." [14]

Yet Wordsworth's idea of the marriage of mind and nature should not be regarded as identical to Coleridge's. We cannot do justice to Wordsworth's position here, but I believe it is accurate to say that for Wordsworth it is fundamentally the wedding of human faculties to *nature* that yields the paradisaical vision of the familiar and the ordinary. Though it would seem from the pivotal episode of the blessing of the water snakes that the Mariner embraces nature in love, the Mariner's universe is actually hierarchical: nature is throughout the instrument of higher powers — of the polar spirit, angels, Mary, and finally, God. The Mariner's final moral, we remember, invokes God and not nature. Thus the Mariner's wedding must be seen ultimately as a wedding to the God of nature, and the Mariner's love of "all things both great and small" as an expression of his love for "the dear God" who "made and loveth all" (614–617). Rarely in the poetry of 1798 (if at all) does Wordsworth conceive of a divine principle outside and above nature. It is significant, also, that at the end of *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* Coleridge underscores the Mariner's wedding to the God of creation by having him specifically set the walk to the church over against the wedding feast:

> O sweeter than the marriage-feast,
> 'Tis sweeter far to me,
> To walk together to the kirk
> With a goodly company: —
>
> To walk together to the kirk
> And all together pray,
> While each to his great Father bends,
> Old men, and babes, and loving friends
> And youths and maidens gay:
> (601–609)

Some observations on Coleridge's Wedding-Guest are relevant here. Reading the Mariner's central experience as a "marriage," we find a special appro-

[14] Wordsworth's earlier allusion to *Revelation* 21 is in *Descriptive Sketches* (1793). A champion then of the French Revolution, Wordsworth hoped that the revolution would usher in a new world analogous to that promised in scripture —

> a great and glorious birth:
> As if a new-made heaven were hailing a new earth:
> (644–645)

priateness in the Mariner's auditor being specifically a wedding guest and not some person on his way to a festivity other than a marriage, or on his way to conduct some urgent business. The Wedding-Guest is deterred from attending a wedding feast, but he ends up, ironically, listening to a compelling wedding tale. Vicariously, he is a guest at a strange and sublime wedding of man to created things. But an even more effective touch lies in the suggestion that the Wedding-Guest himself ends up on the threshold of becoming a "groom" — his bride, the world the Mariner has come to embrace. We should note that the closing lines of the poem focus upon the Guest who chooses not to attend the wedding feast after all. Just as the Mariner set the walk to the church above the feast, so the Guest sets something above the celebration. We do not expect the Guest to walk to the kirk with a goodly company, but Coleridge does present him as in some way deeply moved by the spiritual dimension of life:

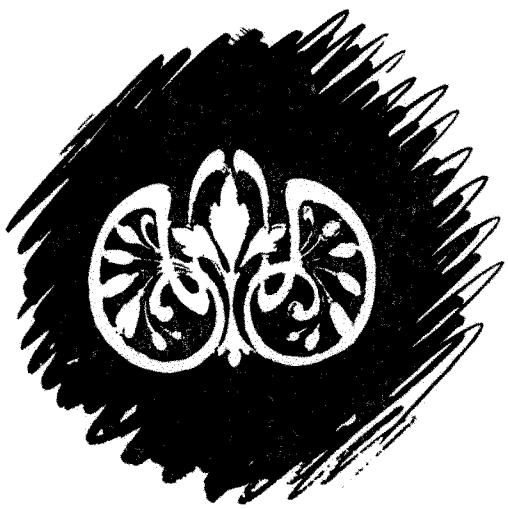
> and now the Wedding-Guest
> Turned from the bridegroom's door.
>
> He went like one that hath been stunned,
> And is of sense forlorn:
> A sadder and a wiser man,
> He rose the morrow morn.
>
> (620–625)

We are left to surmise that the Guest who rises a "sadder and a wiser man" ("sadder" in the older sense of serious and grave) has had a vision of the higher marriage of man to God's world. In rising a "wiser" man, he comes to acquire something of the knowledge that the Mariner has gained, knowledge which includes an awareness of the holiness of "all things both great and small" and of man's proper response to the world God "made and loveth." It is worth noting that marriage and knowledge are not unrelated ideas. In scripture, marriage leads to knowing — "Adam knew Eve his wife"; "Elkanah knew Hannah his wife." In the *Rime*, of course, the knowledge gained is of the spiritual foundations of reality. The wedding of human faculties to the creation may thus be said to bring not only a more vital way of seeing but also a deeper kind of knowing.

I have tried to suggest that the wedding celebration which is a background for the Mariner's tale does more than introduce vivid contrasts into the poem — that it is an oblique means of objectifying a wedding of man to God and God's creation: a wedding, furthermore, which has glorious consequences. "Marriage," writes Yasunari Takahashi, is a metaphor dear to the

Romantics "with their endless endeavors to fuse subject and object, reason and imagination, the conscious and the unconscious, light and darkness." But the Romantic "marriage," he adds, was for various reasons "in constant danger of becoming unbalanced." [15] Such an unbalancing may be seen in "Dejection: An Ode." But in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* we see one version of the Romantic "marriage" in its strength and glory. Evoking the poem's spiritual marriage are details of the nuptial feast. Coleridge is successful in moving his language in two directions at the same time — toward the direct rendering of the wedding festivity as a phenomenon of sight and sound, and toward figuration: the indirect use of language that seeks to convey one world by comparing it with another.

[15] "The Marriage of Night and Day: Notes on Coleridge and Romanticism" *Coleridge, A Collection of Critical Essays* ed Kathleen Coburn (New Jersey 1967) 123. For various Romantic allusions to the wedding metaphor of *Revelation* 21, see *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* ed M. H. Abrams (New York 1962) II 17–18.



The Function of Perspective in Blake's *Jerusalem*

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IT IS generally recognized, I think, that perception is a central concern of *Jerusalem*. The lines, "If Perceptive Organs vary: Objects of Perception seem to vary" (J30:55),[1] and "What seems to Be: Is: To those to whom/It seems to Be . . ." (J32:51–52), are well known to students of Blake. What has not been recognized is that differences in modes of perception are expressed in *Jerusalem* in terms of different perspectives.

The first obvious indication that the poem offers more than one perspective is given on Plate 3. The words "SHEEP" and "GOATS" which head this first plate of text are distinguished from the body of the text not only by their position on the page, but also by the fact that they are engraved directly on the copper plate and consequently appear in white. The placement of these words is significant: "SHEEP" is at the left of the page and "GOATS" at the right. But the parable reads "he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on his left" (Matthew XXV, 33). Wicksteed observes that the placement of these two words suggests a Last Judgment scene with the Saviour facing us, hovering somewhere above the top of the page.[2] The correspondence of our left to the "SHEEP" known to be on Christ's right may also suggest that there is a perspective from which existence may be viewed other than the one afforded by the vegetable world; that "whatever is visible in the Vegetable Earth, the same/Is visible in the Mundane Shell; reversed . . ." (J72:46–47), and that our fallen existence is merely a reflection "Multitudinous in the Looking Glass of Enitharmon . . ." (J63:21).

The full significance of the first plate of *Jerusalem*, the Frontispiece, is apparent only as the reader becomes aware of the perspective assumed in that design. The Frontispiece, which is textless in all copies of the work,[3]

[1] *Poetry and Prose of William Blake* ed David V. Erdman, commentary by Harold Bloom (Garden City 1965). All references to Blake's writings are based on the text of this edition. Discussion of the designs of *Jerusalem* will be based on the Blake Trust monochromatic facsimile of the Linnell-Rinder copy.

[2] Joseph Wicksteed *William Blake's Jerusalem* (London 1965) 113.

[3] An early proof of the plate, which is reproduced with the Rinder facsimile, displays some text. In subsequent printings the text was obliterated by incised lines describing the stonework of the Gothic portal and by heavy inking of the plate. For discussions of the text and the significance of the deletion see Wicksteed 103–108 and David V. Erdman "The Suppressed and Altered Passages in Blake's *Jerusalem*" *Studies in Bibliography* XVII (1964) 11–13. Wicksteed (p 106) dates the proof between 1794 and 1804; Erdman (p 54) considers it not earlier than 1805.

presents a male figure stepping with his right foot forward, through a Gothic portal (Fig 1). He carries an illuminated disk in his right hand, and his left is raised to push open the door which is hinged on the left. He wears sandals, a broad brimmed hat, and a loose-fitting coat. His head is turned to the right, from which direction a wind appears to be blowing both his long hair and his coat back toward the left.

The design "Death's Door" (Fig 2) is very much like the Frontispiece of *Jerusalem* and may help clarify Blake's use of different perspectives.[4] It was first engraved by Blake for *The Gates of Paradise*, in 1793. A slightly modified version of it was used again in the illustrations to Blair's *Grave* (1808). It would seem to have a special status among these illustrations, for Keynes says, "As far as is known this design of 'Death's Door' is the only one of the [latter] series that Blake himself transferred to metal." [5] An aged, bent man

Fig 1
Jerusalem, frontispiece (reduced)
Morgan Library copy

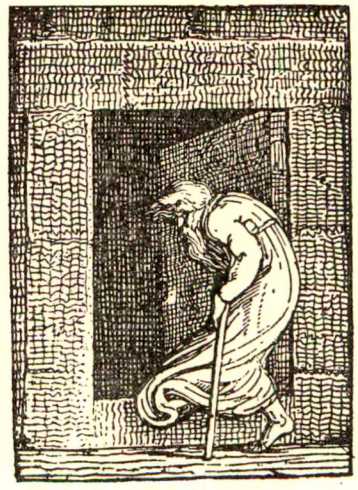


Fig 2
"Death's Door"

wearing a long loose gown, which is blown forward from right to left, steps through a dolmen-like portal. As does the figure in the Frontispiece, he steps with his right foot forward.

However, his door is hinged on the right and he looks to his left, whereas the other door is hinged on the left and the figure looks to his right. His

[4] Wicksteed (p 105) discusses the similiarity of this design to the Frontispiece. Yet what is most revealing is not that they are merely similar, but that the portals presented in them are logically identical.

[5] Geoffrey Keynes *Engravings by William Blake: The Separate Plates* (Dublin 1956) 41.

portal is dolmen-like, the other Gothic. The wind that blows his garment and his hair blows toward the portal; the wind of the other design blows from the portal. His use of a crutch under his left shoulder suggests the frailty of man in the natural world; the other figure lifts a sun-like disk with his right hand. Traditionally, the sun has been associated with the life, death, and resurrection sequence, and Blake treats the sun in what may ultimately be regarded as a fairly traditional manner. We are told at the end of Chapter 2 that the sun shall go before the "vegetating Sons of Albion" (J49:50), and that the "Divine Vision like a silent Sun appeared above/Albions dark rocks: setting behind the Gardens of Kensington/On Tyburns River [which is itself an image of mortality], in clouds of blood . . ." (J43:1–3). The sun is evidently associated with Generation. But Generation is the "Image of regeneration" (J7:65), and none can "consummate bliss without being Generated" (J86:42),[6] and therefore we learn at the end of the poem that as the sun leads "forward the Visions of Heaven and Earth/England who is Brittannia entered Albions bosom rejoicing" (J95:21–22, 96:1–2). Here the sun is associated with the reintegration of fallen and fragmented Man.

The text found on the early proof of the Frontispiece reveals that the figure carrying the illuminated disk is Los, who labors throughout the poem to effect the "passage through/Eternal Death and . . . the awakening to Eternal Life" (J4:1–2). The event presented in the design is described in the text of a subsequent plate:

> Fearing that Albion should turn his back against the Divine Vision
> Los took his globe of fire to search the interiors of Albions
> Bosom, in all the terrors of friendship, entering the caves
> Of despair & death, to search the tempters out . . .
>
> (J45:2–5)

The "globe of fire" borne by Los in the design reappears throughout the poem and is an important instrument with which he protects and aids fallen Man. As the aged figure of "Death's Door" is supported by the emblem of his mortality on his left, so the younger-appearing Los bears the emblem of Man's salvation on his right.

The text of the Frontispiece provides other valuable information regarding the relationship between the two designs:

> There is a Void, outside of Existence, which if entered into,
> Englobes itself & becomes a Womb, such was Albions Couch
> A pleasant Shadow of Repose calld Albions lovely Land

[6] Compare *The Book of Thel.*

His Sublime & Pathos become Two Rocks fixd in the Earth
His Reason, his Spectrous Power, covers them above.
Jerusalem his Emanation is a Stone laying beneath.
. . .
Half Friendship is the bitterest Enmity said Los
As he enterd the Door of Death for Albions sake Inspired
The long sufferings of God are not for ever there is a Judgment.
(J1:1–10)

The "Void outside of Existence" is, in fact, the world of materialism, of Babylon, Democritus and Newton, of fallen Man; it is "Eternal Death." The construction described in lines 4–6 is the dolmen-like portal of "Death's Door," even to the "Stone laying beneath." [7] And it is this "Door of Death" which Los enters "for Albions sake." It is obvious that the Gothic portal pictured in the Frontispiece does not look at all like the entrance to the tomb of "Death's Door," but the discrepancy is explained in Chapter 2:

There is in Albion a Gate of Precious stones and gold
. . .
Bending across the road of Oxford Street; it from Hyde Park
To Tyburns deathful shades admits the wandering souls
Of multitudes who die from Earth . . .
. . .
It is the Gate of Los. Withoutside is the Mill, intricate, dreadful
. . .
In the Fourth region of Humanity, Urthona namd,
Mortality begins to roll the billows of Eternal Death
Before the Gate of Los. Urthona here is named Los.
And here begins the System of Moral Virtue, named Rahab.
(J34:55–J35:10)

"The Gate of Los" is located at the western end of Oxford Street, which runs east-west, north of the Thames. Hyde Park, which Blake associated with the inception of vegetative existence ("From Hyde Park spread their vegetating roots beneath Albion/In dreadful pain the Spectrous Uncircumcised Vegetation" [J39:23–24]), is immediately to the south. "Tyburns fatal Tree" (J12:26) was the public gallows from as early as the twelfth century until 1783. It was the place of the termination of vegetative existence and is immediately to the north. "Withoutside," "Before the Gate," are "the Mill," "the billows of Eternal Death," "the System of Moral Virtue"; that is, the mechanistic, vegetative, legalistic world of fallen Man, Ulro.

The world beyond Los's Gate is the world within the Gate of "Death's Door." Conversely, the world within Los's Gate is the one beyond the Gate

[7] It could be argued that these lines simply describe the dolmen, but there is no stone beneath any dolmen in *Jerusalem*, unless the earth itself is regarded as one.

of "Death's Door" to which the old man, who is about to become one of "the wandering souls/Of multitudes who die from Earth," is admitted. Los passes through his gate, which is also "the Door of Death," to our world, that we might pass through our Gate, "Death's Door," to his world. The identity of what might appear to be two distinct gates is established by the fact that those "who die from Earth" pass through Los's Gate even though they see the Gate as "Death's Door." Blake wrote in the dedicatory poem, "To the Queen," included in the *Grave*,

> The Door of Death is made of Gold,
> That Mortal Eyes cannot behold;
> . . .
> The Grave is Heaven's golden Gate.

The differences in the appearance of the Gate as it is seen in the two designs are a function of perspective.[8]

Los and the old man see and, perhaps consequently, stand at different sides of the same Gate. Thus elements found in one design are seen in the other in reverse. The door hinged on the left as seen from the inside, becomes

[8] Blake's illustrations to Blair's *Grave* were to include four pictures in which a figure is presented — in one case three figures — approaching a portal or entrance: "Death's Door," "The descent of Man into the Vale of Death," "The Soul exploring the recesses of the Grave," and "To the Queen," the rejected design for the dedication, reproduced with the dedication and the published engravings in *Blake's Grave: A Prophetic Book* ed S. Foster Damon (Providence 1963). These designs reveal the way in which Blake uses various perspectives. The old man of "Death's Door," in approaching the portal, proceeds from his right toward his left. His perspective, as is the reader's, is the one afforded by This World. "The descent of Man into the Vale of Death" presents a number of figures descending into a cave toward the reader. There are three figures, one of whom resembles the old man of "Death's Door," who have not yet passed through the mouth of the cave, and who proceed from a point at the left of the design toward the right, toward the cave entrance. This movement might appear to be exactly the reverse of that implicit in "Death's Door," but is in fact the same; it is only the perspective from which events of the design are viewed that has changed. The design assumes the non-mortal perspective of the Vale of Death; we view the mortal procession from a point within the Grave. Were we to view the movement from a point outside the Grave, as we do in "Death's Door," and as the mortal figures themselves do, we would see the procession moving from right to left. A non-mortal perspective is also assumed in "The Soul exploring the recesses of the Grave" and in "To the Queen"; however the perspective of these designs is a function of the qualitative difference in the perception of the figures, rather than of the position from which the events of the designs are viewed. The first of these presents a female soul about to enter a cave in which a corpse is laid out. She proceeds from left to right. Her mortal, male counterpart stands facing her above the entrance to the cave; her right corresponds to his left. The design, "To the Queen," shows the female soul rising from a corpse, holding golden keys in her hands, moving toward an ornate, sharply arched portal, Heavens golden Gate. She also proceeds from left to right. This portal and the entrance to the cave-Grave are apparently regarded by Blake as different manifestations of a single gate, for the Grave *is* Heaven's golden Gate. The soul who sees the Grave as cave probably does so because her vision still reflects the view of existence of her mortal counterpart. However, what is most important in terms of the present discussion of perspective is that the female-soul figures proceed from left to right to reach the entrance, while the mortal figures proceed from right to left to reach the same entrance. It is also important to recognize that all are approaching the entrance to Heaven from the same side; the souls are not passing from Heaven into This World.

hinged on the right when seen from the outside. The wind of time which blows Los back from the Gate blows the old man toward it.[9] And because Generation is an image of regeneration, the emblem of mortality, the crutch held in the aged figure's left hand, corresponds to the saving globe of fire Los holds in his right hand.

The world seen with the Vegetative Eye is diametrically different from the world seen through Imaginative Vision. For this reason the Covering Cherub "in its Brain incloses a reflexion/Of Eden all perverted" (J89:14–15), and Blake could write "Thy Heaven doors are my Hell Gates," and "thou readst black where I read white." [10] Two figures stand on opposite sides of a single Gate. Where one sees the druidic sepulchre, the other sees the Gothic arch.

A similar use of perspective is seen in the design on Plate 12, where a female figure is presented at the bottom of a globe and a male above it (Fig 3). Each has a distinctly different view of the movements of the universe. The female figure who sits in the south may well be Jerusalem, the emanative portion of every man who "is made receptive of Generation thro' mercy" (J53:27). The swirl at the bottom of the globe, as seen in the Rinder facsimile, indicates that the globe turns from west to east. But the female, whose head is contiguous with the circumference, looks up and sees the westward movement of the celestial sphere. Her right hand is raised and appears, paradoxically, to be turning the world from east to west. The Newton-like, male figure above the globe is upside down and removed some distance from it. His is the fallen perspective of Reuben, the Vegetative Man (J32:24), whose food is Doubt (J32:7), who wanders in reasonings (J32:9), "with his head downward among the caverns" (J63:44). A long compass, with which he measures the mechanism of the universe, separates him from the world of human experience.

All are proceeding in the same compass direction, west. The souls of those who die from earth pass westward through Los's Gate; the flow of the current of Creation is westward (J77:4–5), toward the Circumference (J12:54) in which the Sanctuary of Eden is found (J69:41–42). The reason the souls proceed to the right and the mortal figures to the left is that the mortal, vegetative perspective is exactly the reverse of the Soul's: The Four Points of Albion are reversed inwards (J46:7); we perceive reality through the Looking Glass of Enitharmon. Within the mortal frame of reference of the design on Pl 84, where London is led blind and age-bent begging through the streets of Babylon (from right to left), the Gothic cathedral is at the extreme left of the plate and the dome of St Paul's is to the right of it. In the design on Pl 46, which both Laurence Binyon and Wicksteed consider to represent Vala talking to Jerusalem and her daughters — the Children of Jerusalem are the Souls of those who sleep (J80:33) — the Gothic cathedral is at the right of the plate and the dome of St Paul's is at the left.

[9] The garments of both are blown from right to left, but this similarity is inevitable. There is only one wind of time blowing from within the Gate of "Death's Door" out through the opening on the left, and from without Los's Gate in through the opening on his right.

[10] "The Everlasting Gospel" *Poetry and Prose* 516 lines 7 and 14.

He sees the eastward rotation of the earth. The westward motion of the celestial sphere is seen from "This World." The eastward movement of the earth can only be seen from a vantage point provided by an abstract scientific theory which is not grounded in experiential realities.

The standard by which all corporeal movement may be evaluated is presented on Plate 77. We are told that Caiaphas, the Preacher of Death, is the devouring Wheel of Natural Religion, revolving from west to east against the Current of creation, opposing Jesus, the Preacher of Life. This account of the Wheel of Natural Religion and the Current of creation ultimately clarifies the status of numerous elements of text and design which employ this kind of directional symbolism. It explains why Los's Emanation divides "in pain/Eastward toward the Starry Wheels" (J5:67–68), and the Starry Wheels revolve "heavily over the Furnaces;/Drawing Jerusalem in anguish [eastward]" (J5:46–47), but the finger of God gives forth in mercy "Away from the Starry Wheels to prepare Jerusalem a place/ . . . among the Spaces of Erin" (J48:46–52). This symbolism pervades the poem (see also J27:43, 27:48, 44:1–2, 43:28–32, 63:41, 67:37–40, 74:29–31, and 80:47). But most important, in terms of the present discussion, it defines the qualitative difference between the two modes of perception afforded by the two perspectives incorporated in the design on Plate 12.

Fig 3
Jerusalem 12, detail

The antithetical vision of existence which informed many of Blake's earlier works is central to the structure and meaning of *Jerusalem* and is manifest in the different perspectives presented in the poem. In *Jerusalem*, "A fool sees not the same tree a wise man sees," [11] because he sees it from a different perspective. Only as we become aware of the perspective assumed in the presentation of a given element, can we appreciate the full significance of that element.

[11] *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* 7:5.

EDITOR'S NOTE: A note of comment on points raised by Mr Lesnick is being prepared by John E. Grant; it will appear in a future issue.

Lewis Carroll's Loss of Consciousness

By MORTON N. COHEN *and* ROGER LANCELYN GREEN

SOME UNPUBLISHED entries from Lewis Carroll's diaries, now in the British Museum, and an unpublished Carroll letter recently acquired by the Berg Collection throw new light upon the health of the Reverend Charles Lutwidge Dodgson in his fifties.[1] Even without this new material, we know that Carroll suffered numerous ills during the 1880s and 1890s. Derek Hudson, his most recent biographer, writes that

> [in 1886 Lewis Carroll began to suffer from] intermittent ill-health. He was feeling the effect of many years of strain, brought on by the rigorous discipline of his life and by continual over-work. Unfortunately, his self-discipline did not extend to going to bed early, and like many bachelors he often worked into the small hours. He seems to have been unable to relax and, in an effort to keep himself well, increased his physical exercise to a point of excess. . . . [He] was probably not eating enough to keep up his strength. . . .
>
> Like all those who read medical books, he was quick to diagnose his own symptoms.
>
> . . . The occasional sleeplessness, and the intermittent attacks of migraine during which he saw "moving fortifications" . . . were clearly of nervous origin, and the other maladies from which he suffered in the late 'eighties — such as boils, eczema, cystitis and synovitis — are not uncommon in persons of his constitution when under strain.[2]

These observations do much to help us understand the man who wrote *Alice in Wonderland*. He was clearly a sensitive human being with a strong devotion to duty; he worked too hard and ate too little, to the point of jeopardizing his health; and, given his exceptional fancy and his interest in medicine, he could easily have been victimized by imaginary illnesses.

Most of the unpublished diary passages bearing on Dodgson's health add nothing to Mr Hudson's observations. But a few of them and the newly acquired letter mention one illness not included in Mr Hudson's catalogue — epilepsy.

If Dodgson was an epileptic, the fact would be interesting to layman and specialist alike. It might even lead some to argue that epilepsy was in some

[1] Previously unpublished Dodgson material copyright © 1969 by the Charles Lutwidge Dodgson Estate. It remains the property of the Dodgson Estate and may not be reproduced without permission. The authors wish to express appreciation to the seven medical authorities named for their help and for permission to publish their views.

[2] Derek Hudson *Lewis Carroll* (London 1954) 282–284.

way connected with the special whimsical quality of his imagination and the particular nature of his genius. Certainly the illness carries with it unhappy overtones, connotations that owe something to the dramatic nature of its symptoms, to the mystery that the illness has generated since the Middle Ages, to its ancient ties with possession and demonology, and to the relative recency (1857) of the first significant advance in its treatment. A suggestion that Dodgson may have been epileptic, therefore, requires us to examine the evidence carefully. If the suggestion be fact, we must try to discover to what extent Dodgson suffered from the illness, and what the implications of such a condition would be upon his personality and intelligence.

Let us first examine the evidence. The earliest suggestion that Dodgson may have suffered from epilepsy appears in his diary on January 20 1886:

> . . . ¶ On the morning of the New Year (I think it was) I had an attack ("epileptiform" Dr. Morshead called it) which left me with a sort of headache and not feeling my usual self for a week or 10 days. Edwin heard me and he and Fanny came in and they got Dr. Morshead *and* Dr. Stedman(!) It seems to have been but a mild attack: and I don't think it's in the family. . . .[3]

Five years later, two more references to epilepsy appear in the diary:

> February 6 1891. I must have fainted just at the end of morning chapel, as I found myself, an hour afterwards lying on the floor of the stalls; and had probably struck my nose against the hassock, as it had been bleeding considerably. It is the first time I fainted away. I sent for Dr. Brooks.[4] I had some headache afterwards, but felt very little the worse. ¶ It is of course possible it may have been epilepsy and not fainting, but Dr. Brooks thinks the latter.
>
> February 12 1891. Nearly well again though still not free from headache. ¶ Dr. B now thinks it was an epileptic attack, passing off into sleep. The only previous attack was on the morning of December 31, 1885, more than 5 years ago.

One last reference to epilepsy occurs in the diary, more than ten months later:

[3] Previously unpublished diary entries are preceded by the symbol "¶."
After the death of Charles's father in 1867, the family home had been "The Chestnuts," in Guildford, Surrey, and Charles customarily spent Christmas there. Edwin was Charles's youngest brother, Edwin Heron (1846–1918), and Fanny his eldest sister, Frances Jane (1828–1903). The physicians were probably Ernest Garstin Anderson Morshead and James Remington Stedman, both Guildford doctors.

[4] Walter Tyrrell Brooks (b 1859) BA(Oxon) 1887; MA 1891; Clinical Lecturer in Medicine at the Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxford, from 1887, must have remained Dodgson's medical advisor to the end of his life: on June 12 1897, Dodgson records that with the help of Dr Brooks, he fixed a place for his new exercise machine (*The Diaries of Lewis Carroll* ed Roger Lancelyn Green 2 vols [Oxford 1954] II 535).

December 25 1891. For the first time in my life I am spending Christmas Day alone, at Christ Church, the cold being so intense that Dr. Brooks advises me not to face the risk of travelling. ¶ Both my epileptic attacks have been in the winter and the first, [at the] end of 1885, was ascribed partly to a cold day in London.

The unpublished letter gives the more vivid account of the instance of loss of consciousness in the chapel. Dodgson writes to Edith Blakemore, a former child-friend now a young lady of about nineteen, presumably teaching at the Edgbaston High School for Girls in Birmingham.

Ch. Ch. Oxford
Ap. 26 /91

My dear Edith,

I am writing this (in obedience to my own rule in "Wise Words") with your letter of Mar. 4 before me. And first, I'm much obliged to Miss Cooper [5] for her kind message: and I have *not* given up the hope of coming to address the elder girls, but (tho' my *knee* has not troubled me for a long time) I do not feel equal to it just now. More than 2 months ago, I woke up one morning from an uneasy dream, saying to myself "how *very* uncomfortable the pillow is!," & found myself lying on the floor up in the stalls of the Cathedral. I wouldn't believe it at first, but thought I was *still* dreaming: but in a few moments I was broad awake, & found it really was so. I was lying in a pool of blood, having bled profusely from the nose, which no doubt had received a heavy blow in my fall (in that the doctor said the bones were loosened, & would take several weeks to get set firm again), & had been lying there exactly an hour. I remembered distinctly the reader of morning-prayers having come to within a few words of the end: & I find I remained kneeling when the others left the building: the 2 tutors who went last, noticed that I did not get up, but concluded I was only going on in private prayer a little longer than usual, & thought no more of it: & the verger never noticed I had not gone out, but barred the doors & left by another door. So I had the place all to myself, to sleep off the attack (epileptic, no doubt), & then unbarred the doors & let myself out. Luckily I met no one on my way back to my rooms, for I was a pretty figure! With my face and shirt-front all covered with blood. My doctor found me to be out of health generally — at least the *digestion* was out of order — & this may have caused the attack. Anyhow, the result has been a great deal of headache, & unfitness for brainwork: & the managers of the College Servants' Services decided *not*

[5] Alice J. Cooper (d 1917) was Head Mistress of the Edgbaston High School for Girls. Dodgson first met her in 1884, when she offered to help him with his scheme to prepare an expurgated series of Shakespeare's plays for girls (it never materialized). On December 19 1889 Dodgson went to Birmingham to see a production of *Alice in Wonderland* at Miss Cooper's school, which he thought "capitally acted." Although he told "Bruno's Picnic" to a large audience at the school after the production of *Alice*, he kept putting off his intended address to the Edgbaston High School girls, and suggested to Miss Cooper (in an unpublished letter dated January 21 1892) that the idea "had better be finally abandoned." *Diaries* II 424, 476.

> to ask me to preach this term. I daresay this is wise, as the doctor thought I had been doing too much brain-work, & sitting up too late. You laugh at me for the "fearful agonies" you say I suffer "over a coming sermon," but really I think sermons *may* have had something to do with it. I had preached 3 in the previous month: and I do feel that preparing them takes a good deal *out* of me, in the way of vital force. But I would not have it otherwise: it is work that, if it is to do any good, needs that one should put one's whole self into it.
>
> I have been "taking it easy," now, for a good while, and my headaches are getting fewer, & my brain recovering its usual power: & I should like to know during what periods of this year there would be any use in proposing to come over & give this long-delayed address. In the High School *vacations* I suppose it would be no use, as many of the girls would probably be away.
>
> You can tell Miss Cooper as much of my adventure as you like, & thus save me (who have small time for letter-writing) the time it would take to send her a separate explanation of my not yet coming over.[6]

The evidence does not make an obvious case either for or against epilepsy. Though Dodgson's physicians were doubtful about the precise nature of the attacks, Dodgson himself seemed to conclude that his two fainting spells were epileptic. But he had had no formal medical training, and an incident that had occurred almost thirty years earlier might have influenced him unduly. In his diary March 1 1856, he records that

> S—— was seized with a fit this morning in the passage leading from the Anatomical School Quadrangle. I was passing through at the moment and caught him as he fell: having no idea what the nature of the fit was, I could think of nothing but loosening everything about the neck, and dashing some water in his face. Luckily there was a doctor in the Anatomy School, who was brought. . . . He pronounced it to be epilepsy. . . . I felt . . . [afterwards] how helpless ignorance makes one, and I shall make a point of reading some book on the subject of emergencies, a thing that I think everyone should do.

The epileptic incident obviously and naturally made a deep impression upon Dodgson and awakened in him a keen interest in medicine (the next day he ordered *Hints for Emergencies*, one of the first volumes in what would become a large private medical library).[7] As late as 1886, the memory of the incident was probably vivid, and if so he could easily conclude, even without sufficient evidence, that his own loss of consciousness in chapel was the result of an epileptic seizure.

[6] The letter in the Berg Collection is incomplete.

[7] *Diaries* I 78–79.

The information available about Dodgson's two attacks — his own comments upon them — requires professional medical analysis and evaluation, or so it seemed to us when we first examined the pertinent diary entries and the letter to Miss Blakemore. To that end, we sent all the available evidence concerning the instances of loss of consciousness, with general information about Dodgson's health and temperament, to six specialists in nervous diseases in the United States, Canada, and England. Their independent speculations about Dodgson's two attacks are illuminating, even when they do not agree with one another.

One point the authorities do agree upon is the difficulty of diagnosing a condition with the limited evidence we have and at such a distance. "It is not possible to make any diagnosis from the data given in the notes from his diary and the letter, . . ." writes the Dean of the Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons. "I am afraid it is not possible to be very dogmatic with regard to the nature of the two episodes, . . ." writes the Director of the Montreal Neurological Institute. "The information is not enough to say whether this was a true epileptic attack or only because he was not in the best of health generally," writes a staff specialist of the Rochester-Olmsted County Health Unit of Rochester, Minnesota.

All the same, these three authorities, as well as three others were willing at least to speculate about possible explanations for Dodgson's loss of consciousness. One of the experts believes epilepsy "possible"; another believes it "probable"; a third believes that Dodgson's disability could have been either an epileptic or a fainting attack; and three believe that the attacks were fainting spells, or if not fainting spells, then something other than epilepsy. Their opinions are phrased so carefully, however, that we had best examine them individually.

The two who believe epilepsy "possible" or "probable" offer interesting explanations of their opinions. Dr Frederic A. Gibbs, Professor of Neurology at the University of Illinois (Chicago), writes that:

> the details regarding the second attack . . . make it seem possible that this was an epileptic seizure. These include: 1) the lack of warning, 2) the prolonged period of unconsciousness (1 hour), which was probably due to post-seizure stupor followed by sleep, and 3) the only residuals were indigestion and headache. Fainting is not followed by sleep.

Dr Gibbs adds later in his letter that "if Dodgson had epilepsy it must have been a very mild form, only two known seizures and both of them apparently non-convulsive."

Dr Randolph K. Byers, a staff member of The Children's Hospital Medical Center, Boston, Massachusetts, writes:

> It would seem to me quite probable that the attack described quite independently in April, 1891, was an epileptic attack, although I am sure that other interpretations such as syncope owing to unstable blood pressure, or syncope secondary to cardiac irregularity could be invoked as an adequate explanation. The following headache, etc. could be the result of concussion from falling over on a stone floor in such a syncope. . . .
>
> The attack on New Year's day, 1886, seems to me to have had the most useful comments about it from the diagnostic point of view. This is the remark that "Edwin heard me and . . . got Dr. Morshead *and* Dr. Stedman." This, to me, signifies an attack which was so active as to make enough noise to attract some bystander.

Dr Theodore Rasmussen, Director of the Montreal Neurological Institute, who sees epilepsy or fainting as possible explanations for the loss of consciousness, writes:

> A minimal seizure-tendency might perfectly well manifest itself only once, twice or three times during a lifetime, in association with some unusual physical strain or fatigue. It is equally possible that this type of loss of consciousness represents some syncopal attack, related to the cardiovascular system and not primarily to the brain. . . . I would think it fair, however, to say that these two episodes were both organic in nature, and not functional or hysterical in origin.

When we turn to the three authorities who doubt that epilepsy was involved, we find Dr Haddow M. Keith, of the Rochester-Olmsted County Health Unit, writing:

> I have thought about . . . [the problem] a great deal and discussed it with one of my friends who has perhaps more to do with adult epileptics than I have had recently.
>
> In the first place . . . most men use "epileptiform" when they are not certain the patient has a real epileptic attack, and thus leave a loophole. . . . [In Dodgson's case] even his doctor . . . chose to call it epileptiform at first. The second attack . . . could be considered an epileptic attack; but again, there is not enough real information to make this certain.
>
> In my opinion and in that of my associate here, these both could well be fainting attacks.
>
> There is one other interesting condition which has been well reported in recent years, and this could also be an explanation. It appears that some persons have had fainting attacks when they were kneeling at prayer and when they were wearing stiff collars or some form of stiff clothing, which would cause pressure on the neck. This causes pressure on the carotid sinuses and has caused fainting attacks which could well resemble

the attack described by Carroll. In certain individuals, this attack can be reproduced by massaging with pressure the area of the carotid sinus. It would be my guess that this may well have happened and could explain at least one of these attacks.

It certainly would be unusual for an older person to have two, and two only, attacks of "epilepsy" without some good reason being found at a later date. However, it is really too difficult from the information we have to be certain of this. I am greatly attracted by the carotid sinus pressure explanation.

Dr H. Houston Merritt, Dean of the Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons, also doubts that the attacks were due to epilepsy:

It seems unlikely that he had any common form of epilepsy because he states . . . that there had been only two episodes of loss of consciousness. . . . There is no description of the attacks. Apparently they were not witnessed by anyone, and the presence or absence of convulsive movements is not known. Dodgson himself does not mention an aura or warning of any sort, nor does he mention having soiled himself during the attack or suffering with soreness of muscles following it.

The duration of the loss of consciousness in the two episodes is not known and it is not possible to determine whether the statement "I had been lying there exactly an hour" is correct or not. If it is correct, it is unlikely that the episode was due to a simple syncope. The attack may, however, have been simple syncope and the second one prolonged in duration by concussion suffered as result of the fall. They could also be due to minor cerebral vascular accidents which did not affect the motor, sensory or speech areas. They also could possibly be convulsive seizures, due to one of many causes. But the occurrence of only two episodes does not allow for the diagnosis of epilepsy.

Dr Macdonald Critchley of the National Hospital for Nervous Diseases, London, writes:

I note that he had only two attacks of loss of consciousness: one . . . when he was 54 years of age, and the second one . . . when he was 59. It would be very unusual for epilepsy to start in the 50's and for him to have only two attacks and then go on to the age of 65 when he unfortunately perished of pneumonia. In other words, epilepsy of late onset is almost always due to serious and gross intra-cranial disease. The two commonest examples of this would be brain tumor or a stroke.

My suggestion is that Lewis Carroll fainted on those two occasions, and we have plenty of evidence of general ill-health over many years. In the second attack, which took place in the Cathedral while at his prayers, a fainting attack is strongly suggested and in falling forward he must have struck his nose, which accounts for the profuse bleeding.

Although the authorities do not agree on a number of points, especially as to whether or not epileptic attacks can occur only twice in a lifetime or

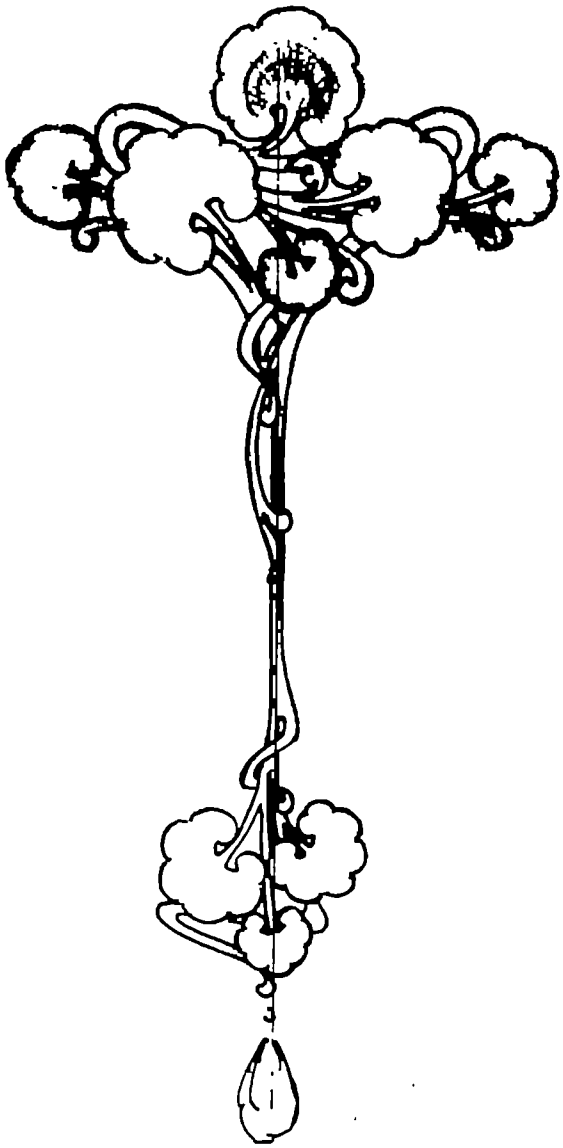
whether an attack can occur for the first time late in life, one clear fact does emerge from their analyses: not one of them is willing to call Dodgson's loss of consciousness certain epilepsy. Two, on the other hand, reject epilepsy as a possible explanation: Dr Merritt, who believes that "two episodes do not allow for the diagnosis of epilepsy"; and Dr Critchley, who insists that nothing more than fainting was involved. If we add to these considerations the fact that even the two physicians who come closest to diagnosing epilepsy admit the possibility that Dodgson only fainted, it becomes impossible to conclude that Dodgson suffered from epilepsy. A more reasonable explanation would be that Dodgson, aging, overworked, weakened by various ailments, and on one occasion kneeling in the cold Cathedral, did, in fact, faint.

One question that remains is whether there could have been any connection between these instances of loss of consciousness and Dodgson's personality, and, by extension, with his literary creations. A seventh medical authority, to whom we sent this article for general comment, suggests that "there is usually a well marked type of personality that goes along with . . . [epilepsy]." Dr Wilfred Leach of the Washington University Medical School (St Louis, Missouri) continues: "From what you have told me of the nature of Dodgson's personality, and what one can gather from his writings, there is certainly no trace of the truculence, paranoid tendencies and diffidence which often accompany chronic epilepsy." It would probably be as difficult to establish any connection between Dodgson's fainting spells and his creative output. Fainting was not a factor in Dodgson's early or middle years; it was not a fear that hung over him through school, university, or his mature, productive years. He faints for the first time when he has already lived five-sixths of his entire life. Perhaps we could consider the losses of consciousness important if they had occurred before Dodgson had written, or while he was writing, one of his major works. But the works of the imagination for which he is remembered were all written many years earlier.

It is worth observing that to the end of his life, Dodgson enjoyed periods of good health and high spirits, and that the episodes of loss of consciousness, whatever they were, were no more a source of worry to him than his lumbago, eczema, or cystitis. On August 21 1894, for instance, less than four years before his death, he was able to write to a friend: "To say I am quite well 'goes without saying' with me. In fact my life is so strangely free from all trials & troubles, that I cannot doubt my own happiness is one of the 'talents' entrusted to me to 'occupy' with, till the Master shall return, by doing some-

thing to make *other* lives happy." [8] That statement, written late in life, helps us to understand, not only the flights of fancy that Lewis Carroll was able to record for the delight of continuing generations of readers, but also the general character of the Reverend Charles Lutwidge Dodgson.

[8] *A Selection from the Letters of Lewis Carroll to His Child-Friends*, ed Evelyn M. Hatch (London 1933) 170.



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GEMS IN PRINT: AN EXHIBITION TO CELEBRATE THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE HARPER FUND III — Lobby and Landing Cases

Books acquired with the aid of Harper Fund III present a panorama of gems and jewelry, including illustrated work with original design and workbooks from three centuries. Through February 28.

MENDELEYEV CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION — Second Floor Gallery

A display tracing the history of the periodic chart of the elements, from its antecedents in alchemy, through Mendeleyev's contribution, to more recent developments based on his work. Through March 31.

ISFAHAN AND SHIRAZ: TWO PERSIAN CITIES — Second Floor Central Corridor

Descriptive historical and literary works illustrate the extraordinary cultural heritage of these two cities of modern Iran. December 15 through mid-February.

The Central Building, continued

ASPECTS OF URBAN LIFE — THIRD FLOOR PRINT GALLERY

Prints from the late fifteenth century to the present depict man in his urban surroundings. Through February.

JOHN QUINN: AN EXHIBITION TO MARK THE GIFT OF THE JOHN QUINN MEMORIAL COLLECTION — ROOM 318

This exhibition, which marks a major gift by John Quinn's niece Mary Anderson Conroy, documents the life and career of the New York lawyer who supported, as collector, patron, and friend, many writers and artists in the early 1900s, especially those of the Irish literary revival and the School of Paris. Through February.

THE DIVERSITY OF THE ARENTS TOBACCO COLLECTION — ROOM 324

Unusual books, manuscripts, and ephemera illustrate the many different sorts of materials included in the Collection. Through March 31.

THE ART OF MEDIEVAL ILLUMINATION: REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLES — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

On display are rare manuscripts charting the development of the technique of illumination during the Middle Ages. Through April 30.

* * *

TECHNICAL BOOKS OF THE MONTH — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

A monthly selection of new books received in the Science and Technology Division, and reviewed in *New Technical Books*.

UNITED STATES POSTAGE STAMPS — MAIN LOBBY

An almost complete collection of United States postal issues and airmail stamps, 1847–1936. Permanent exhibition.

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The Oscar Lion Collection of books by and about Whitman, including first editions, manuscripts, letters, portraits, and memorabilia. Permanent exhibition.

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Selections from the Seligman and Hellman collections of Irvingiana consisting of first editions, manuscripts, sketchbooks, etc. Permanent exhibition.

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A mural by the contemporary English artist Leonard Rosoman depicting the colorful events and personalities of England in the period before and after the death of the queen. Through the winter.

OPERA — FROM SCORE TO STAGE — MAIN GALLERY

A major presentation of how an opera comes into being. An animated, three-dimensional, audio-visual complex (40 by 80 feet in area) gives a back-stage view of the 1966 Metropolitan Opera production of Richard Strauss's *Die Frau ohne Schatten*. On view for a two-year period.

PAINTINGS BY LEONARD ROSOMAN — AMSTERDAM GALLERY

Acrylics on canvas and masonite based on John Osborne's play *A Patriot for Me*. Through January 10.

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Original stage sets and costumes, as well as drawings, posters, and other material, illustrate the history of New York's City Center of Music and Drama, Inc, which celebrates its 25th anniversary this year. Through February 1.

AVANT GARDE DANCERS — DANCE COLLECTION

The work of Merce Cunningham, Alwin Nikolais, and twenty-five other choreographers is shown in over sixty photographs in a New York State Council on the Arts traveling photographic exhibit prepared in collaboration with the Dance Collection. Through April 1.

DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER

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Photographs taken by Builder Levy in North Carolina and West Virginia depict the daily life of people of the Appalachian Mountains, on the First Floor. January 2 through 24. Graphics, oils, drawings, and small sculptures by Shirley Fuerst, Gertrude Sappin, and June Blum, in the Art Library. January 16 through February 15.

COUNTEE CULLEN REGIONAL BRANCH

104 West 136th Street

"Makonde Sculpture of East Africa." An exhibition of sculpture by the Makonde peoples of Southern Tanzania and Northern Mozambique on loan from Afro-American Collection. January 13 through February 7.

HUDSON PARK BRANCH

10 Seventh Avenue South

Photographic portraits, by I. W. Schmidt, of personalities in the performing arts. Through January.

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION

103 West 135th Street

A display of manuscripts and many of the books appearing in foreign translation of the late poet Langston Hughes. Through January.

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Max Beerbohm's portrayal of the American Bard caught our eye as it served its rotary turn in the permanent Oscar Lion Walt Whitman Collection exhibit case on the third floor of Central Building. It seemed irreverently appropriate to this month's issue which features the letters of a volunteer for the North in the Civil War and accounts of the pre-civil doings of the editors of the *Broadway Journal*. It also reminds us that a good subject collection includes more than gems like the Blue Book (see Front Matter). The illustration, entitled "Walt Whitman, Inciting the Bird of Freedom to Soar," is from the Rare Books Division's Lion Collection but it also reposes in a Berg Collection copy of Max's *The Poets' Corner* (London 1904). A file of the *Broadway Journal* is also in Berg Collection.)

Bulletin readers are reminded of a Library publication of parallel interest, C. E. Dornbusch's *Military Bibliography of the Civil War* (Vol. I, $15; Vol. II, $10). Orders for the Dornbusch works or the Blue Book facsimile ($30) should be directed to: The Sales Office, Room 50A, The New York Public Library, Fifth Ave and 42nd St, New York 10018. (Pre-paid, if from outside this country.)

(The winter *Poetry Review*, received at press time, lauds our *Whitman's Blue Book* as "so extravagant in its excellence that only America would dare produce it": the facsimile volume as "beautiful," the critical introduction as "decently abstemious," and the whole package as "a basic do-it-yourself Whitman set, from which one can, as a reader, draw *all* one needs.")

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Front Matter

A Scholarly Tandem: Poe/Briggs

In this issue we are happy to publish an exemplification of the humane ideal that two scholars independently converging upon a complicated problem will discover greater truth than the mere sum of their findings. We rejoice in the editorial good fortune of being able to present in combination the explorations of Heyward Ehrlich and Bette S. Weidman into the mysterious affair of the bright promise and rapid demise of the *Broadway Journal* of 1845.

Poe's biographers have papered over with superficial explanations, after inadequate siftings of the evidence, the obscurely motivated, mysteriously caused rise and fall of the literary weekly founded by Charles Briggs and edited in its declining months by Edgar Allen Poe. Mr Ehrlich gets well beneath the surface by examining the veiled manoeuvres and covert objectives of Poe's "literary politics." Mrs Weidman investigates Briggs's objectives and his founding of the *Journal* in the national political context of a particular phase of the abolition movement. The reader, finishing both articles, will enjoy (if he is wise enough to budget himself this kind of enjoyment) the ten minutes' meditation that ties together the related threads and notices the new conjectures that arise — about Poe and about the infinitely complicated "nexus of psyche and polis" (to borrow a current formulation of the formless).

A Continuous Tone: Walt Whitman

We are pleased at the enthusiastic reception purchasers and reviewers have been giving the Library's facsimile edition of the Blue Book, the copy of the 1860 *Leaves of Grass* Whitman was revising at the time of the Civil War. "It is the readiest way of coming immediately into touch with the working of Whitman's esemplastic imagination," said the London *Times Literary Supplement*. "All admirers of Whitman will feel indebted to Mr. [Oscar] Lion for sponsoring the edition, and to Mr. [Arthur] Golden for his devoted care." Throughout the Book, we can see the living presence of the poet, whether he is writing (for the first time) such an immortal line as "I sing the body electric" or pasting in long new passages.

Justin Kaplan devoted a long essay in the May *Atlantic* to the Whitman of the Blue Book and in the *Walt Whitman Review* Gay Allen recognized the edition as a "major achievement." But one review set us to meditating on the reproduction of manuscripts. In the *Saturday Review*, John Ciardi's pleasure with the edition faded a bit when he tried comparing the new facsimile with Horace Traubel's prospectus of 1902. Yet a howl would have gone up from today's exacting scholars and bibliophiles if the tricks of 1902 had been resorted to in 1968. Photography was used in each production, but that of 1902 was boldly and merrily retouched, Whitman's handwriting being re-traced to give it width and uniform tone — and perhaps the tracer's own revisions. Professor Ciardi's regret that the work "could not have been done in gravure" seems aside the point. A wish for some photographic negative with greater contrasting potential than the currently favored "continuous tone" would be our recipe. Or a wish that poets used darker pencils and wrote with even strokes. Meanwhile, for anyone suspecting that sufficient unto the day is the facsimile thereof, $30 will bring the Blue Book and its companion guide to any wide desk, for collational voyaging.

The *Broadway Journal* (*1*): Briggs's Dilemma and Poe's Strategy

By HEYWARD EHRLICH
Rutgers University (*Newark*)

THE *Broadway Journal* of 1845, the last of four magazines edited by Edgar Allan Poe and the only periodical he ever owned, failed to measure up to Poe's prediction: "As soon as Fate allows I will have a Magazine of my own — and will endeavor to kick up a dust."[1] The only "dust" raised by the *Broadway Journal* was comprised of such apparently trivial matter as the "Longfellow War" and the Boston Lyceum hoax. But Poe never displayed in public the least disappointment with the magazine; to the contrary, he appeared highly satisfied in his Valedictory to the terminal issue of January 3 1846:

> Unexpected arrangements demanding my whole attention, and the objects being fulfilled, so far as regards myself personally, for which "The Broadway Journal" was established, I now, as its Editor, bid farewell — as cordially to foes as to friends.[2]

Despite its high spirits, the Valedictory remains enigmatic. Poe's new "arrangements" are unknown; his completed personal "objects" are unclear; and his history of the magazine is in conflict with all other evidence. Poe's statement conceals more than it reveals, and a good many questions concerning Poe's connections with the *Broadway Journal* still go unanswered.

If the *Broadway Journal* episode is puzzling in many ways, little illumination may be found in Poe's correspondence of 1845. He is sanguine of certain fame and fortune in letters to T. H. Chivers, R. W. Griswold, or J. P. Kennedy, but he also complains of dangerous overwork, crushing poverty, and a sense of entrapment while communicating with F. W. Thomas, E. A. Duyckinck, and Neilson Poe. The flashes of hope and despair in Poe's letters of 1845 are contradictory and incoherent; nowhere is his role on the *Broadway Journal* elevated above mystery and even obscurity. It becomes evident that Poe's accounts of the *Broadway Journal* do not provide a basis for reconstructing

[1] Poe to Philip P. Cooke, Sept 21 1839, *The Letters of Edgar Allan Poe* ed John Ward Ostrom (Cambridge, Mass 1948) 110; cited hereafter as *Letters*.

[2] *Broadway Journal* II (Jan 3 1846) 407; cited hereafter as *BJ*. One biographer comments on the Valedictory: "What other objects Poe achieved, except the republication of much that he had previously written in prose and verse, it is hard to see" (George E. Woodberry, *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe* 2 vols Boston 1909 II 163).

the story of the magazine. But one continuous record of that narrative does exist. It may be found in the letters of Charles Frederick Briggs, organizer and founding editor of the *Broadway Journal*, to James Russell Lowell, the man who brought Poe and Briggs together at the launching of the magazine. These letters, first studied by George E. Woodberry in 1885, provide an account of the *Broadway Journal* from another viewpoint.[3]

The stumbling block for the historian who might wish to conflate the papers of Poe and Briggs is that after the former succeeded the latter as editor of the *Broadway Journal* in July 1845, a mutual quarrel arose which grew into a lifelong feud. Briggs privately denounced Poe to Lowell in the second half of 1845; Poe openly defamed Briggs in an early number of *The Literati* in 1846; Briggs then replied with a nasty portrait of Poe in his satiric novel of 1847, *Tom Pepper*; and, finally, until his death in 1877, Briggs continued to support the hostile posthumous memoir of Poe by Rufus W. Griswold.[4] While the Griswold controversy polarized Poe studies, no biographer could hope to reconcile the Poe and Briggs accounts of the *Broadway Journal*.[5]

At the nub of the controversy is the question of whether Poe or Briggs was in control of the succession crisis of July 1845. Briggs claimed that he prudently withdrew from the paper after reaching an impasse with the publisher, John Bisco, over the re-financing of the paper; moreover, Briggs insisted that he had intended to dismiss Poe and that Poe had been willing to go. But Poe told the story that by "manoeuvres almost incomprehensible to myself, I have succeeded in getting rid, one by one, of all my associates" so as to become full editor and owner of the magazine.[6] Most Poe biographers dismiss Briggs's testimony and argue that from the start of the *Broadway Journal* Poe was "the boss" while Briggs merely played "second fiddle," so that, in effect, Poe "outwitted" Briggs to wrest control of the paper from him.[7] For example, A. H. Quinn discredits Briggs's story on the evidence of three business contracts of the *Broadway Journal*:

[3] George E. Woodberry *Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston 1885) 226–239; reprinted in Woodberry (1909) II 123–147. The Briggs-Woodberry version is the basis for the entry on the *Broadway Journal* in Frank Luther Mott *A History of American Magazines, 1741–1850* (New York 1930) 757–762.

[4] Perry Miller *The Raven and the Whale* (New York 1956) 156–157, 174–182; Sidney P. Moss *Poe's Literary Battles* (Durham, N. C. 1963) 241–244.

[5] Jay B. Hubbell "Poe" in *Eight American Authors: A Review of Research and Criticism* ed Floyd Stovall (New York 1956) 1–2.

[6] Poe to John P. Kennedy, Oct 26 1845, *Letters* 299.

[7] Mary E. Phillips *Edgar Allan Poe — The Man*, 2 vols (New York 1926) II 1065; Hervey Allen *Israfel: The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe* 2 vols (New York 1926) II 638–639; Moss

> It is impossible to reconcile his statements concerning his intention to drop Poe with the actual terms of the contracts, for Poe made his with Bisco, and as Poe, Bisco, and Watson went on together, the weight of evidence seems to be against Briggs.[8]

But in refusing to utilize the Briggs materials in any way, Quinn also discarded the only possible context for reaching an understanding of Poe's administration of the magazine, and Poe's management became, on occasion, simply "inexplicable." [9]

Since the publication of Quinn's biography of Poe in 1941, little new information from Poe's hand has emerged to cast additional light on the *Broadway Journal*. Much new material, however, has been unearthed about Briggs, especially since Perry Miller, in his study of literary New York during the 1840s, began the revival of interest in him as a novelist, satirist, and critic in his own right.[10] Furthermore, it is now possible to compare Woodberry's quotations from Briggs's letters against a good many of the originals, thereby revealing the extent of his sweeping dismissal of economic details: "There was from the first some financial tangle between the parties, which, fortunately, there is no need to unravel." [11] It now appears that this very "financial tangle" provides the key to resolving the enigma of the *Broadway Journal*. The vital document, unfortunately omitted by Quinn, is the original contract for the partnership of C. F. Briggs and John Bisco to launch the *Broadway Journal*; all of Poe's subsequent contracts were built upon it. For the first time, enough new information is at hand to attempt again the reconstruction of the story of the *Broadway Journal*; and with more light thrown on the background and context of the magazine, the accounts of Poe and Briggs may be fairly reconciled at long last.

The new findings indicate that the *Broadway Journal* was burdened throughout its short and tortured life by the dual misfortune of utter poverty and hopeless legal complication. The paper lacked the most minimal amounts

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241. To one anonymous reviewer, Briggs belonged with such enemies of Poe as Lewis Gaylord Clark and Thomas Dunn English: "What a dreary, spiteful crew Poe had to contend with: Clark and English and Briggs . . . characters in search of a *Dunciad*, alll" (*Times* [London] *Literary Supplement*, Jan 23 1964, p 66).

[8] Arthur Hobson Quinn *Edgar Allan Poe* (New York 1941) 463, 751–753 (Henry C. Watson was called "the best musical critic in the country"; Briggs to Mrs Martha W. Jenks, March 4 1845, Miscellaneous Collections, Manuscript Division, The New York Public Library). Acknowledgment is made to the Archives of American Art; The New York Public Library; University of Texas Library; and Harvard College Library for permission to use material quoted here and below.

[9] Quinn 495.

[10] Miller, p 356 and *passim*; see also my "Charles Frederick Briggs and Lowell's *Fable for Critics*" *Modern Language Quarterly* XXVIII (Sept 1967) 329–341.

[11] Woodberry (1909) II 146.

of operating capital, and hence it was organized as a joint-stock improvisation of working partners who ventured their labors for little or nothing. Seven partners are known to have joined the venture; indeed, often the paper operated simply by adding on as yet undisenchanted working shareholders. It is true, none of the partners was economically ruined, but the *Broadway Journal* never attained stability or security, and the paper frequently resorted to desperate measures to remain alive. In turn, Briggs, Bisco, and Poe abandoned their parts of the paper. Each of the participants had good reason to keep secret or at least private the actual condition of the magazine. Hence Poe's Valedictory is a high burlesque transformed from a painful tale of petty debt and legal squabble.

As early as October 1843, when the American Copyright Club was formed, Briggs had hoped to organize an original "weekly of the true stamp" with the help of Evert A. Duyckinck and Cornelius Mathews, but no publisher could be found.[13] Unusual caution was dictated by the recent failures of *Arcturus*, the *Boston Miscellany*, and the *Pioneer* — the last of which cost its editors $1,000 personally — and therefore Briggs spent more than a year working out the details of a joint stock venture of participating partners.[13] In July 1844 Briggs found a printer, John Douglas, but he would not "enter cockily into a speculation" without a satisfactory publisher, and not until December 1844 was he prepared to go ahead with John Bisco, who had issued the *Knickerbocker* in 1841–1842.[14]

The *Broadway Journal* was begun on a shoestring; unhappily, it never raised itself very far above the level of bankruptcy. On December 23 1844, Briggs and John Bisco entered a contract to share equally in both ownership and profits, dividing control of the magazine into editorial and publishing departments.[15] No more frugal arrangement than this could be imagined.

[13] Evert A. Duyckinck to William A. Jones, Oct 1 1843, Duyckinck Collection, Manuscript Division, The New York Public Library.

[13] Instead of salary, members would be "paid out of the profits"; Briggs to James Russell Lowell, March 10 1844 and April 11 1844, William Page Papers, Archives of American Art, Detroit, Mich, cited hereafter as A.A.A.

[14] Briggs to Lowell, July 9 1844, A.A.A.; Mott 757, 606n.

[15] Contract memorandum of Charles F. Briggs and John Bisco to publish the *Broadway Journal*, Dec 23 1844, the University of Texas Library, Austin. This important document, which casts much light on the subsequent contracts of 1845 (see Quinn 751–753), is here published for the first time:

Memorandum of a contract entered into between Charles F. Briggs and John Bisco for publishing a weekly paper, in the city of New York, entitled, the Broadway Journal, on conditions, as follows.

The proprietorship of said paper shall be shared equally between the said Charles F. Briggs and John Bisco.

The expenditures of either participant were to be solely in cash, paid for only out of pocket, and always immediately reimbursed by one-half by the other partner. By prohibiting the use of credit, the economic liability of the paper was thus kept within safe limits. Briggs even went so far as to insist on the right to keep, presumably for resale, "all books, engravings, or other property" submitted as review copies. Although a partner's share in the *Broadway Journal* had little or no transfer value on the market, still, neither participant wished to cope with unacceptable partners in the future; therefore, this mutual legal hold was enforced: "Neither partner shall dispose of his interest in the publication without the consent of the other." Hence the partners were personally protected against an economic catastrophe, but no provision was ever allowed for the possibility of reorganization or recapitalization.

Poe, meanwhile, also had come to place his trust in the joint-stock idea, although for quite different reasons. Cash salary, Poe believed, had deprived him of his rightful share in the success of *Graham's*: "If, instead of a paltry salary, Graham had given me a tenth of his Magazine, I should feel myself a rich man to-day." [16] On March 30 1844, on the eve of his departure from Philadelphia for New York, Poe proposed to Lowell that the "élite of our men of letters" form a magazine intended to reach a circulation of 100,000 by means of a secret "coalition." [17] Lowell did not reply; however, on Octo-

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The said Charles F. Briggs shall have the control of the editorial department, shall receive and attend to all communications relating to the same, shall solicit contributions, and perform all other duties that may be required of him as editor of said paper.

The said John Bisco shall have charge of the publishing department, shall make all purchases and contracts, collect advertisements, and receive all monies, and pay all bills, due on account of said publication. He shall keep a full and correct account of transactions connected with his department, in books at all times open to the said Briggs' inspection, and perform all other duties that may be necessary in the publication of said paper.

At the end of every four weeks, he shall make an equal division of all profits from said publication then in his possession.

The said C. F. Briggs shall be entitled to all books, engravings, or other property, that may be sent to the office for review or notice in said paper.

In order that said paper may be conducted as economically as possible, all purchases shall be made with cash, and either party neglecting to furnish his share of funds, for more than three days, after being notified of the actual need of the same, shall forfeit five (5) per cent, on the amount required, for the benefit of the concern.

Neither party shall dispose of his interest in the publication without the consent of the other.

Witness — Chas. F. Briggs
Geo. Little — John Bisco
New York December 23 1844

[16] Poe to Frederick W. Thomas, Feb 3 1842, *Letters* 192; see also Poe to Thomas, May 25 1842, *Letters* 197.

[17] Poe to Lowell, March 30 1844, *Letters* 247.

ber 24 1844, Poe amplified his scheme, suggesting that the joint-stock venture would net its writers "$5000 per an: apiece." [18] Again, Lowell ignored the scheme; instead, he sent a letter of introduction which Poe was to present to Briggs: "He will pay & I thought from something you said in your last letter that pay would be useful to you." [19] Thus began the literary acquaintance of Edgar Allan Poe and Charles Frederick Briggs.

Despite Griswold's unfavorable stories, Briggs liked Poe "exceedingly well" in their first encounters.[20] Initially, Poe was only a contributor to the *Broadway Journal* at a dollar a column; Poe's real interest just then was in joining the editorial staff of N. P. Willis' *New York Mirror*.[21] When an unclear passage appeared in Poe's copy for the first issue, Briggs sent it in Poe's absence to E. A. Duyckinck to emend or strike.[22] By January 30 1845 Poe had been paid $18 for nine pages, or eighteen columns, of articles contributed to the *Broadway Journal*.[23] Perhaps this payment was Poe's last from the magazine; no record seems to survive of any subsequent earnings by Poe from the *Broadway Journal* throughout all of 1845.

The early issues of the *Broadway Journal* were greeted with considerable enthusiasm in reviews reflecting virtually every shade of political and literary opinion in New York.[24] But Briggs did not attract the "sixpences" of "the vulgar"; hence he was forced almost at the start to make his paper "more varied and newsy to suit the scrappy appetite of the monster public." [25] Briggs still refused to make a partisan of the *Broadway Journal*, but now he knew that to maintain his neutrality and independence he required the immediate assistance of a popular writer with an assured following — such as Nathaniel P. Willis of the *Mirror*.[26] At the beginning of February 1845

[18] Poe to Lowell, Oct 28 1844, *Letters* 265–266.

[19] Lowell to Poe, Dec 12 1844, Woodberry (1909) II 107.

[20] Briggs to Lowell, Jan 6 1845, and Jan 27 1845, Woodberry (1909) II 123–124.

[21] Briggs to Lowell, Jan 6 1845, and Jan 17 1845, A.A.A.

[22] Briggs to Duyckinck, Dec 27 1844, Duyckinck Collection. Briggs had previously asked Duyckinck to become a regular contributor and to write for the initial issue, and although Duyckinck wrote the article on William A. Jones in the second number, he became cool to Briggs by the spring of 1845 (Briggs to Duyckinck, Dec 17 1844 and March 26 1845, Duyckinck Collection 15339 and 15341).

[23] *Letters* 521 n 238.

[24] See *Knickerbocker* XXV (Feb 1845) 184; *Democratic Review* XIV (Jan 1845) 102; *Weekly News* Jan 11 1845; *Weekly Mirror* I (Jan 11 1845) 213; *Morning News* Feb 1 1845; *Daily Tribune* May 13 1845.

[25] Briggs to Lowell, Jan 27 1845, A.A.A.; *BJ* I (Feb 8 1845) 95.

[26] Briggs wrote to Lowell on Feb 1 1845: "I suppose the public would like a Boz or a Sterne to write six pennies worth of fine things for them weekly. . . . If Willis had half an ounce of honesty he were just the man to please the public"; A.A.A.

Briggs sent to Lowell a copy of the *Broadway Journal* containing "The Raven," commending it as a "grand poem" and as "a mere beautiful something entirely free from didacticism and sentiment. . . ." [27] Soon after, when "The Raven" made a lion of Poe, and Poe's relations with Willis' *Mirror* grew unsatisfactory, a new opportunity presented itself to Briggs.[28] Would Edgar Allan Poe do for Briggs as a substitute for Nathaniel Parker Willis?

Briggs's dilemma was that he desperately needed one or two new writers to join the staff of the *Broadway Journal*, but that he could not afford to pay regular salaries. He was therefore compelled to devise a plan, as he explained in self-mockery, to obtain new contributors "free instead of paying them." [29] On February 21 1845 Briggs offered Poe a work-and-share contract; by performing certain editorial duties each week, Poe would receive from Bisco one-third of the profits.[30] A third writer, the music critic Henry C. Watson, joined Briggs and Poe on the masthead at the same time, as Briggs explained, "upon terms similar to those which I offered to Poe." [31] Although Lowell was not content with Briggs's new arrangement, Briggs assured him that "getting the paper into a paying circulation" was urgent and imperative; furthermore, Briggs reminded Lowell that he had been forced "to get the assistance of a printer and a publisher, in the outset, who have a pecuniary interest in the journal as well as myself; I was thus compelled to adapt my means to my ends. . . ." [32] Now five partners shared in the *Broadway Journal*: Briggs, the printer Douglas, the publisher John Bisco, Poe, and Watson. The exact method employed to divide profits remains somewhat unclear; if Poe and Watson were each entitled to primary thirds, then Briggs, Douglas, and Bisco would be left to take secondary thirds of what remained, or mere ninths. This seems unlikely; perhaps some payment went down on the books as reimbursed costs rather than as shared profit, and conceivably, according to the original contract of December 23 1844, Briggs and John Bisco divided profits into halves and then subdivided each moiety themselves among the

[27] Briggs to Lowell, Feb 1 1845, A.A.A.

[28] Briggs wrote to Lowell on March 8 1845: "Poe has left the 'Mirror.' Willis was too Willisy for him" (Woodberry 1909 II 126).

[29] Briggs to Lowell, March 19 1845, A.A.A.

[30] Quinn 751. The signatures of Poe and John Bisco on this contract have sometimes been taken to mean that either or both had some authority which Briggs lacked (Quinn 495), but it must be remembered that John Bisco was here acting with Briggs's consent, according to their original contract of Dec 23 1844, to "make all purchases and contracts . . . and pay all bills" (see note 15).

[31] Briggs to Lowell, March 19 1845, A.A.A.

[32] Briggs to Lowell, March 19 1845, A.A.A.

remaining partners. In any event, Poe's income was certainly very small if not nil.

When Woodberry published Briggs's letter describing the arrangement with Poe and Watson, the relevant economic details were omitted. Here is the entire passage:

> One of my most reliable sources of profit is from advertising; book advertising in particular. To secure this I must make my paper in some sort a literary oracle, and a mere collection of squibbs and innuendoes at everything would not command that support. Therefore I thought it best to secure Poe's services as a critic, because he already has a reputation for reviewing, and I could gain them by allowing him a certain portion of the paper. He thought it would gain the Journal a certain number of subscribers immediately if his name were published in connection with it. I did not much like the plan, but he had more experience than myself in such matters, so I consented. Music is almost a universal topic, and a certain amount of advertising and subscription being promised on the condition of a certain part of the paper being devoted to musical concerns I engaged Mr Watson who is confirmed on all hands to be the most competent musical critic in the country upon terms very similar to those which I offered to Poe. But I retain precisely the same authority that I did in the beginning, only I get the services of my assistants free instead of paying them, as I should otherwise be compelled to do.[33]

There has been some dispute over Briggs's claim of retaining undivided authority, but Poe himself confessed afterwards that throughout Briggs's regime he remained merely a "contributor" with no editorial voice.[34]

It did not take Poe very long to discover that his partnership in the *Broadway Journal* was profitless. Poe found himself a "slave" to an exhausting "14 or 15 hours a day" of editorial labor without pay in cash:

> I am as poor now as ever I was in my life — except in hope, which is by no means bankable. I have taken a 3d pecuniary interest in the "Broadway Journal", and for every thing I have written for it have been, of course, so much out of pocket.[35]

[33] Briggs to Lowell, March 19 1845; see also Woodberry (1909) II 127–128.

[34] Poe to Laughton Osborn, Aug 15 1845, *Letters* 293.

[35] Poe to Frederick W. Thomas, May 4 1845, *Letters* 286. Poe had been so pressed for income in March that he committed himself to do a monthly column for the *Southern Literary Messenger* and to handle, through Bisco, the New York subscriptions for that magazine, for which purpose he received $18, but neither the articles nor the cash were ever delivered (*Southern Literary Messenger* XI April 1845 256; Benjamin Blake Minor, *The Southern Literary Messenger, 1834–1860*, New York 1950, 139–140; J. H. Whitty, *The Complete Poems of Edgar Allan Poe*, Boston 1911 *xlix-l*; *Letters* 521 n 238.

Four months after Poe became a partner of the *Broadway Journal*, he took stock of where he stood. On June 26 1845 Poe decided to retire from the magazine, to quit New York City, and to take up work on a proposed book, the "American Parnassus":

> . . . I have resolved to give up the B. Journal and retire to the country for six months, or perhaps a year, as the sole means of recruiting my health and spirits. Is it not possible that yourself or Mr Matthews [sic] might give me a trifle for my interest in the paper? [36]

Neither Evert Duyckinck nor Cornelius Mathews could pay Poe for his "interest" in the *Broadway Journal*; for one thing, what Poe owned could not very well be sold. Afterwards, Briggs corroborated Poe's story of intending to leave the magazine, and Briggs also mentioned Poe's request that his name be maintained nominally on the masthead nevertheless:

> I had told P. a month before that I should drop his name from the 'Journal.' He said I might keep it there if I wanted to, although he intended to go into the country and devote his time to getting up books, and would not therefore be able to assist me.[37]

At this time, the economic woes of the *Broadway Journal* were becoming manifest in other ways: on May 3 1845 the office was moved from 153 Broadway to 135 Nassau Street, presumably for economy, and on May 31 1845 the printer John Douglas, one of the original partners of the magazine, quit the sinking ship.[38]

By June 1845 Briggs's initial enthusiasm for Poe had totally evaporated; perhaps one factor was Poe's intoxicated appearance during his first personal meeting with Lowell that spring. In any event, Briggs was faced with a major economic crisis; for the *Broadway Journal* to survive, Briggs would have to start anew with a different investing publisher. Woodberry omitted an important comment by Briggs on Poe at this time when he published portions of the Briggs correspondence; since it indicates Briggs's mind before the crisis of July 1845, it is here given in full:

> I have arrangements on foot with a new publisher for the Journal who will enable me to give it a fresh start; and I trust very soon to be able to

[36] Poe to Duyckinck, June 26 1845, *Letters* 290; for the dating of this letter, see *Letters* 510–511 n 201.

[37] Briggs to Lowell, Aug 1 1845, Woodberry (1909) II 144.

[38] The subsequent changes in the printers of the *Broadway Journal* graphically depict the instability of the magazine after June 1845: J. R. Winser, June 7 1845 to June 28 1845; Douglas again, July 12 1845 and July 19 1845; unknown, July 26 1845 to Oct 25 1845; Office of the Farmer & Mechanic, Nov 1 1845 to Dec 6 1845; and unknown, Dec 13 1845 to Jan 3 1846.

> give you an earnest of its profits. I shall haul down Poe's name; he has lately gotten into his old habits and I fear will injure himself irretrievably. I was rather taken at first with a certain appearance of independence and learning in his criticisms, but they are so verbal, and so purely selfish that I can no longer have any sympathy with him. In all that he has ever written there is not a benevolent thought. I think a machine, something like Babbage's[,] might be constructed to write poetry and criticisms like his. I always did hate your mere proof reading critics. I take it for granted that any man who can write at all can write good grammar, and if he choses to write bad it is a business of his own. But he has no right to utter bad thoughts, and it is his thoughts alone that the critic has any right to handle. Poe is a good proof reader and a good scanner of verses, but his merits as a critic hardly reach further.[39]

Briggs was hoping to start the second volume of the *Broadway Journal* on July 5 1845 with a new partner, Homans, who had already "agreed upon terms with Bisco to buy his interest," and who also had made "a very liberal offer" to Briggs himself.[40] Presumably the arrival of Homans would bring an end to the joint-stock arrangement of the magazine; for the first time the *Broadway Journal* would acquire conventional capitalization.

A few days before Briggs's plan for the reorganization of the *Broadway Journal* would begin, John Bisco disrupted matters when he "exacted more" to sell his share than he and Briggs had agreed upon. Since Briggs could not omit Bisco's name from the masthead without his consent, Briggs suspended publication of the issue of July 5 1845, "meaning to issue a double number, not doubting I could agree with him upon some terms" before the next Saturday of July 12 1845.[41] The veracity of Briggs is substantiated by Evert Duyckinck's report of July 8 1845:

> There's trouble in the camp of the Broadway Journal — no number Saturday. Briggs I believe has fallen in love with a new publisher and finds it difficult to be off with the old. I suppose it will work itself clear & that we shall live (at least I hope so) to see another Journal soon.[42]

Thus far, Poe played no known part in the negotiations; to the contrary, Poe may have been too ill at this time to do a great deal, and he had even can-

[39] Briggs to Lowell, June 27 1845, A.A.A.; Charles Babbage was the inventor of an early calculating machine; the final six sentences of the passage are omitted in Woodberry (1909) II 141.

[40] Briggs to Lowell, July 16 1845, Woodberry (1909) II 141–142. Homans was probably J. Smith Homans, general publisher and book dealer, who placed advertisements in the paper during this period; see *BJ* I (June 14, 21, and 28 1845) 382, 398, 415.

[41] Briggs to Lowell, July 16 1845, Woodberry (1909) II 142.

[42] Duyckinck to Lowell, July 8 1845, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

celled a scheduled appearance to read a poem before the Philomathian and Euclidian Societies of New York University on June 30 1845.[43] After the suspended issue of July 5 1845, the resolution looked for by Briggs never took place; to make matters worse, John Bisco was now spurred on by unidentified "evil advisers, and became more extortionate than ever." [44] Certainly John Bisco had overestimated the economic extent to which Briggs was "anxious to go on" with the magazine; Briggs now simply withdrew all offers to buy out his partner: ". . . I told him I would not take it. . . ." [45] The effect of this turnabout was to prevent the resumption of publication of the magazine; John Bisco was as powerless to proceed without Briggs's legal consent as Briggs had been the week before without John Bisco's.

For a variety of economic and legal reasons, Briggs elected to break the deadlock; he allowed John Bisco to issue the number of July 12 1845 without his name on it, if only to obtain a legal claim. Meanwhile, Poe recovered his forces and saw the opportunity at his doorstep; according to Briggs, Poe now

> persuaded Bisco to carry on the 'Journal' himself. As his doing so would give me a legal claim upon him, and enable me to recover something from him, I allowed him to issue one number, but it is doubtful whether he issues another.[46]

Briggs's withdrawal left the *Broadway Journal* in a sad economic condition, as C. F. Hoffman reported on July 12 1845:

> The Broadway Journal stopped for a week to let Briggs step ashore with his luggage and they are now getting up steam to drive ahead under captains Poe & Watson — I think it will soon stop again to land one of these.[47]

As Briggs summarized it, John Bisco, "thinking to spite me, and Poe, thinking to glorify himself in having overmastered me, agreed to go on with it." [48]

[43] *Morning News*, July 3 1845.

[44] Briggs to Lowell, July 16 1845, Woodberry (1909) II 142.

[45] Briggs to Lowell, Aug 1 1845, Woodberry (1909) II 144; Briggs had previously warned John Bisco of such a possibility: "I had also told Bisco that I would have nothing more to do with him after the close of the first volume, and that I would not carry it on unless I could find a publisher to my mind" (II 144).

[46] Briggs to Lowell, July 16 1845, Woodberry (1909) II 142.

[47] C. F. Hoffman to Rufus W. Griswold, July 11 1845, Homer F. Barnes *Charles Fenno Hoffman* (New York 1930) 263.

[48] Briggs to Lowell, Aug 1 1845, Woodberry (1909) II 144; it must be remembered that the *Broadway Journal* was not Briggs's only magazine connection during 1845, for he wrote for others and was even approached to commence a new weekly, which he considered naming *The Balance* (Briggs to Lowell, Sept 29 1845, Houghton Library).

The magazine resumed publication on July 12 1845; two days later, Poe and Bisco signed a contract which made Poe "sole editor" of the paper, put him in possession of one-half of the profits, and gave him an "absolute lien" for the first time.[49] It may be of significance that the document was witnessed by Cornelius Mathews, Duyckinck's constant associate and the leading spokesman for "Young America." It must be kept in mind that the original contract of Briggs and John Bisco was still not abrogated, and Briggs had the power to present John Bisco and Poe with a legal suit for publishing the issue of July 19, as he had threatened he might do. Hence, there was genuine relief on July 18 1845, when Evert Duyckinck reported from within the *Broadway Journal* office: "Mathews out of town — No news of Briggs."[50] For his part, John Bisco threw a cloak of secrecy over all the proceedings, insisting, perhaps for legal reasons, that they were matters "in which the public have no interest."[51] In the end, Briggs succumbed to prudence and discretion, and his threatened legal action was never taken:

> I laughed at their folly, and told them to go ahead; but I still hold the same right that I ever did, and could displace them both if I wished to do so. But seeing so much poltroonery and littleness in the business gave me a disgust to it, and I let them alone, hoping to get back from Bisco some money which I had advanced him.[52]

No account by Poe written during the July crisis is known to exist.

But Poe soon found himself forced to say something about the succession which had made him the sole editor of the *Broadway Journal*. On July 30 1845 the *Cincinnati Gazette* ran a paragraph from its New York correspondent — who happened to be Briggs himself — carrying the dateline of July 19 1845 and telling what seemed to be the story of a disinterested person:

> There has been a flare up in the Broadway Journal, which prevented the appearance of one number a week or two since, and may break up the paper. It originated in some difference between one of the Editors and the Publisher. The Editor undertook to get a new publisher on the paper, and so the publisher turned round and put the name of the other editor

[49] Quinn 751–752.

[50] Evert A. Duyckinck to George L. Duyckinck, dated Friday and postmarked July 19 [July 18 1845], Duyckinck Collection.

[51] *BJ* II (July 12 1845) 1.

[52] Briggs to Lowell, Aug 1 1845, Woodberry (1909) II 144. When Duyckinck reported the resumption of the *Broadway Journal*, he gave both parties their due; he acknowledged that Briggs's "clear, acute, caustic style was constantly exhibiting various absurdities of social life, clearing away false pretension, and delighting the reader by the humor which enlivened a wide observation and experience," while admitting that Poe's "subtle powers of analysis have been displayed in the work from the appearance of the first number" (*Morning News* July 24 1845).

> on his sheet. Where the merits or demerits of the case lie we do not pretend to determine. The Journal has force — some good criticism and a good deal of bad. It needs more catholicity — more liberality and a little less attempt at severity. With its flashy name exchanged for something more dignified, and its main plan retained, it would soon be the most able and entertaining weekly in the country.[53]

Briggs went on — anonymously, of course — to give an account of a similar difficulty aboard the *Democratic Review*; however, he seemed to be offering certain kinds of editorial advice to Poe. When the item was picked up by the New York *Express*, Poe reprinted it for purposes of refutation; in the process, a few typographical changes took place, and the words "and may break up the paper" were either lost or omitted as Poe answered the *Gazette*'s correspondent:

> He is right only in the proportion of one word in ten. What does he mean by "catholicity"? What does he mean by calling "The Broadway Journal" "a *flashy* name"? What does he mean by "putting the name of the other editor on the paper"? The name of the "other editor" was never *off* the paper. What does he mean by his pet phrase "a flare-up"? There has been *no* flare-up either in the case of "The Broadway Journal" or of "The Democratic Review." [54]

One week after Poe printed this denial, he reported the resolution of the complication delaying the *Democratic Review*, noting the appearance of a combined July and August number, which happened to contain "a very clever tale" by Briggs; then, in the following issue of the *Broadway Journal*, Poe came to a truce in the dispute: "We thank the New-York Correspondent of the 'Cincinnati Gazette,' for the gentlemanly tone of his reply to some late pettish comments of our own." [55] In effect, Poe had conceded the truthfulness of Briggs's anonymous account.

The irony of Poe's new situation is that he was full editor and half owner of a magazine that he did not esteem very highly. With sarcasm and contempt, Poe wrote to a cousin: " 'The B. Journal' flourishes — but in January I shall establish a Magazine." [56] In August, Lowell noticed that Poe seemed

[53] *Daily Cincinnati Gazette* July 30 1845.

[54] *BJ* II (Aug 9 1845) 79.

[55] *BJ* II (Aug 16 and 30 1845) 88, 126.

[56] Poe to Neilson Poe, Aug 8 1845, *Letters* 292. Briggs confirmed Poe's interest in a new magazine: "The last conversation I had with Poe he used all his power of eloquence in persuading me to join him in the joint editorship of the 'Stylus.' " (Briggs to Lowell, Oct 13 1845, Woodberry 1909 II 147).

to have formed an alliance of the *Broadway Journal* and the "Young America" movement, whose leader, Mathews, was sometimes known as the Centurion:

> I am glad to hear that the conduct of Poe and Bisco about the B. J. was not so bad as I feared. I see that the Centurion's industrious laudatory legion got hold of it.[57]

For Poe, there were few grounds for celebration in the declining economic condition of the magazine; not even a month after the resumption of publication, it must have been clear that the future was bleak indeed without fresh capital. Moreover, Poe had no recourse but to begin a series of plaintive appeals for personal loans in August: "Mr Bisco says to me that, with the loan of $50, for a couple of months, he would be put out of all difficulty in respect to the publication of the 'Broadway Journal.'" [58] By October, Bisco evidently abandoned all hope of realizing a profit from the *Broadway Journal*, and Poe was left to continue the profitless magazine on his own.

The *Broadway Journal* had certainly not prospered between Briggs's departure in July and John Bisco's exit in October; yet, Briggs had simply abandoned his moiety while John Bisco insisted on payment from Poe. By borrowing $50 from Horace Greeley, which he turned over to Bisco, and by assuming an aggregate debt of $140 due in January 1846, Poe finally became full owner as well as full editor of the *Broadway Journal* on October 24 1845.[59] Unfortunately, Poe's reign was to endure for hardly more than one month. The problem of the lack of capital, which had plagued each of the partners from the start, was now placed entirely upon Poe's shoulders, and Poe tried to solve it by means of personal appeals to R. W. Griswold, J. P. Kennedy, T. H. Chivers, Fitz-Greene Halleck, and George Poe, between October 26 1845 and December 1 1845, for sums of $50 to $200.[60]

Perhaps the fullest disclosure of Poe's state of mind at this time occurs in his request to John P. Kennedy:

> By a series of manoeuvres almost incomprehensible to myself, I have succeeded in getting rid, one by one, of all my associates in "The Broadway Journal", and (as you will see by last week's paper) have now become sole

[57] Lowell to Briggs, Aug 8 1845, Houghton Library. Much material favorable to Mathews and "Young America" appeared in the *Broadway Journal* under Poe; see, for example, *BJ* II (Aug 2 1845, Sept 27 1845, Oct 18 1845, Nov 15 1845, and Nov 29 1845) 60–61, 177–178, 227, 283–284, 325.

[58] Poe to Thomas H. Chivers, Aug 11 1845, *Letters* 292–293.

[59] Mott 761–762; Quinn 752–753; Poe to Thomas H. Chivers, Nov 15 1845, *Letters* 302.

[60] *Letters* 298–305. Evidently Poe's appeal to Briggs himself in October (see note 56) is yet one more indication of his economic difficulties.

> editor and owner. It will be a fortune to me if I can hold it — and if I can hold it for one month I am quite safe — as you shall see.[61]

Poe's account of the history of the magazine is thoroughly equivocal; what is interesting, however, is his closing remark, "if I can hold it for one month I am quite safe — as you shall see." Indeed, Poe began to liquidate the *Broadway Journal* about five weeks later; on December 3 1845 he transferred half his interest to Thomas H. Lane, who was brought in to terminate its accounts.[62] Evidently Poe did not even bother to edit the final issue; it was prepared by Thomas Dunn English, who had become a partner of some kind by investing $30 in the paper in October.[63] English and Lane were the sixth and seventh known partners to join the *Broadway Journal* in 1845.[64] The brief but fevered history of the magazine came to an end, celebrated only by Poe's Valedictory, on January 3 1846.

Poe did not pause to lament the passing of the *Broadway Journal*; to the contrary, the hint of satisfaction as to his "objects" in the Valedictory is enlarged upon in a letter written soon afterwards: "The B. Journal had fulfilled its destiny — which was a matter of no great moment. I have never regarded it as more than a temporary adjunct to other designs." [65] But what were Poe's "other designs"? What did Poe mean in speaking of the magazine as a "temporary adjunct" and "a matter of no great moment"? Why, indeed, did Poe change his course so often with regard to the paper — quitting in June, returning in July, buying it all in October, and disposing of half in December?

Perhaps the fullest disclosure of Poe's motives during the *Broadway Journal* period may be found in a lengthy letter of October 1844 written just six weeks before he met Briggs and joined the paper as one of the initial contributors.[66] In a detailed confession to George Anthon, Poe revealed that he was dedicated to his "ultimate purpose — to found a Magazine of my own, or in which at least I might have a proprietary right," but that he also had

[61] Poe to John P. Kennedy, Oct 26 1845, *Letters* 299; Kennedy replied: "Good wishes are pretty nearly all the capital I have for such speculations" (*Letters* 300).

[62] Woodberry (1909) II 427; Kenneth Rede, "Poe Notes from an Investigator's Notebook" *American Literature* V (March 1933) 53–54.

[63] Francis P. Dedmond "The War of the Literati: Documents of the Final Phase" *Notes and Queries* CXCVIII (July 1953) 303–308.

[64] It is possible that some of the printers who succeeded John Douglas also became partners of the paper in the same way that Douglas himself did at first.

[65] Poe to Sarah J. Hale, Jan 16 1846, *Letters* 312.

[66] Briggs reported that meeting in writing to Lowell on Dec 17 1844: "Mr Poe called upon me with yr. note" (A.A.A.).

in sight for the present an "immediate object," to obtain the publication of a collection of his sixty-six tales in as many as five volumes. Poe hoped that Anthon might obtain the backing of Harper & Brothers for both his collected works and also an elegant magazine:

> In a word, I believe that the publication of the work would lead forthwith either directly through my own exertion or indirectly with the aid of a publisher to the establishment of the journal I hold in view.

Although the Harpers showed no interest in the projects, the two goals were inextricably connected in Poe's mind.[67] What happened in 1845, soon after the furore of "The Raven," was that he was offered a working partnership in the *Broadway Journal* at about the same time that he began to negotiate with another book publisher, Wiley & Putnam. If Poe could not utilize the publication of his collected works as a tactic to bring about his vision of an affluent monthly, then he would employ a precarious weekly, the *Broadway Journal*, to extract as many editions as possible from Wiley & Putnam. Such is the circumstantial evidence of Poe's "objects" and "designs" of 1845; indeed, the two Wiley & Putnam editions of that year were, in fact, the closest Poe ever came in his lifetime to enjoying a collected works.

Wiley & Putnam agreed to issue a collection of Poe's tales in one volume almost as soon as Poe's name appeared on the masthead of the *Broadway Journal*.[68] The edition was already "in press" by March 16 1845 but there was a delay for some reason; as late as June 26 1845, when Poe offered his share in the *Broadway Journal* to Evert Duyckinck, the book had still not appeared, and perhaps Poe had begun to fear that it would never appear.[69] At this time, Duyckinck was in a curious position; he had been among Briggs's inner circle of initial contributors to the *Broadway Journal*, and he was now both house editor of Wiley & Putnam's Library of American Books and literary editor of the New York *Morning News* and *Weekly News*. Upon receiving Poe's letter, Duyckinck appears to have moved very quickly; two

[67] Poe to George Anthon, before Nov 2 1844, *Letters*, p 270–271. The Harpers were said to have rejected Poe's proposal, he was told, because of "*complaints* against you, grounded on certain movements of yours, when they acted as your publishers some years ago" in the issue of *Arthur Gordon Pym* (1838) (Anthon to Poe, Nov 2 1844, *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe* ed James A. Harrison 17 vols, New York 1902 XVII 193). At the time of Poe's appeal to Anthon, four years had passed since his last important volume of fiction, *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* (1840), and three years had passed since Lea & Blanchard had rejected Poe's proposal of Aug 13 1841, that they follow it with a second volume (*Letters* 178 and 178n; Quinn 278–279, 336–340, 397–399).

[68] Briggs to Lowell, March 8 1845, Woodberry (1909) II 126.

[69] Briggs to Lowell, March 16 1845, A.A.A.; Briggs repeated the report in the *Daily Cincinnati Gazette*, April 2 1845.

days later, on Saturday, June 28 1845, which was to have been Poe's last day as a partner of the *Broadway Journal*, Wiley & Putnam suddenly announced Poe's *Tales* as "just published," and the first review, certainly Duyckinck's own, appeared in the *Morning News*.[70] Usually the Saturday *Weekly News* reprinted the week's literary material from the *Morning News* of the preceding week, but the Poe review did not appear in the weekly edition until July 5 1845, one week later, suggesting the possibility of a missed deadline and great haste. In any event, Poe suddenly possessed on June 28 something he had lacked on June 26, namely, a working connection with a book publisher. Indeed, Poe's first action when he returned to the *Broadway Journal* on July 12 1845 was to agitate for a second Wiley & Putnam volume.

Poe probably reviewed his own book, but he did not stoop to self-adulation. He simply complained that Duyckinck's choice of a "mere selection of twelve tales from seventy" displayed "no particular arrangement" and hence failed to give any idea of Poe's "diversity of invention."[71] Afterwards, Poe continued to employ the *Broadway Journal* to provoke additional favorable comment and to maintain his demand for a second volume of tales.[72] Whether or not this sort of literary politicking really mattered cannot be said, but Poe evidently believed very strongly that it did. The *Tales* enjoyed a successful sale of 1,500 copies; during the summer of 1845, Wiley & Putnam agreed to hazard the publication of a volume of Poe's poetry and to allow Poe to select it himself.[73] Hence Poe's decision to go on with the *Broadway Journal* in July, even though he was ready to retire from the paper in June, seems to have been designed largely to put him in the best possible position to negotiate with Wiley & Putnam.

The proofs of Poe's next volume, *The Raven and Other Poems*, were ready about one week before John Bisco's withdrawal from the *Broadway Journal* in October, and Poe could not have been unaware of his partner's discontent with the magazine. Poe read the proofs the evening before his highly controversial appearance at the Boston Lyceum.[74] That lecture, in which Poe attempted to pass off "Al Aaraaf" as a juvenile work, has been taken as a

[70] *BJ* I (June 28 1845) 415; *Morning News* June 28 1845; however, the *Broadway Journal*, which published on Saturday, probably could accept material as late as Friday, except when that day was a holiday, as it was on July 4 1845 (Briggs to Duyckinck, Tuesday [July 1 1845] Duyckinck Collection).

[71] *BJ* II (July 12 1845) 10.

[72] See, for example, *BJ* II (Oct 4 1845) 200.

[73] Poe to Duyckinck, Sept 10 1845 and Nov 13 1845, *Letters* 297, 301.

[74] *BJ* II (Dec 13 1845) 358.

sign of "mental disturbance," but Poe's hoax may have been a stunt designed to bring attention to his forthcoming volume of poetry.[75] Wiley & Putnam announced *The Raven and Other Poems* on November 8 1845; the *Broadway Journal* reported it in Books Received on November 22 1845.[76] But during the period between October 25 1845, the day after Poe became full owner of the *Broadway Journal*, and December 13 1845, ten days after Poe disposed of half that ownership to Thomas Lane, he all but gave over the *Broadway Journal* to the airing of the Boston Lyceum hoax, thereby creating fresh interest in himself as a poet and providing invaluable publicity for *The Raven and Other Poems*.[77] Perhaps the coincidence was accidental — perhaps, too, it was fortuitous again that Poe had launched the "Longfellow War" in March just when the *Tales* were in press — but it appears most likely that Poe did utilize the *Broadway Journal* repeatedly as a device to aid and promote the publication of his books. Hence, Poe's remark of October 26 1845 to Kennedy about the *Broadway Journal*, "if I can hold it for one month I am quite safe — as you shall see," apparently reveals Poe's intention of becoming full owner of the magazine to keep it alive long enough to usher in *The Raven and Other Poems*.

The encounter with Briggs and the *Broadway Journal* in 1845 bears a lesson for Poe scholars who have felt the need "to study more closely his policy as editor of four different magazines in three different cities."[78] Poe's strategy in 1845 became a career policy for himself rather than an editorial policy for his magazine, but there is no reason to assume that Poe held to an identical principle on the *Southern Literary Messenger*, *Burton's*, and *Graham's*. Nevertheless, some common attitudes and beliefs run like a red thread throughout Poe's career; even before he assumed his first editorship, Poe saw a parallel between the necessity for the unity and totality of effect in literary aesthetics — for which he was later to become well known — and the necessity for similar unity in literary politics:

> The history of all Magazines shows plainly that those which have attained celebrity were indebted for it to articles *similar in nature — to Berenice*. . . . In the ludicrous heightened into the grotesque: the fearful coloured into the horrible: the witty exaggerated into the burlesque: the singular wrought out into the strange and mystical.[79]

[75] Quinn 487.

[76] *BJ* II (Nov 8 and 22 1845), 280, 307.

[77] See, for example, *BJ* II (Oct 25 1845, Nov 1 1845, Nov 22 1845, and Dec 13 1845), 248, 261–263, 309–311, 357–358.

[78] Hubbell *Eight American Authors* 45.

[79] Poe to Thomas W. White, April 30 1835, *Letters* 57–58.

These qualities, needless to say, were also abundantly displayed by Poe in the *Broadway Journal*. Poe's career nearly always rotated around the magazines of his time; even the largely fictional autobiographical memorandum of 1841 concludes with two items pertaining to his magazine exploits.[80] Poe created over the years certain legends about himself as a magazinist; perhaps the best known axiom of his invention is that he could work by force of will five-fold or even ten-fold increases in magazine circulation.[81] Poe tried to invoke his old magic in 1845, and when it did not work, he simply forgot the *Broadway Journal* episode and persisted afterwards in his conviction that a successful monthly still remained "the one great purpose of my literary life." [82] In the last year of his life, Poe steadfastly believed that the magazinist had to be as inventive in practical action as he was in literary imagination; novelty remained a cardinal principle of both politics and aesthetics: "What the public seek in a Magazine is *what they cannot elsewhere procure*." [83]

The *Broadway Journal* episode might provide grounds to agree with the description of Poe as "a complete product of the publishing world of his time," a literary figure whose main efforts always went "to master a market." [84] Yet Poe never either attained or even aspired to the merely commercial success of such friendly contemporaries as N. P. Willis. It was Willis, of course, who gave this memorable piece of advice upon the times when, after 1845, the Poe-Briggs war finally came into the open: "Notoriety is glory in this transition state of our half-bak'd country." [85] Indeed, Poe's faults, if they were faults, as an adventurous entrepreneur were not his alone; to the contrary, they belonged to his age. Yet the glory Poe sought was never wealth alone, despite the dream of wealth which plagued him. The eventual glory for Poe was literary reputation — both for the moment and, if possible, for a span of eternity.

Although Briggs and Lowell came to be shocked by what Poe did with the *Broadway Journal*, it must be remembered that they began by encouraging him. Briggs gave Poe a relatively free hand in what he wrote for the paper during the first six months, and Lowell, who had some notion of Poe's dream

80 *Works* ed Harrison I 344–346.

81 Poe to Frederick W. Thomas, Sept 1 1841 and Feb 3 1842; Poe to Thomas H. Chivers, Sept 27 1842; Poe to Charles Anthon, before Nov 2 1844; Poe to Edward H. N. Patterson, April 30 1849; *Letters* 180, 192, 215, 269–270, 440.

82 Poe to Philip P. Cooke, Aug 9 1846, *Letters* 330.

83 Poe to Edward H. N. Patterson, April 30 1849, *Letters* 439.

84 Howard Mumford Jones *Ideas in America* (quoted in *Eight American Authors* 24–25).

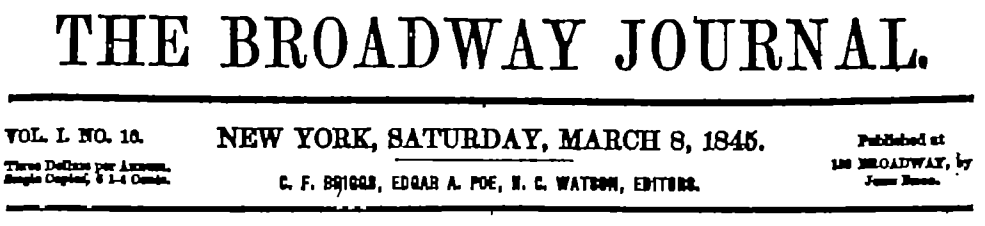
85 Willis to Poe, n d [1846–1847?] Harrison XVII 206.

of a "coalition," spurred him on in an admiring article published in *Graham's* in 1845. By a double coincidence, Poe had to go to Briggs's office in the fall of 1844 to obtain Lowell's manuscript, which had been sent to him for personal approval; and again, the article itself was finally published in February 1845, just three weeks before Poe and Briggs became partners on the *Broadway Journal*. Lowell wrote:

> Had Mr. Poe had the control of a magazine of his own, in which to display his critical abilities, he would have been as autocratic, ere this, in America, as Professor Wilson had been in England; and his criticisms, we are sure, would have been far more profound and philosophical than those of the Scotsman. As it is, he has squared out blocks enough to build an enduring pyramid, but he has left them lying carelessly and unclaimed in many different quarries.[86]

What Lowell said of the criticism, Poe knew, was equally if not more true of the tales and poems scattered in the files of so many newspapers and magazines. Consequently, Poe used the *Broadway Journal* for the final revision of many tales and poems and as part of his strategy for assuring during his lifetime an "enduring pyramid" — the *Tales* and *The Raven and Other Poems* issued in 1845 by *Wiley & Putnam*.

[86] After 1845, of course, Lowell no longer had such high expectations from Poe, and the passage was dropped when the article was reprinted in 1850; the original version from *Graham's* (Feb 1845) and the reprint are conflated in *The Shock of Recognition* ed, Edmund Wilson (New York 1943) 7.



THE BROADWAY JOURNAL.

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Three Dollars per Annum. Single Copies, 6 1-4 Cents. C. F. BRIGGS, EDGAR A. POE, H. C. WATSON, EDITORS.

Poe's name joins the masthead.
Berg Collection

The *Broadway Journal* (2): A Casualty of Abolition Politics

By Bertie S. Weidman
Columbia University

THE *Broadway Journal*, a literary weekly that appeared during 1845 in New York City, has been remembered among students of American literature as one of the magazines briefly edited by Edgar Allan Poe. Its chief interest is considered to be its reprinting of definitive versions of many of Poe's tales and poems during the last six months of 1845.[1] Poe's biographers note in passing that the *Journal* was founded, named, and edited initially by Charles Frederick Briggs (1804–1877), known at that time as the comic novelist, Harry Franco. However, they say little of the magazine's first six months, providing a meager account of the *Journal's* real worth and explaining its failure superficially. Financial difficulties alone did not destroy the *Broadway Journal*, as scholars have suggested; the weekly was fatally undermined well before Poe became its sole editor (July 1845), though partially through his agency, because it took an unpopular, and some said, ambiguous stand on the issue of slavery. Its bright promise was dimmed by clashes between Briggs and his assistant Poe, but quenched by the hostility of an organized political faction.

Briggs, who had achieved increasing recognition as a novelist and magazinist since the 1839 publication of *The Adventures of Henry Franco*, was a Nantucketer-turned-New Yorker; he began his career as a sailor, but the attractions of New York lured him from the sea to become a partner in a firm of wholesale grocers. After his sudden literary success, he found himself able to earn a living in journalism, and soon abandoned his mercantile pursuits. Like Poe, Briggs had long dreamed of editing a magazine of the highest standards, its literary judgments unimpeached by cliquishness, its contributions original, and its political opinions independent. In a letter of July 9 1844 to his intimate friend James Russell Lowell, Briggs wrote, "I am still brooding over my project of a weekly magazine"; he was delayed only by the difficulty of finding a suitable publisher.[2] Six months later he revealed his plans:

[1] Two complete files of the *Broadway Journal* I may be consulted in the Berg Collection of The New York Public Library. There is also a complete file of Vol II, edited by Poe.

[2] Charles Frederick Briggs to James Russell Lowell, unpublished letter dated July 9 1844 deposited in the William Page Papers, Archives of American Art, Detroit, Mich. This article is based largely on details gleaned from the large collection of letters from Briggs to Lowell and William Page, in the Page Papers (cited hereafter as A.A.A.) Acknowledgment is made to the Archives; Alderman Library, University of Virginia; and The New York Public Library for permission to use materials quoted here and below.

> I have made arrangements for publishing the first number of my long-talked of paper in January. It will be published by John Biscoe [sic], a shrewd Yankee from Worcester, who has been a schoolteacher in New Jersey and was once the publisher of the Knickerbocker. He is the right person, I think, and if I prove the right one to conduct it, of which I am by no means oversure, it will hold its head up.[3]

Since Briggs considered his choice of a publisher long and cautiously, it is important to understand what Bisco's *Knickerbocker* affiliation implied about the viewpoint of the new magazine. Briggs had been contributing to the monthly *Knickerbocker* since its editor, Lewis Gaylord Clark, had praised the vigor and verisimilitude of *Harry Franco*. Though Clark claimed that his magazine was apolitical, he and the prosperous, conservative New Yorkers who supported the *Knickerbocker* identified themselves with the Whig Party. They were advocates of Northern business interests, in favor of high protective tariffs, and strongly opposed to Andrew Jackson and his Democratic successors. They were men of fashion and gourmets; they admired robust humor, despised Transcendentalism, and thought the abolitionists New England fanatics.[4] Briggs, as the son of a small importer ruined by embargo, opposed the high tariffs supported by the Whigs. His first novel is evidence of the fact that, unlike the *Knickerbocker* Whigs, he did not regard American business as a progressive, moral force. He was, moreover, sympathetic to the Jacksonian idea of government administered for the benefit of the working, rather than propertied, classes. However, more important than any positive program in determining Briggs's political stand in the 1840s was his dissatisfaction with the Democratic candidate. Briggs considered Martin Van Buren a smooth-talking politician whose truckling for votes led him into corrupt compacts with Southern slaveholders and Western expansionists. On the other hand, he trusted the instincts of the Whig spokesman, Henry Clay, who, though he was born a Kentucky slaveholder, regarded the Southern institution as morally wrong and doomed to abandonment.[5]

Briggs allied himself with Clark's Whig position, not following his unalloyed conviction, but making the best of imperfect alternatives. Although his political choice uneasily coincided with Clark's, he had at first greatly admired the *Knickerbocker* for its contribution to American literary history.

[3] Briggs to Lowell, Dec 7 1844, A.A.A.

[4] See Perry Miller *The Raven and the Whale* (New York 1956) 9 ff.

[5] Briggs, who did not believe that American democracy could support a third party, opposed the abolitionists' Liberty Party. He elaborated these views in a letter to Lowell, dated April 11 1844, A.A.A.

Founded in 1833, Clark's magazine had published such notable American writers as Irving, Cooper, Bryant, Halleck, Longfellow, Whittier, and Hawthorne by the end of the decade. However, despite this record, by 1844 Briggs's loyalty to Clark was strained by more than political differences. Briggs had become painfully aware that the editor took liberties with manuscript and even indulged in political chicanery.[6] Though he expressed support of the creation of a national literature, Clark tended to admire excessively and encourage imitation of English models — Scott, Byron, Dickens, Lamb, Hazlitt. Briggs, who decried imitation and urged passage of international copyright legislation to prevent the spread of cheap English reprints, became increasingly disenchanted with Clark; he exclaimed to Lowell, "But think of such a person standing, a literary Moses, between authors and readers. Truly there is a necessity for a new tribunal in literature and art." [7]

Briggs had already explored the existing alternatives to Clark's *Knickerbocker*, and found them wanting. Though he occasionally wrote for the Whigs' opposite number, the *Democratic Review*, he dismissed that journal as a party organ. Of John L. O'Sullivan, its editor, he wrote to Lowell, "[he] is about as much of a democrat as the Emperor Nicholas." [8] There was a new radical wing within the Democratic party, led by Evert Duyckinck and Cornelius Mathews. Just becoming known as "Young America," the movement wholeheartedly espoused the copyright cause and the development of an independent literature.[9] Though it promised, in literary matters, to be closer to Briggs in spirit than either of the major parties were, "Young America" had no journal of its own in 1844. Duyckinck, who admired Briggs as a "dry-as-dust man who knows his words and never says too much," [10] tried to enlist the novelist among his adherents; however, Briggs remained aloof, partly because of his distrust of the group's Democratic affiliation, and partly because of his personal distaste for the bombastic style of Duyckinck's intimate friend, Cornelius Mathews.

In choosing John Bisco as the *Journal*'s publisher, Briggs traded on the former *Knickerbocker* publisher's familiarity with the New York literary

[6] The *Knickerbocker* had "emasculated" Briggs's notice of Lowell's poems (Briggs to Lowell, April 11 1844, A.A.A.); on July 9 1844 Briggs described one of Clark's shady political deals.

[7] Briggs to Lowell, April 11 1844, A.A.A.

[8] Briggs to Lowell, Aug 1843, A.A.A.

[9] For a full discussion of the principles and personalities of the "Young America" movement, see John Stafford, *The Literary Criticism of "Young America"; A Study in the Relationship of Politics and Literature, 1837–1850* (Berkeley, Calif 1952).

[10] Evert Duyckinck to William Alfred Jones, unpublished letter n. d., Duyckinck Collection, Manuscript Division, The New York Public Library.

scene; he thus insured a capable printer and reliable distributors. While he clearly intended his magazine to represent his individual synthesis of Democratic and Whig social and political goals, he wanted a publisher whose respectable background would create a favorable impression on potential advertisers.[11] A shrewd Yankee himself, Briggs hoped that the *Knickerbocker's cachet* would launch his magazine into paying circulation; he would then be free to speak his mind without coercion from financial backers. Briggs's choice of Bisco adumbrated an uneasy relationship with those radical Democrats and abolitionists to whom *Knickerbocker* Whiggery was anathema. Nonetheless, Briggs counted on friends like Lowell to understand and interpret his intentions. In a sanguine mood, he combined his own slim funds with those of Bisco and a printer, John Douglas, each to receive a third of the profits realized from advertisers and the three-dollar annual subscription rate.

When Briggs and Bisco issued a prospectus for the new magazine, the editor clearly indicated the kind of a journal he had in mind. It would respect the idea of international copyright, even in the absence of such a law, by permitting only original matter into its pages: "Essays, Criticisms in Art and Literature, Domestic and Foreign Correspondence, and Literary and Scientific Intelligence." Moreover, it would present original illustrations and show an active civic concern in the design of public buildings. Because the editor and his publisher offered a "free channel" to writers, they hoped that their venture would stimulate "slumbering talent." Finally, the prospectus, issued a few weeks before Volume One, Number One made its appearance on January 4 1845, made a point of emphasizing that the *Journal* would "espouse the cause of no political party, but . . . hold itself free to condemn or approve any men or measures that a patriotic regard for the welfare of the country may dictate." [12]

Briggs chose to mark his *Journal*'s birth with a full "Introductory," in which he explained his choice of a name and a character for the newborn. The name *Broadway Journal* represented the magazine's individuality, its indigenousness, and its spirit.

> Broadway is confessedly the finest street in the first city of the New World. It is the great artery through which flows the best blood of our system. All the elegance of our continent permeates through it. If there

[11] Bisco, whose business address was 153 Broadway, does not appear in any of the biographical dictionaries or publishers' directories. The fullest mention of him is in A. H. Quinn *Edgar Allan Poe, A Critical Biography* (New York 1941) 151.

[12] The prospectus is filed in the Duyckinck Collection.

> is a handsome equipage set up, its first appearance is made in Broadway. The most elegant shops in the city line its sides; the finest buildings are found there, and all fashions exhibit their first gloss upon its sidewalks. Although it has a character of its own, the traveller often forgets himself walking through it, and imagines himself in London or Paris. Wall Street pours its wealth into its broad channel and all the dealers in intellectual works are here centered; every exhibition of art is found here, and the largest caravanseries in the world border upon it. Its pavement has been trod by every distinguished man that has visited our continent; those who travel through it are refreshed by the most magnificent fountains in the world. It has a sunny side, too, where we have opened our office of delivery. It terminates at one end in the finest square in the city, doubtless in the Union, and at the other, in the Battery, unrivalled for its entire beauty by any marine parade in the world. So travellers say. For ourselves, we have seen many in the old world and the new, but none that equal it. As Paris is France and London, England, so is Broadway, New York; and New York is fast becoming, if she be not already, America, in spite of South Carolina and Boston.[13]

Moved to rare exuberance by the fascinating spectacle of the city and the hopeful prospects of his new magazine, Briggs thrust his superlatives before a public still staggering from the harsh dose of social criticism administered by Charles Dickens and Harriet Martineau. Moreover, he defied his Boston friends, James and Maria Lowell, who did not like the magazine's name. Briggs wrote firmly to Lowell, "You don't like it, of course; but I do. And I am determined that one person at least shall be pleased in the business; a mother is always entitled to the privilege of naming her first child." [14] As the year wore on, however, it became clear that the choice of a name symbolized a costlier item in the *Journal*'s budget than Briggs could afford to pay. He challenged the South Carolinians and the Bostonians, confronting them with a third set of opinions. In his brief tenure as editor Briggs was able to please neither such Bostonian abolitionists as Lowell, Robert Carter, and the Garrisonians, nor such Carolinian apologists for slavery as William Gilmore Simms. The spirit of Broadway was not conciliatory, but cosmopolitan and unique.

By writing from what Maria Lowell scornfully defined as "the meridian of Broadway," [15] Briggs hoped to avoid the limited scope of a one-issue paper. He planned to gain a national readership, and thus keep a line of Northern influence open to the South. His *Journal* was to be anti-slavery,

[13] "Introductory" *Broadway Journal* I (Jan 4 1845) 1; cited hereafter as *BJ*.

[14] Briggs to Lowell, Dec 7 1844, A.A.A.

[15] Maria White to Charles Briggs, Dec 12 1844, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

but it was not to be obtrusively or exclusively so; its anti-slavery attitude would appear, not as an isolated political program, but as a natural outgrowth of its hatred of all forms of social injustice.

The *Journal*'s primary aim was to promote the cause of an American literature. The British critic Sydney Smith had posed the taunting question "Who reads an American book?," and Briggs and his contemporaries set themselves the task of answering it. Like all who value literature, Briggs knew the importance of preparing an audience receptive to genuine expression. In his first review, he permitted himself a long digression that showed that, above all, he labored to create that audience.

> An American author is one of those rare creatures, who think more seriously of the welfare of others than of their own. He is *prima facie* a good fellow; and as a matter of course, an utterer of inspired thoughts; for having no inducements to exertion, he speaks because he must. He knows no law but the law of his own being, like the wind and the rain, the dew and the lightning. He is, because he is. There are no artificial stimulants to bring him out. No offers from booksellers; no demands from the public. His lightnings are produced by no machinery, but dart from the clouds of his imagination, because they will; they may not strike, nor dazzle always; but they flash of their own accord, without the aid of saltpetre or charcoal. Those who sit in his light think as little of his suffering, from which they derive their enjoyments, as we do of the leviathan that was slaughtered in Coromandel, to afford us the luxury of spermaceti.[16]

If the imagery of this statement makes a modern reader think first of Melville, who had just returned from the South Seas, it could as easily remind him of Hawthorne, who was living in obscurity after the publication of *Twice-Told Tales*; of Poe, whose compulsion to write was scantily rewarded by his audience; of Thoreau, who had quietly returned to Concord after an unnoticed stint as a tutor on Staten Island; or even of Briggs himself, whose seriousness had always been overlooked by his readers.

Appropriately, then, one of the most important features of the new magazine was a series called "American Prose Writers"; Briggs hoped that it would bring his neglected contemporaries to the attention of their literate but uninformed audience. Designed to redress the imbalance of publicity between English and American novelists and essayists, the series would show that the prose writers were more than equal to the "much puffed poets" like Longfellow and Whittier. "Prose Writers" continued with increasing success throughout Briggs's tenure as sole editor of the *Journal*. If the first

[16] "Mind Among the Spindles" *BJ* 1 (Jan 4 1845) 1.

article on William A. Jones, written by Evert Duyckinck, was disappointingly dull in its method and choice of subject, its inclusion did show that Briggs did not intend to exclude non-Whigs; he recognized that Democratic "Young America" would be his loyal ally on the subject of a national literature and copyright law." [17] The series included, eventually, articles on Nathaniel Parker Willis, John Waters (Henry Cary), and Richard Henry Dana; Briggs was always asking Lowell to write something on Hawthorne or Emerson. However, the series soon succumbed to increasing pressures on the editor from Poe and Lowell, two men he still regarded as loyal friends.

The staple matter of the *Broadway Journal*, and the major forum for its editor's support of native writing, was the section devoted to reviews of books and magazines. In his criticism of popular magazines, Briggs hinted at his own editorial procedure. One of his requirements for a magazine editor was that his views on important topics should be clear to his readers. The personality of the editor should determine the choice of contributors and the subject matter, and he, in turn, should acknowledge and take responsibility for his views. Briggs thus explained his major objections to the *Democratic Review*, and its Whig counterpart, the *American Review*; they were party organs, and their editors, mere hacks in his opinion, inserted only such matter as political leaders would find unobjectionable. *Godey's Lady's Book*, *Graham's Gentleman's Magazine*, and the *Columbian Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine* also came in for regular scrutiny, but Briggs deplored their sameness. Sentimental fiction and fashion plates elicited a weary response from him.

In one of his regular columns of magazine reviewing, Briggs scanned an issue of the *Southern Quarterly Review*; he wrote: "Any literary publication that narrows itself down to so small a compass as South Carolina prejudices, must, of course, be exceedingly narrow in its moral dimensions. But we do not find anything very exclusive in this number, excepting an article on Annexation — which, being written by an expressed admirer of Mr. Calhoun, is, of course, strongly impregnated with the flavor of his prejudices." [18] In attempting to calmly define and reject *Southern Quarterly*'s political views, while appreciating its good qualities, Briggs gave a clear example of the objectivity his journal would attempt. In effect, it was another challenge thrust at South Carolina and Boston. The battle was still not joined, however, and Briggs continued to present his New York point of view.

[17] "American Prose Writers" *BJ* 1 (Jan 4 1845) 2.

[18] *BJ* 1 (Jan 25 1845) 61.

In book reviewing, he also refused to imitate the behavior of his fellow-editors. In the *Journal*'s second issue, Briggs set forth four "rules" for reviewers, mocking the critical methods of his colleagues. Facetiously, he urged them to (1) condemn an author on his first appearance; (2) condemn a young publisher unless he can serve you; (3) fall back on verbal or typographical errors if you don't know what to say; and (4) condemn an author's book for not being what he never intended it to be, especially when you are determined to "roast" him out of envy.[19] Briggs himself observed none of these "rules"; rather, he attempted to be rigorously honest, refusing to succumb to "puffery" even for a dear friend. In his criticism of Lowell's *Conversations on the Old Poets*, he put aside his partiality for the author to rebuke him for blatant abolitionism: "We see no need for an abolitionist to wear a badge, like one of Father Mathew's disciples, to let the world know what he once was. . . ." [20] Briggs's point was that it is unliterary and ungraceful to be doctrinaire.

He had his own methods for attacking social abuses in the *Broadway Journal*. Often he simply presented a picture of urban conditions: the little immigrant children, barefooted in winter, sweeping the street corners for pennies, while fat, prosperous lawyers hurry by in their high boots. He never failed to draw the notice of New Yorkers to the sharp disparities between the rich and poor, the elegant and the slovenly. He openly derided the priorities of a city government that neglected the needs of the public:

> While the people are literally dying in consequence of inhaling the unhealthy miasma of filthy streets, the party that has the power to purge the atmosphere, and make the city a desirable residence, wastes all of its energies in forcing a certain part of the children under their charge to take their first lessons in reading out of particular books which are repugnant to the feelings of their parents.[21]

On the other hand, Briggs treated the scandalous case of an indiscreet bishop with gentle satire, reserving the full force of his attack for reformers of all kinds. He reminded his readers of Swift's story of the fat man who complained bitterly of the crowd around him: "Reformers should reform themselves; like the fat man in the mob of whom Dean Swift speaks, they take up the room."

If he disapproved of moral crusading, Briggs did not hesitate to use relentless criticism to fight nepotism and corruption in the American Navy. Like

[19] *BJ* 1 (Jan 11 1845) 2.
[20] *BJ* 1 (Jan 18 1845) 35.
[21] *BJ* 1 (Feb 8 1845) 8.

Melville, he knew the conditions among seamen at first hand. Briggs asked his *Journal*'s readers how sailors could help but be degraded by a system in which the chief director of the Navy "has never seen blue water and . . . could not tell a cat-head from a bulkhead to save himself from perdition." He referred sneeringly to George Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy, as the "National Barber," for Bancroft's decree that sailors must be clean-shaven. Briggs saw the wider implications of Bancroft's "hirsute tyranny":

> If Mr. Bancroft may compel the officers in the service to shave their faces, he may compel them to emasculate themselves in some other manner; he may next take it into his wise head to crop their ears or knock out their molars.[22]

The editor's aim was truest when he wrote unpretentious little prose pieces like one called "The Devices of Beggary." Satirizing the opinion of the well-to-do that "beggars go about from sheer wantonness, with crying infants in their arms, or with shrivelled limbs, on purpose to disturb the upper classes by exciting their sympathies," he exposed the manner in which the prosperous protect themselves from responsibility for the innocent indigent. Noting to a passing well-fed lawyer that a beggar-boy's feet were the color of mahogany, Briggs's narrator sees that the man has insulated himself against pity. When the lawyer responds that he doesn't like to "encourage roguery," the narrator remarks under his breath, "very possible, seeing that you live by it." [23] This slight tale demonstrates the distance between Brigg's methods and those of the abolitionists. While the latter intended to win their point by sheer moral force, Briggs was of another, more worldly persuasion; just as the narrator of the sketch persuades the fat lawyer to give some money to the boy by cleverly reminding him that "We all practice arts" (in this case, the "art" is the frost-bitten feet that the lawyer regards as a roguish device), Briggs was not one to decline making practical progress through political means. The election of 1844, in which the abolitionists' uncompromising rejection of Henry Clay had been productive of a greater evil, was a case in point.

Briggs's *Journal*, as the "Introductory" stated, did not follow the example of Horace Greeley's *Tribune* and take up broad programs of reform. Briggs insisted on remaining a critic, an acute commentator. The editor had in mind an amelioration more inclusive than those programs isolated by reform movements. Briggs claimed that his distaste for reformers had a historical and reli-

[22] "The National Barber" *BJ* 1 (May 10 1845) 315.

[23] "The Devices of Beggary" *BJ* 1 (Feb 1 1845) 5.

gious rationale. He asked Lowell, "If you were to look back upon slaveholding Rome, would slavery strike you as the greatest sin of the people? Would you, to reform them, make a dead set upon any of their evil habits? Would you not rather do as Paul did, and preach to them of righteousness, temperance and a judgement to come?" [24] Although Briggs clearly felt that his vision was far more radical than his friend's, Lowell increasingly regarded Briggs's position as dictated by mere expedience.

Despite discouraging criticism, Briggs did not moderate his point of view. He satirized prevailing fashions in dress, art, and architecture, and spoofed literary figures. Moreover, he further alienated the Bostonians by sharply criticizing Margaret Fuller's book, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, and opposing woman suffrage. He also ran a series of satirical engravings, the best of which was the "portrait of an annexationist." The drawing of a small, fat, exceedingly ugly creature, with an unpleasant leer and two small pointed horns, appeared in March 1845, after annexation of Texas had been tentatively approved by Congress. Briggs's accompanying caption is worthy of being quoted, in view of his later censure by the abolitionists:

> It has not been for lack of interest or opinion that we have kept silent on the important subject of annexation. But seeing that the thing was determined upon, we saw no good in wasting our little space by fretting and fuming to no purpose. The deed has been done, and the whole country has been standing with open mouth ever since it was done, waiting to see how it would affect the various powers, — England, France, Mexico, but no intelligence has been had yet from either. There is one great power, however, a crowned head, of whom nobody seems to have had a thought, who has felt more interest in the matter than any other potentate. . . . To him the news of the joint resolutions came like a cool wind in summer, bracing his nerves and giving him a sensation of ineffable satisfaction. His imperial majesty, Satan the First, received the intelligence with unbounded and inexpressible delight, . . . though commonly of lean habit, it will be seen that he has grown fat upon it; his fancy is tickled to a point past bearing, with visions of prospective fields of carnage, of an extended area of ——— Freedom; of battles by sea; of captives in prison; of broken-hearted widows; of weeping orphans, of national debts; of privateers; of pirates; of burning villages; sinking ships; heroes; chieftans; gold lace; epaulettes; cripples, drunkards, idlers, ruined cities, and innumerable other delights which he feels sure will follow on the heels of annexation.[25]

[24] Briggs to Lowell, March 19 1845, A.A.A.

[25] *BJ* 1 (March 29 1845) 200.

This piece was never cited when Briggs was indicted by his Bostonian friends for lack of appropriate fervor; its virtue resided in its acuteness as commentary, its sensitivity to the human consequences of political action, rather than its effectiveness as rhetoric. If the "portrait of an annexationist" did not attempt to convert the South Carolinians, it certainly could leave no conceivable doubt in their minds that the editor was a committed foe of the extension of slavery.

In addition to his commentary, Briggs supplied the *Journal* with short fiction and provided other voices of talent for his widening audience. He received critical articles from Evert Duyckinck and William Alfred Jones; Maria and James Lowell were generous with poems and reviews, at least during the first two or three months of the *Journal*'s existence. Robert Carter, Lowell's co-editor on the short-lived *Pioneer* magazine, wrote allegories, and Lydia Maria Child was a frequent reviewer. William Page, the portraitist, contributed a greatly praised series on the use of color in painting. For the most part, however, the sixteen-page weekly was filled by the pen of its editor. From the start Briggs needed help, claiming that he was liable to be "taken off from the business of the paper" at any time.[26]

Introduced to Poe in December 1844 by a highly flattering letter from Lowell, Briggs thought he had found the man he needed. Poe had extensive editorial experience, and knew how to ingratiate himself. He was merely a contributor at first, but soon persuaded Briggs, who was very much impressed by his manner, that publishing his name as an assistant editor would attract a larger readership. In the March 8 number of the *Journal* Poe's name appeared with Briggs's and that of the music critic, Henry Watson. Briggs's contract with Bisco was rewritten, and the publisher drew up a new agreement with Poe. It read:

> Edgar A. Poe agrees to assist Charles Frederick Briggs in the editorship of the *Broadway Journal*, to allow his name to be published as one of the Editors of said paper, to supply each and every week original matter to the amount of, at least, one page of said paper, and to give his faithful superintendence to the general conduct of the same; but should the said Poe break the agreement by neglecting any of the duties of assistant editor of said paper then he shall forfeit all claim to any part of the profits of said paper.[27]

[26] Evidently Briggs had some other employment; the *Journal* could not have been remunerative at first. Briggs to Lowell, March 8 1845, A.A.A.

[27] Quinn 151.

Poe began his take-over in a small way, by increasing the number of his reviews and other contributions. It was not long, however, before he was able to cloud the *Journal*'s original image. During its first two-and-a-half months, the magazine was at its best as a review and social commentary. The flavor of Briggs's independence penetrated every piece; not until Poe became entrenched could the abolitionists point to an insertion offensive to them. In the March 22 1845 number of the *Journal*, Poe placed a highly flattering notice of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, a magazine he had edited successfully ten years earlier. Showing a surprising insensitivity to public opinion, or perhaps a supreme disregard, he wrote that few illustrious American names were not on the *Messenger*'s subscription list. Announcing himself as the New York representative of a magazine sponsored by Southern slaveholders, Poe clearly allied the *Broadway Journal* with those he termed the "elite of the South." This brazen compromise of the *Journal*'s carefully nurtured independence of parties and factions indicated that Briggs's control was failing.

Moreover, Poe began to monopolize a good deal of the *Journal*'s space in his lengthy discussions of plagiarism. He indulged in a one-man vendetta against Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, in whose work he documented instances of plagiarism from other poets, among them Poe himself. Briggs, embarrassed by his assistant's elaborate attacks on Longfellow and others, made a serious miscalculation; he decided to let Poe ride his "ticklish hobby" to death.[28] The poet went on and on, however, multiplying his accusations against Longfellow, and later Lowell; in the March 22 *Journal*, he took nine columns for the subject. On March 29, eight more columns appeared, pushing out essays such as those on American prose writers, and greatly increasing the hostility that the abolitionists, many of them Longfellow's neighboring friends and admirers, felt for Briggs's magazine.

Briggs's attitude toward Poe gradually changed from one of enthusiasm and great liking to one of mistrust and disappointment. At first he thought that he retained "precisely the same authority that I did in the beginning, only I get the services of my assistants free instead of paying them, as I should otherwise be compelled to do."[29] However, in April, he wrote a satire on American writers in which he portrayed Poe as the pale author whose stylus was an icicle. The narrator in this piece prophetically remarks that he

[28] Briggs to Lowell, March 8 1845, A.A.A. "Unfortunately for him [Poe], he has mounted a very ticklish hobby just now, Plagiarism, which he is bent on riding to death. I think the better way is to let him run down as soon as possible by giving him no check."

[29] Briggs to Lowell, March 19 1845, A.A.A.

would prefer being stung by a hornet to being stabbed by that "horrid icicle." By June Briggs was writing to Lowell, "I shall haul down Poe's name; he has lately got into his old habits and I fear will injure himself irretrievably."

> I was rather taken at first with a certain appearance of independence and learning in his criticisms, but they are so verbal, and so purely selfish that I can no longer have any sympathy with him. In all that he has ever written there is not a benevolent thought. I think that a machine, something like Babbage's[,] might be constructed to write poetry and criticisms like his. I always did hate your mere proof reading critics . . . Poe is a good proof reader and a good scanner of verses, but his merits as a critic hardly reach further.[30]

Briggs had the ill-luck to be stung by the abolitionists' hornet as well as stabbed by Poe's icicle. Before the *Journal*'s first month was out, Lowell forced a confrontation concerning the magazine's stand on slavery. Throughout January 1845 Briggs's letters to Lowell reiterated a request for contributions: "Send me something on Texas in verse." Briggs felt that "People will take things kindly in rhyme which they would not in prose."[31] At the end of January, however, Lowell submitted a prose letter in which Matthew Trueman, a "country cousin," scolds a member of Congress who had voted for annexation of Texas. Briggs replied at once that the piece "sounds harshly to me and it will, of course, sound very harshly to those who do not feel for the writer as I do." Explaining that he was as concerned for Lowell's reputation as for the effect of the article on the circulation of his magazine, he remarked:

> The only way that any good can be done in this line is by gentleness, love and very sharp satire. Your satire bruises instead of cutting the flesh and makes a confounded sore place without letting out any of the patient's bad blood. . . . In all cases of this kind there are too [sic] persons to love — the abused and the abuser. You can never gain the ear of anybody by calling him names. . . .[32]

Briggs promised to make a liberal selection from Matthew's letter but confessed ruefully that he was disappointed; he had relied upon Lowell's loving manner to subdue his own harshness, "but if you and I both indulge in a coarse vein, woe to my poor *Journal*."

In this letter of January 22 1845, Briggs said, "You know that I am unqualifiedly opposed to slavery in every shape, but for that reason I watch over

[30] Briggs to Lowell, June 27 1845, A.A.A.

[31] Briggs to Lowell, Jan 11 1845, A.A.A.

[32] Briggs to Lowell, Jan 22 1845, A.A.A.

myself to keep free from violent prejudices, that I may meet a slaveholder without making him feel that I am his personal enemy." He repeated his advice: "Put all your abolitionism into rhyme." Briggs advocated cultivating imaginative sympathy for the slaveholder as well as the slave ("Can any of us feel certain that we should not have been pro-slavery men if we had been born at the south of southern parents?"). Finally, he revealed the basic cause of his anxiety:

> In the little time that our Journal has been going, we have received considerable countenance from the south and yesterday a postmaster in the interior of North Carolina wrote to solicit an agency. Now we should turn the whole people south of the Potomac from us if in our first number we were to make too strong a demonstration against them; and all my hopes of doing good by stealth would be frustrated.

Lowell, however, did not appreciate the argument of "doing good by stealth"; he was newly married to Maria White, an outspoken advocate of abolition who had a profound influence on him, and he was surrounded by Garrisonians in Boston, who considered silence or neutrality opposition. One of the major efforts of Garrison's *Liberator* was to present a picture of the South as irredeemably decadent. Far from being inclined to reach Southern minds by gentleness and indirection, the abolitionists attacked frontally, playing up the brutalizing effects of slavery on Southern society.

Briggs tried to placate Lowell in succeeding letters, not only for the sake of his contributions, but for the preservation of a valued friendship. He continued to request anti-Texan articles which would not be "personal"; moreover, he confessed himself almost willing to accept annexation in the hope that the addition of slave territories to the Union would destroy it. "Think of the glory of such a Commonwealth as Massachusetts, without the drag of Pennsylvania and South Carolina," he wrote.[33]

By mid-March, Briggs noticed that Lowell's contributions had fallen off; he almost regretted that he had not published Matthew Trueman's letter, "for I fear that my not doing so has deprived me of many good things." Moreover, during this sensitive period, Poe's praise of the *Southern Literary Messenger* had appeared, slipping by despite Briggs's customary alertness. It must have seemed to Lowell that Briggs's tact was exercised in a curiously one-sided way. The editor himself noticed that "All my Boston acquaintances, I hardly dare call them friends, fight shy of me."[34]

[33] Briggs to Lowell, March 8 1845, A.A.A.

[34] Briggs to Lowell, Feb 1 1845, A.A.A.

In a long letter of March 19 1845, Briggs, who had not received promised contributions from Lowell, defended his position in great detail. First he repeated that the publication of Matthew Trueman's letter would have damaged Lowell's literary reputation as well as have stopped the circulation of the *Journal* in the South. The scope of his magazine, he insisted, had to be national. "They need no new abolition papers in New England but they do need them at the South, where the *Journal* never could have gone after it had conveyed Matthew's letter to them." Briggs prophetically chose a military metaphor to express his editorial position on the subject of slavery:

> I have neither joined the enemy nor made any overtures to him. I have been keeping faithful watch in the dark and because you have not heard the repeat of my rifle you think that I have been asleep. . . . I am very hurt at your suspicions. It is very plain that to be heard in this world a man must blow his own trumpet. However, it is not my ambition to be known, but to be useful.[35]

Moreover, he was forced to acknowledge that he was compelled to be cautious by his publisher and printer, both of whom had a financial interest in the paper. Once he had established the *Journal* in paying circulation, he could be freer about admitting anti-slavery material: "You know that publishers and printers judge of propriety by profit . . . and my publisher and printer took alarm at the outset at my manifest leaning toward certain horrifying because unprofitable doctrines."

However, Briggs had deliberately chosen Bisco, and must have been aware of his lack of commitment to the anti-slavery position. The editor might have been less restrained without the publisher's influence, but more than the problem of financial backing was involved in Briggs's quarrel with Lowell. Just as he had always objected to all isolated movements of reform, Briggs expressed distaste for attacking slavery exclusively, as if it were an evil unconnected with others in the social system. It was on this subject, the same that had divided them in the 1844 election, that the debate between Lowell and Briggs became most acrimonious. Lowell wrote on August 8 1845, "You are worse that those 'philanthropic eunuchs' you talk about, if you consider the 'unity of evil' as a sufficient reason for putting one's hands in one's pockets and sitting quietly down upon the fence in the sun." He accused Briggs of belonging to "that class of useful reformers whose sphere of action is that of reforming the reformers themselves."

[35] Briggs to Lowell, March 19 1845, A.A.A.

> These perform something like the part of the Chorus in the great Fate-Tragedy of Revolution, criticizing the actors therein and bewailing their predestined misfortunes without the ability of stretching out a hand to help them. . . . Your modesty must not induce you to deny yourself for the *Choragus* of this ancient guild. I cannot readily conceive of a position more melancholy than yours, beholding from your solitary Patmos of Staten Island, the vials of wrath opened one after another on our unhappy social system and (worst of all!) the reformers themselves busily uncorking the same in the vain belief that they contain a kind of Swain's Panacea for all existing evils.[36]

Indeed Briggs's position was melancholy; however eloquently he wrote to Lowell of the evil of imprisonment for debt, which had touched his own life, however cogently he argued that "we at the North" have a hand in slavery, too, and that attacks must be made upon the economic causes of slavery, not on the slaveholders themselves, Lowell and the abolitionists were unmoved. Finally Briggs revealed how deeply the *Broadway Journal* had become enmeshed in the confusion the slavery question created:

> You are so much used to the . . . sturdy declamations and trenchant attacks of the abolitionists that the still small voice of the Broadway Journal is dead in your ears. But there are others who have a keener sense of hearing. About a dozen subscribers have already stopped the paper on the score of abolition.[37]

In the Boston *Liberator* of March 28 1845, the abolitionists officially withdrew their approval of Briggs's magazine.[38] His tone one of formal excommunication, Robert Carter made the following accusations: (1) he dredged up Briggs's early remarks about the *Southern Quarterly Review*,[39] distorting them to prove that the editor approved of that magazine's moral stand; (2) he attributed Poe's readily explainable, if tactless, praise of the *Southern Literary Messenger* to Briggs, intimating that it was a purposeful bid for Southern readers; (3) he accused Briggs of refusing many articles by abolitionists;[40] (4) he claimed that Briggs, in his discussions of woman suffrage,

[36] Lowell to Briggs, Aug 21 1845, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

[37] Briggs to Lowell, March 19 1845, A.A.A.

[38] "The Broadway Journal" Boston *Liberator*, March 28 1845. Robert Carter (1819–1879) was an editor and author. As Secretary of the Free Soil Committee in 1854, he suggested the name "Republican" for the newly formed political party.

[39] See page 100 above. It is ironic that William Gilmore Simms, a prominent pro-slavery apologist, criticized as unfairly harsh the same mention of the *Southern Quarterly Review* that Carter thought too gentle.

[40] Briggs claimed that he had refused only one article — the Matthew Trueman letter. Moreover, he claimed that he had solicited an article from David Lee Child, a well-known abolitionist, for the very issue in which Trueman's letter would have appeared.

showed disrespect for Abby Kelly and Lucretia Mott; and (5) he failed to note that Poe, who was responsible for the only real offense committed by the *Journal*, was recommended to Briggs by Lowell, who was as unaware as the editor of Poe's Southern bias.

Carter was inspired to write the review by Lowell, who lamented that the *Broadway Journal* had not become a "powerful weapon in the hands of Reform." [41] Briggs's real offense, it seems, was not in the petty half-truths Carter had enumerated, but in his unwillingness to turn the magazine into an instrument of the abolitionists. Unsuspecting that Carter's assault was being prepared, Briggs was deeply shocked by it. Embittered, he wrote to his friend William Page,

> I have no idea what could induce him [Carter] to do me so serious an injury, and above all, to tell lies about me. I never had the most remote idea of making the Broadway Journal an abolition paper, but I hoped by embracing any opportunity that might offer to say a word occasionally in behalf of whatever wrongs came within my observation. I cannot afford to publish a radical reform paper, for I could get no readers if I did. Thus I hoped to make an honest clear toned literary journal, such as we have not at present, and such as would be likely to succeed. I engaged Poe's services almost entirely on the score of Lowell's and Carter's recommendations. . . . I feel towards him [Carter] as I should toward a jackass who had kicked me in the shin. I wish I had kept out of his way.[42]

Briggs characterized Carter's attack as a gratuitous attempt to injure him in the estimation of the abolitionist community; he revealed the virulence of the sentiment he had aroused in his exclamation to Page: "I suppose it will be made a charge against me that my house faces south. Don't stay in Boston until the atmosphere of the place infects you."

The abolitionists' harsh disapproval of the *Broadway Journal* is a clear example of the doctrinaire attitude that earned them the reputation of fanatics. Unable to exert any power over the larger, more influential magazines, they flexed their muscles over the bantling *Broadway Journal*. Like a small bully whose shadow-boxing has passed unnoticed by the older boys, they expressed their frustration by turning on one more defenseless. In terms of practical politics, they achieved nothing by their censure of the *Journal*; in stilling Briggs's voice, they were unable to provide a substitute for his intelligent social comment and review. Indeed, if it were true that Briggs

[41] James Russell Lowell to Robert Carter, March 16 1845, Berg Collection, The New York Public Library.

[42] Briggs to Page, April 10 1845, A.A.A.

straddled the slavery issue, why did he print the engraving of Satan? Why did he request anti-slavery material at all? Briggs was so vulnerable precisely because he hoped to communicate with both sides; in withdrawing approval from the *Broadway Journal*, the abolitionists calculatedly chose to abandon the possibilities of discourse, as they and others would do at intervals during the fifteen years that remained before the outbreak of war.

Although Lowell, Carter, and their friends were important to the *Journal*'s success as subscribers and contributors, they were not indispensable. But however few their numbers, their loss was a powerful blow to Briggs's morale. His anger and bitterness towards Carter, and his depression at Lowell's displeasure alarmed the publisher, Bisco, who feared that Briggs would succumb to abolitionist pressure. Meanwhile, Poe, noticing Briggs's coldness, surmised that the editor intended to drop him, and played a Machiavellian role.[43] Poe had absorbed Southern attitudes during his childhood in the Virginia home of John Allan; however, he was more committed to the expression of his unique genius than to any political cause. He saw the possibility of making the *Broadway Journal* the desperately needed outlet for his work. At this critical juncture, he persuaded Bisco, who had already agreed to sell his share in the magazine to Briggs, to continue publishing with Poe as sole editor. Impressed by Poe's ability, his resistance to abolitionist pressure, and his persuasive charm,[44] Bisco defaulted on his promise to sell by raising the price for his share to an exorbitant figure. Briggs, dispirited by the loss of Lowell's good opinion, essential to his self-esteem, allowed Poe and Bisco to out-maneuver him, and abandoned the *Journal* entirely. The magazine soon lost the readership he had patiently courted, except for a small group loyal to the new editor. Poe's *Journal* was unable to draw on the talents of the alienated Bostonians; the Southerners had magazines and editors of their own; many of the lesser New York writers were affiliated with longer-established magazines, or, like Duyckinck and Mathews, were struggling to establish their own periodicals. With the issue of January 3 1846 Poe was forced to suspend publication.

As for Briggs, he soon recouped his losses among the abolitionists by enlisting as a book reviewer for the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*; his reinstatement in their good graces was confirmed by the inclusion of one of his

[43] On July 16 1845 Briggs described his relations with Poe to Lowell: "Poe in the meantime got into a drunken spree and conceived an idea that I had not treated him well, for which he had no other grounds than my having loaned him money." A.A.A.

[44] Briggs later noted in a memoir of Poe that no one who had not seen the poet during a period of debauchery could ever believe that he was anything but sober, industrious, and highly able.

Broadway Journal stories in an abolitionist anthology called *Voices of the True-Hearted.*[45] Despite this new acceptance, Briggs did not change his opinion on abolition. Though he wrote to Lowell that "every drop of blood in [his] veins" cried out against slavery, he was "very far from being convinced" that abolitionism was identical with the true anti-slavery position.[46] He never forgave the abolitionists for having engineered the election of Polk, and he despised the Garrisonians' leaning to violence: "It strikes me that the Boston Association should put up an Auto da fe or rebuild the Charleston Armory and make an Inquisition of it." He correctly identified the mood that destroyed the *Broadway Journal* when he wrote, "This morbid feverishness about everything South is dreadful." Briggs's desire to make an "honest clear toned literary journal" had to remain unsatisfied until, in 1853, he founded a new magazine and secured the backing of the publisher, George Palmer Putnam.

It must have struck Briggs as ironic that *Putnam's Monthly*, sponsored by a highly respected and prosperous publisher, was able to support the same anti-slavery, but also anti-abolitionist, position of the earlier *Broadway Journal*, without drawing the wrath of the abolitionists. Not only Lowell, but George William Curtis, Henry James Sr., Edmund Quincy, Herman Melville, Henry Thoreau, and many others contributed to *Putnam's*. Briggs and his assistants, George Curtis and Parke Godwin, despised slavery but expected it to perish as a result of industrial progress. Instead of haranguing Southern slaveholders, they used the new magazine's space to promote the goal of the *Broadway Journal*: the elevation of public taste. Briggs even directly criticized Harriet Beecher Stowe for the inconsistency of her appeal to British aristocrats on behalf of American slaves. He suggested some remarks she might have made:

> A slight allusion in England, for instance, to the enormous political and moral power of the nabobs, and the disgusting flunkey ease of the commoner set, could do no harm, while a word or two in behalf of democracy might be serviceable. It would raise a tremendous row, it is true, — a great deal more so than Professor Stowe's feeble inculpation of England in the cotton trade, — but why should the English aristocrats have a monopoly of all the fault-finding, as they have of pretty nearly everything else? Why should they be allowed to think that slavery is the only evil under the sun, and that they, of all the world, are called upon to

[45] *Voices of the True-Hearted* (Philadelphia 1846) 102–104. The volume also included a poem in memory of Channing, by Briggs, p 106.

[46] Briggs to Lowell, March 24 1845, A.A.A.

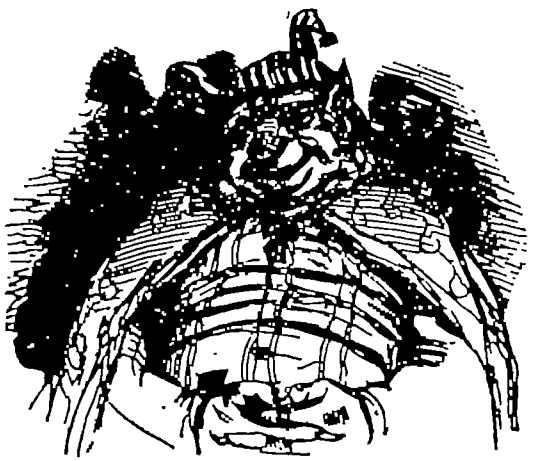
redeem it? A thoroughgoing honest democrat and a Christian, once set down in the midst of them, might "deal damnation round." [47]

Perhaps the abolitionists did not censure *Putnam's* because by 1853, the American political scene had shifted. The slavery issue had divided Southern Democrats from Northern Democrats, split the Whig Party, and created the Republicans, giving both abolitionists and less radical anti-slavery men the same candidate to support. If there were differences in the degree of commitment to abolitionist goals within the Republican party, at least all could agree on the political necessity for electing Fremont, rather than Buchanan, in 1856. After Buchanan's election, the deterioration in relations between North and South served to solidify the alliance between men like Lowell and Briggs.

Putnam's Magazine, which Frank Luther Mott called "the first genuinely civilized magazine in America . . . the first American periodical that could be favorably compared with such English magazines as *Fraser's* or *Blackwood's*," [48] retains its reputation as a landmark in American literature even today. Although it was forced to suspend publication during the Panic of 1857. Briggs correctly spoke of it as a success. Unlike its predecessor, the *Broadway Journal*, *Putnam's* did not become a casualty of the troubling political and moral issues of the day; it survived to fulfill the earlier magazine's aim of preparing an audience for a national literature.

[47] "Mrs. Stowe in Europe" *Putnam's* IV (Sept 1854) 340.

[48] Frank Luther Mott *A History of American Magazines* II (Mass 1938), 32.



The imperial devil (*BJ* I 200) — see p 103 above.

Berg Collection

Soldier of the 92nd Illinois: Letters of William H. Brown and His Fiancee, Emma Jane Frazey

Edited by VIVIAN C. HOPKINS
State University of New York, Albany

WILLIAM HENRY BROWN, at eighteen, was among the first in Mt Carroll, Illinois to answer President Lincoln's call for volunteers. Besides patriotism and youthful craving for adventure, William was also motivated by a hatred of slavery. The oldest son of eleven children born to John D. Brown, Methodist preacher, and Jane Stillwell, William was born in Jackson County, Indiana on March 6 1843. At the age of twelve he moved with his parents to Illinois, where he attended the country school. His mother was a daughter of the preacher Thomas Stillwell, a circuit rider who traveled with Peter Cartwright through the Virginias. So opposed was Thomas to the bondage system that he would forgive a debt rather than accept payment by means of slaves. When Jane was sixteen years old, her parents moved from Alabama to Indiana. As Jane jumped from the boat on which they had crossed the Ohio, she waved her sunbonnet and shouted, "Hurrah for a free state!" From his mother William derived the liberal attitude toward people of other faiths and races which he maintained throughout his life.

On April 17 1861 William went into camp at Freeport, Illinois, a private in Company K, 15th Illinois Infantry; on May 10 he swore to serve for three months. Persistent attacks of dysentery caused his discharge on December 31 1861. On August 12 1862 he re-enlisted for three years and served continuously until his discharge, June 21 1865.

Brown started in 1862 as third sergeant in Company B of the 92nd Illinois, which bore the title "mounted infantry." What this meant, as the war progressed, was that they rode when horses or mules were supplied or stolen; on a few occasions they rode trains; when no mount could be found, they walked.[1] Brown's final rank was that of first sergeant. The record does not show that he was ever decorated for heroism. By his own count, he took part in eleven battles, besides participating in Sherman's march to the sea and

1 "It was generally understood that no Ninety-Second man went on foot longer than two days; that is, not if he understood himself, and he generally did. A charger, in the form of a horse, mule, or donkey, was pretty sure to fill the vacancy within that time" (*Ninety-Second Illinois Volunteers* [Freeport Illinois 1875] 146).

campaign in the Carolinas.[2] Although he was under fire 247 times, he received only one wound, for which he later received a small pension. Brown's pride in his regiment is vindicated by the anonymous historian of the *Ninety-Second Illinois Volunteers*, who attested to its valor, skill, and resourcefulness.[3]

Some time in the winter of 1861–62, while William Brown was at home in Lanark, Illinois, he reached an understanding with an attractive young lady, Emma Jane Frazey, daughter of Noah Frazey and Eliza Maiken, the sixth of nine children. Born in Bedford County, Pennsylvania on April 24 1844, Emma Jane had moved to Lanark with her parents in 1859. She studied at Mt Carroll Seminary and taught school during the war years, but also had a good education at home in the fundamentals of domestic economy, from chicken-raising to the elaborate art of quilt-making. She developed skill in nursing and would have liked to study medicine. Her sociable temperament, strong physique, and stick-to-itiveness all helped to equip her for the pioneering life in Shelby, Iowa, where she and William moved in June 1871. Married March 26 1867, the two enjoyed a happy life together and prospered, in spite of privations during the early years. At the time of Emma's death in February 1915, five sons, three daughters, and seven grandchildren survived her. William, however grateful for his daughter May's solicitous care and the kindness of other friends and relatives, mourned his wife deeply. He joined her on October 14 1916.

But we move ahead of our story, as told in their correspondence: twelve letters from William, ten from Emma Jane, with references to others which

[2] On the flyleaf of his copy of *Revised Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1861*, William Brown listed the major battles and campaigns in which he was involved. Concerning his first enlistment, he wrote: "W. H. Brown / Co. K 15th Ill. Infantry / Private / Wilson Creek Mo. [Aug 10 1864 Loss for Union Army] 2 skirmishes." Of the major periods of his service (1862–65), he wrote: "W. H. Brown / Co. B 92 Ills. M td Infantry / First Sergent / Perryville Ky [Oct 8 1862] / Nashville Tenn. [Dec 15–16 1864] Tullahoma Ten. [June 30 – July 4 1863] / Chatanooga Ten. [Nov 24–25 1863] / Chicamauga Ga. [Sept 19–20 1863] / Resaca Ga. [May 14–15 1864] / Kennesaw Mt. Ga. [June 27 1864] / Wilson Creek Ga. / Winchester Ga. / Atlanta Ga. [July 22 1864] / Jonesborough Ga. [Sept 19 1864] / Shermens March to Sea [Nov – Dec 1864] / Shermens March through South and North Carolinas [Feb – March, 1865] / and many others of more or less importance. / Under fire 247 times / 4 years."

[3] "In that great struggle, the Ninety-Second did, everywhere and always, its entire duty bravely and well; on lonely outposts, serving as 'the eyes of the army,' building bridges, mending roads, throwing up fortifications, as infantry, as cavalry, on foot, on horseback, repulsing the charge of the enemy, or charging the enemy with shout and cheer and the terrible music of the rattling Spencers, in camp and campaign, in bivouac and battle, the Ninety-Second was always obedient to orders, guarded with jealous solicitude the honor of the 'Stars and Stripes' given into its keeping, and always received the praises of Brigade, Division, Corps, and Department Commanders, and the admiration of the regiments with which it was associated. The members of the Ninety-Second have good reason for the pride they feel in having their names associated with the honorable record the Regiment made, and their children after them will tell with pride, 'My father was a soldier in the Ninety-Second' " (*Ninety-Second Ill. Volunteers* 252–253).

have not been preserved. Here we have the words of two lovers, separated by a war whose purpose and necessity neither one ever doubts, but divided by space and time, in those days of slow travel and communication, which today we must make an effort to imagine. Neither the enlisted man of '62 nor his fiancée supposed that three more years would be needed to finish the war, or that it would be another two years before they would be married. Despite the bitterness of their separation — William served nearly three years without a furlough — neither he nor Emma Jane questioned the rightness of the Union cause (a brief diary William kept provides ample evidence of his persistent courage and sensitiveness to the horrors accompanying the battle ground). He tried to spare Emma Jane some gory details — her distress over bloodshed did not need reinforcement. Yet he could subdue a rare expression of jealousy from her, not only by a fervent avowal of devotion, but also by a reminder that military duties sometimes interfered with writing the weekly letter.

The letters reveal William's hatred of the Copperheads, and the admiration for Lincoln and grief over his assassination, feelings which Emma Jane shared with William. As we should expect, the letters express personal love and concern for religious salvation.

The three items in the Appendix add to the glimpses of William and Emma provided by their own letters. The letters of J. R. Callahan and Henry Frazey show both the humor and the pathos of army life, as well as the personal losses suffered by the soldiers and their families; they also reveal affection for Emma Jane. Emma's manuscript, the "Evils of War," certainly expresses her views, whether the manuscript be her own or a copy of another's work.

After William's death, these letters, together with his diary, were carefully preserved by his daughter May, from whom they descended to his granddaughter, the present editor. The original spelling has been retained, except where it is positively misleading. End punctuation and capitalization have been regularized.

1

Camp Fuller
September 14 1862 [4]

Dear Emma

I have wrote two letters to you since I have ben here and have not received one from you in return. Perhaps some one has the audasity to take them out of the office for you but however I think that there is no one so mean as to do so.

[4] The letter is postmarked (hereafter denoted by Pmk) Rockford, Illinois, September 15 1862. The envelope for this letter, as for most of the others, is a small yellow one. It is addressed to Miss Emma Frazey, Lanark, Ill. A pencil mark at the top says "received Sept. 17."

The health of the camp is the best that it could be expected wher there is so many men. I have ben well all the time. Ben Eshlman [5] is very sick he vomited all last night and I found him this morning almost dead. I went to his Officers and had him sent to the Hospitall. I think that he will get along now for the nurses do first rate in the hospital and the Drs are good and women are there every day to se that every thing is Clean and nise. You must write soon and let me know all the nuse. Be asshured that I love you as well as ever I did and I hope that the war will soon be over in a short time so that I can return and enjoy my self Onst more for I can not enjoy myself very well here. I wish you would come up here and se us you might come up with Dacks some time. I must close fore it is geting late and I must call the roll. No more. Yours truly

W. H. Brown
Co B 92 regt
Ills voll
Camp Fuller

[5] Benjamin Eshelman, a cousin of Emma Jane Frazey.

2

Camp Fuller
October 9 1862

Dear Emma

I take time this evning to answer your letters for I have got 2 both at onst. I am glad to hear that you are going to Foreston to live for then we will have a better chance to corospond with each other. If you get on the right side of Robert [6] he will keep all your secrets and get your letters for you if you want him to. You can trust him with any thing. Dear Emma you dont know how much it greaved me to think that I could not hear from you but then my heart leaped for joy when I got those letters from you. We are to leave here soon. Perhaps when you get this letter I may then be in the land of strife and blood with the enemys of the *union*. But remember that when the war is over then I will return to you if my life is spared then we can enjoy our selvs in spite of any body. I hope that you will remember the promis that you mad me last winter that you would allways be faith ful to me and I will forever be the same to you. I hope that our love will not grow Cold by the long seperation but stronger. Write soon.

Your Lover
W. H. Brown

Direct to
W. H. Brown
Co B 92 regt
Ills volls
via Rockford Ills.

[6] Robert Curtis Brown, William's younger brother.

3

Camp near Covington, Ky.
October 14 1862 [7]

Dear Emma

I would have wrote to you sooner but I did not have time. We left Rockford last Friday and got here sunday at 12 M. We had a long ride on the cars it is about 400 miles from here to rockford. This is the hilest country that I ever saw. Thare is high hils all around us with big guns on the top of them — they look savage at the rebels when any of them get in sight. They do not like the looks of our big guns at al so they keep their distance. There is a great many soldiers here. I dont know how maney perhaps 50,000 if not more. It seames to me that there is men enough in the feald now to whip the rebels this winter if they onley try. I hope that the war will end in 6 months any how if not sooner. I want to come home and get at some kind of buisness so that I can enjoy myself for it is imposiable for a man to enjoy him self here cut off from the sosiety of his friends and have nothing but soldiers to enjoy a talk with. If I could just spend a few days with you I think that the time would pass pleasant with us both. I know it would with me anyhow but what is the use of talking for it can not be at present any how we must be content with writing. I look at your picture almost every day and think of the many hapy hours that we spent to gather but it does not look exactly like you. I want you to send me an other one as soon as you get mine which I will male to day. It is one that I had taken before I enlisted. You have one that I had taken with a uniform on. This is a better one. I must close.

From your lover and well wisher
W. H. Brown

Direct to
W. H. Brown
Co B 92 regt
Ills volls
Covington, Ky

[7] Pmk Covington, Kentucky, October 14 1862. The envelope bears across the top the picture of the American eagle rampant on a rock with the old flag with the circle of stars tattered and torn on one side and the new flag brave and shining on the other. In the background the sun shines brightly over the harbor and two battle ships are preparing for the attack.

4

Camp at Orchard, Tenn.
August 2 1863 [8]

Dear Emma

As I can not get a letter from you I will try writing one. Perhaps you would like to hear what I am doing. Well for the last month I have ben very busy. We are now mounted on horse back and have made one raid through Tennessee confiscating Negros Mules and horses as we went. We had some skirmishing and took some prisoners. I was at the 34 Ills. vols. the other day and took diner with them. I saw Dave Baurder. He is well and as funy as ever. He has not grown any. He told me that he had ben in 7 fights. His officers say he is a first rate Soldier. His camp is at Tulahoma 18 miles from here.

We are camped at the foot of the Cumberland mountains. It is a plesant place but I think we will not stay here long. We expect to move on in a few days to Chatanoga wher the rebels are. I think the war is almost over and that we will get home in 6 or 8 months. I would like to hear from you onst in a while. It greavs me to think that you suspect me of trying to deceive you. I would not be guilty of such wikedness for all the world. If I could only see you and talk with you I am shure I could remove all your jelousy: believe me when I tell you that there is no cause for it. Answer this soon for the sake of one who loves you: with all his heart

I will write more whn you answer this.

W. H. BROWN
Co B 92 Ills vols
via Nashville, Tenn.

[8] Pmk Nashville, Tennessee, August 6 1863. Enclosed in this letter is a picture cut from a newspaper of several blue union flags with red poles and a Bible lying on them marked: "In this + conquer."

5

Triana, Ga.
March 15 1864 [9]

My Dear Emma

Your kind and welcom letter of Monday evning Feb. 23rd was received a few days ago and should have ben answered befor this but I was on duty and had no chance to write sooner. I have no nuse to write every thing goes on as usual no prospects of moving very soon. The rebels have falen back from the river how far we do not know. The weather for the last month has been very plesant. A great many of the people are ploughing and making garden. You can not imagine how glad I am to get a letter from you you need not have any fears but that your letters are allways gladly received. I must tell you some thing that hapened to your picture about a weeak ago. I had ben riding a very wild horse. After I got to camp I though[t] I would look at your picture. I took it out of my pocket when to my surprise it was broken in 4 or 5 peaces. To think that after caring it so long that it should be broken almost made me mad. Now wont you send me another. Send me a photograph if you have one. I know you will not hesitate to send your picture to one that loves you so truly as I do.

You wanted to know why I did not get a furlough. I will tell you frankly that I can not get one with out making false statements. At this time no one can go home unless he has urgent business or has enlisted as a vetran.[10] I have no plee for going home except that I want to see my friends. The General says that after those that have buisness at home have all ben furloughed than he will let those that want to visit their friends go. There may be a chance for me yet. If there is

[9] Pmk indistinguishable, possibly Macon. The letter is addressed to Emma in Foreston, Ogle County, Illinois.

[10] This practice, termed "veteranizing," permitted troops to be freed after three years' service. This was in pursuance of an order of the War Department, promising a thirty-day furlough for all who would "veteranize" — i e, reenlist for the rest of the war.

you may depend I will come for I am sure you do not want me to come any worse than I want to. And I will come the very first opertunity.

Yours most affectionately
W. H. BROWN

write soon

6

Adairsville, Ga.
May 25 1864

Dear Emma

Your letter of the 13th Inst was received yesterday. I was glad to hear from you but sory to think you had ben disapointed in not geting a letter from me as soon as you expected. I allways try to write to you onst a week but some times I can not do so on account of marching or some other duty. We camped at this place yesterday. How long we will stay I can not say but I think after a few days rest we will be after the rebels again. The last we seen of them they wer going towards Atlanta. Our army is close at their heels.[11] The country round her is prety good but there will not be any thing raised this year. The army have destroyed almost every thing and the most of the citizens have gon south with the Rebel army.

I expect every body is excited about the war at this time and anxious to hear the nuse from the army and I guess there is plenty of it for our army have been striking hard blows for the last months. I hope they will continue till the Rebelion is completely knocked to pieces then turn us loose and let us have a chance at Coperheads but I guess that there will be no Coperheads when the war is ended.

I expect to get a letter from you in a few days. You must not think that because I do not write some times that I have forgoten you. I will write as often as I can when we are on the march. Direct your letters as usual.

Yours truly
W. H. BROWN

[11] General Sherman wrote of this campaign: "In the month of May, we had steadily driven our antagonist from the strong positions of Dalton, Resaca, Cassville, Allatoona, and Dallas; had advanced our lines in strong, compact order from Chattanooga to Big Shanty, nearly a hundred miles of . . . difficult country . . . and thus stood prepared to go on, anxious to fight . . ." (*Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman* [New York 1891] II 46).

7

Camp Crook, Ga.
September 12 1864 [12]

Dear Emma

Your letter from Mt Carroll was received a few minutes ago. I was some what surprised to hear of your being at that place as the last letter you wrote to me sayed you wer going to Foreston. I wrote you a letter this morning and directed

[12] Pmk Nashville, Tennessee, September 18 1864. The letter is addressed to Emma at Mt Carroll Seminary, Carroll County, Illinois.

it to Foreston. I am afraid you wil not get it that is the reason I am writing to-night. You wil doubtless want to know the reason why I have not writen to you oftener of late. I wil tell you. On the 27th of last month our Division started from Sandtown towards Fairburn which is on the Westpoint and Montgomery Rail Road then in posesion of the rebels. We wer accompanied by a heavy force of Infantry and Artilery. On the morning of the 29th after a short fight we got posesion of the road and tore it up for 8 or 10 miles.[13] On the 1st Sept. we started for the Macon road. Got about half way betwen the two roads when our advance was checked by a regt. of rebel cavelry dismounted and behind barricades. Our regt. was in advance. We imediately formed in line of batle and charged on a galop til we got within a few feet of them then we poured a voley in to them from our Spencers[14] which made them run like Scared Sheep. As soon as we could get through the barricade we galoped after them. After going about 4 miles we wer going through a large open field in column by sections when about ¼ of a mile in front of us we saw a heavy Smoke sudenly rise then the whiz of a few Shell and we knew what was up they wer sheling us and that prety heavy. We galoped in to a ravine and got off our horses and layed down while two of our Baterys went to work on the Saucy rebs in fine style. They soon got enough and limberd up and left on a double Quick and we moved on til we got near the R.R. It was now sundown. Our regt. was sent off to the right and soon found some rebels. We dismounted and drove them a short distance. It was now dark and we could not see very far so that befor we new it we wer on to the rebel brestworks. They poured a voley in to us with deadly effect. Our Col. orderd us to lie down. We done so but we soon found out if we lay there long none of us would ever git up so we wer ordered to fall back which we did but a grate many of our brave boys layed still. They had fought their last batle. We afterwards found out that we had ben fighting a whole rebel division our loss for the [battle] footed up to about 50.[15] We fought some for the next 5 days but did not loose so heavy any more. We compeled the rebels to leave the City of Atlanta and as that was all we wanted we fell back and the army is now camped in and around the city. Our Divis. is camped about 10 miles south west of Atlanta.[16] I hope you wil enjoy your self at the Semenary. Please excuse this poorly writen letter. I wil try to doe better next time. I wil close by wishing you a kind good night.

Yours affectionately
W. H. Brown

[13] The divisions of Generals Thomas and Howard shared in the destruction of the West Point Railroad, from East Point to Red-Oak Station and Fairburn. Sherman describes their work: "The track was heaved up in sections the length of a regtment, then separated rail by rail; bonfires were made of the ties and of fence-rails on which the rails were heated. . . . Such rails could not be used again (*Memoirs* . . . II 105).

[14] "The Spencer Repeating Rifle is the arm we are to use. With the Spencer Rifle one hundred men are as effective as five hundred with the Enfield" (*Ninety-Second Ill. Volunteers* 91. See also. 97, 121).

[15] This was the battle at Lovejoy's Station, Sept 1–5 1864, part of the Atlanta campaign, a loss for the Union Army.

[16] Sherman occupied Atlanta, Sept 2 1864, a crucial victory over the Confederacy.

8

Camp at Marietta, Ga.
October 31 1864 [17]

My Dear Emma

I received your kind and welcom letter of the 5th Inst. Several days ago and was as usual very glad to enjoy the privelage of reading your interesting letter especialy when I was in the midst of rebeldom and rebels firing on us at almost every place we went. We are now in camp at Marietta and expect to stay for some time. I [am] going to doe my best to get a furlough but think it doubtful whether I wil get one or not. If I doe you may be sure I wil see you if you can be found in the State. I hope you are enjoying your Self at the Sem as I know you wil surounded as you are by so many yong and lively folks. I was surprised to hear that Ady is so wild. She ust to be so quiet and stil. Is her brother going to School at the Sem? I supose he wil be a Preacher some day. He always was so religious that I was almost afraid to talk to him for fear that I would say something out of the way. I expect there will be some warm times up there at the election. I wish I could get there to vote for old Abe. I am almost sure he wil be elected at lest I hope so for I believe his election would hurt the Rebels more than a heavy Batle. They Say if he is elected that they might as wel give up for he wil never consent to acknoledge their Independence. I have fought to long to think of giving it up til the rebels lay down their arms and return to the old flag as peacible citisens. I must close. Please excuse this pore letter.

Yours most truly
W. H. Brown

[17] Pmk Nashville, Tennessee, November 8 1864.

9

Mt Carroll Sem Ills
November 27 1864 [18]

Dear William

Your most welcome letter was duly received and read with pleasure. I was glad to hear from you for I had not had a letter from you for a long time. It found me enjoying good health and I now write hoping this will find you enjoying the same blessing. It is so rainy today we could not go to church and I thought I would write some letters. I have written 3 and will write 2 more. I am thinking I will almost break the sabbath if I dont mind but I am getting to be an awful bad girl for you know I used to be extraordinary good but evil communication corrupt good manners and all the girls are so wild I cant help taking pattern. I was just thinking you would be very much disgusted with wickedness when you come home but hope you will forgive. Thursday was thanksgiving and we had quite a good time. We all went to church in the morning. The congregations united and had services in the Baptist church. There were four or five ministers there and a very large attendence. Had a very patriotic sermon. Then we had a piece of roasted

[18] Pmk Foreston, Illinois, date indistinct. Inscribed in pencil on the envelope is: "Dec 1st 1864 Saturday night 7 p.m. W.H.B."

turkey for dinner then in the evening we had a party a regular kissing B if you know what that is. I wish you could have been here. I know you would have enjoyed it.

Will [19] is at home now, has been quite sick but is convelescent. He will return to Springfield next thursday if he is able. I was home last Sunday to see him. George Zook and Mary were over to our house and we had a real good time. George Frazey could not come home when the rest came home to vote for he was not old enough. There were several others that were detered from coming. Will was home and voted for Old Abe. He is once more elected. Good for Old Abe. I am waiting patiencely for Christmas to come, then we will be all at home once more. I suppose you soldier boys cant look forward to that time when you will join the family circle. Excuse all mistakes and bad writing. Write soon. I must close

Yours most truly

EMMA J. FRAZEY

[19] William David Frazey, Emma Jane's older brother, who married Susan Zook, May 1862.

10

Fayetteville, N.C.
March 12 1865

Dear Emma

I know you are anxious to hear from me. We have had a hard time for the last 6 weeks [20] and now we wil have 2 or 3 days to rest then forward again. If I get time I wil write again tomorrow if the mail goes and we dont move on. I am well. The Rebs have not got me yet. Here is the man for the mail so good by.

Yours truly

W. H. BROWN

[20] General Kilpatrick and his brigade were captured by General Hardee at Fayetteville, about March 10; the general and most of his men afterwards escaped.

11

Camp 92nd Ills 11th Inft.
Near Mt Olive, N.C.[21]
March 30 1865

2 of your letters wer writen at Foreston the other at Lanark

Dear Emma

You doubtless are very anxious to hear from me. I am sure you can not blame me for not writing oftener when you know that we had no communications for 8 weeaks except one day at Fayettville when I wrote you a few lines — I got 3 letters from you 2 days agoe and you may depend I was pleased beyond Description to read them. I have no nuse to write except what you have already got in the papers. We had some hard fighting coming through. Our regt lost about 40 good men. It pained us to leave them buried in a strang land but we knew that

[21] About twenty miles southwest of Goldsboro, Sherman's headquarters.

they fell in a glorious cause and though their graves are far away they stil live in the memory and always wil as long as we are permited to live.[22] — We are all confident of a final victory over the Rebels and the day is not far off when the Rebelion wil be crushed out of existance. I think that before my time is out (which is 5 mo 4 days) the war wil be over. Then if it is the wil of our Heavnly Father we wil all return to our friends and live in peace and quiet for the rest of our lives. O! wont it be a hapy time when the day dawns that shal not see a blody war waging in our onst hapy country — You ask me how I enjoy my self spiritualy. I must say that I doe not live as faithful as I ought to. Many a time I have resolved to doe better but Some how can not get along as wel as I ought. You can not Imagine the temptations that beset a Soldier on every hand. Some times I think if I was not in the army that I could get along better but then I remember the verse of Scripture which reads (Your Heavly father wil not tempt you above what you are able to bear). O how I would like to talk to you and tell you how I have goten along and to here you talk. It seems to me that I never could get tired of talking with you. I have so much to tell you and so many questions to ask — you must escuse me for this tim as it is 11 oclock at night. We are in camp now and I wil write often.

Yours most affectionately
W. H. Brown

[22] Sherman said of this march: "Thus was concluded one of the longest and most important marches ever made by an organized army in a civilized country. The distance from Savannah to Goldsboro is four hundred and twenty-five miles. . . . The country generally was in a state of nature, with innumerable swamps, with simply mud roads. . . . We had in mid-winter accomplished the whole journey . . . in fifty days, averaging ten miles per day . . . and had reached Goldsboro with the army in superb order, and the trains almost as fresh as when we had started from Atlanta" (*Memoirs* II 306–307).

12

Sunday afternoon.[23] I did not get my letter to the office yesterday because it snowed nearly all day. I got two more letters from you one yesterday afternoon which gave the account of your march through the Carolinas and am a thousand times indebted to you for I considered it extremely interesting and would not get tired reading if you were to write 25 such sheets full. It was written the 3rd. Dierly [24] was to the office yesterday after the mail came and brought me one this morning dated the 9th stating you were going to move again. I am sorry to hear it, but I hope you will get through safe. Please excuse mistakes and write often as you can which I believe you do. I will write again in a few days.

Yours truly
Emma

[23] The outside of this letter is marked "Highly prised." The first entry is a postscript to the letter.

[24] Nathan Dierly Frazey, older brother of Emma Jane.

Lanark, Ills.
April 21 1865

Dear William

Your letter of March the 30th was received day before yesterday and you may be sure I was very much delighted to hear from you after so long silence in which

W. H. Brown

and Emma Jane Frazey

I had not heard from you. I did not know but you had *gone the way of all the earth.* I am happy to know better. I did not blame you for not writing oftener for I knew you were marching and did not look very much for a letter although I was very anxious to hear from you. I try to write as often as I can get to the office. I am at school today and as it rained there are but few scholars so I am not busy and I thought I would employ a few leisure moments writing to you. Today will finish up two weeks of my school. I like it middling well. It is awful to think we have lost our President. Dont you think it is? It appears to me almost like a dream. I think it cant be so. Lanark was draped in the deepest mourning as soon as the news came last saturday and every store was closed. Every loyal house in town and the surrounding country must be draped in black for the space of ten days, but I hope it is all for some good. I was over to Uncle Nelson's [25] last evening and they are having everything fixed up in style, I tell you they are going to have a splendid place there in a few years. You wont hardly know who lives there when you come back. I hope the war will soon close for I am getting almost impatient waiting so long for the longer they stay the fewer there will be to return. I do hope the hardest fighting is over with for 5 months any way. Perhaps you will think me selfish but I dont think I am. Do you? You said in your letter you had so many questions to ask. I dont think you have any more than your unworthy friend Emma has for one of the boys in blue of the 92nd if he is so fortunate as to get home safe. I think I will have to stop writing for what I have written is so pale you will have to look sharp to read it, I guess I will have to adopt the old phrase My pen is poor my ink is pale my. . . . It hailed some today and is pretty cold. I know it is hard to live religeous in the army but I hope you will be released before many more months to return to your quiet state at the north again. Excuse haste and dont forget to write soon. Excuse my pale ink

Yours as ever

EMMA FRAZEY

[25] Nelson Frazey.

13

Lanark, Ills.
April 30 1865
Sunday morning

Dear William

As I was looking over some of your letters this morning and among the rest I saw one mailed at Adaline I thought I would write you a few lines for I know you must be very lonesome and dreary in the army. It rained last night nearly all night and it was so rainy this morning we could not go to church. I thought I never could pass the day by and so I thought I would write you a few words by way of *encouragement* or *discouragement.* I had three letters from you last week, they were dated at Mt. Olive. You me be sure I was glad to hear from you after such a long silence. The last one I had you stated you were going to move the next morning at sunrise. It was written the 9th inst. I cant tell where you have gone too by this time, perhaps have had some very hard fighting but we must always hope for the best. You said you would be glad to write me the glad tidings of peace. There would be no one more highly entertained than your unworthy writer to read the glad news. I hope the time is not far distant when we shall have the unspeakable

pleasure of proclaiming peace to our now distracted country. The news now is favorable to having it closed shortly and I hope it is reliable.

They have caught the fellow (Booth) that assassinated Lincoln. They shot him before they could take him, he was surrounded in a barn (so the papers say) by some cavelry. They hand-cuffed his comrades. Booth told them to stand off for he could fight every one of them, they shot him through the head. He lived a few hours. They asked him if he had word to send to his mother and he said tell her "I died for my country." Want that dying bravely for his country? If I should ever hear of any of my friends dying for their country I hope it would not be like that.

I saw your Father and Robert the other day. They came past here. I believe Rob is larger than you are. When you come home you will be the smallest unless you have grown while away. Do your folks know we correspond? Some one has told it for Uncles folks know it, and I dont care if they do. I dont care if every body knows it. I dont suppose they can help it. Do you suppose they can?

You ought to have been to church last sunday evening and saw our friend *Vance* and his lady come into church he brings her in and sits with her as gay as life. She is a Miss Chafy and is very hansome, lives in Lanark. If you were to come to Lanark to church you would think things have changed a great deal since you were here. I hope it wont be long untill we will have the pleasure of seeing you again that is if you will be kind as to favor us with a call after an absence of nearly 4 years. I did not see you for nearly a year before you went away but I hope it wont be that long after you come back till I will see you.

That large letter you wrote me with 3 sheets I read it to our folks and they thought it splendid. I did not tell them who it was from but I suppose they have a faint idea. Dierly said it was more news than you would get in a daily that is of real army life. I think it must of taken a great while to have written each days march. I feel under a thousand obligations to you for it appears to me my letters cannot interest you for it is beyond my power to write good letters like some people can. You said you had but little time to write. I dont suppose you have much time to write but I am glad even to get a note for then I know you are well. I always make allowances for a soldier when I think they try to do what is right about writing and I believe you write as often as you can. I hope it wont be long untill we can dispense with writing and talk face to face then we could say more in an hour than we could write in a day.

I have been teaching three weeks. I like it middling well. I am at home mornings and evenings and it is not so lonesome as if I was away somewhere else. Will has gone back to Springfield again and thinks perhaps they will go to Cairo next, but I hope he wont have to go for his health has been poor since he is in the army and that is a very sickly place anyway. He says at Camp Butler they bury from 2 to 20 a day and it is still worse at Cairo.

Dierly has sold his place and is going to Missouri as soon as he gets his spring work done to buy land. If he can suit himself he will move out in the fall. I think some of going with him, if I dont change my mind. Rhubin Hixon's going with him. I have a great many things to say but I cant write them. I will wait untill you come home if you are so fortunate. I will close hoping you will excuse all mistakes and write soon.

I am yours as ever

EMMA FRAZEY

P.S. I forgot to tell you I had a letter from Sade Crinklaw last week she is at Clinton Iowa. She is living with her folks yet but she said she would go to keeping house soon. She does not like it very well out there she said.

EMMA FRAZEY

14

Head Quarters
Co B 92nd Ills 11th Inft.
Concord, N.C.
May 15 1865

Dear Emma

Your letter dated on the 21st – 22nd of Apr. was received Several days agoe and would have ben answerd before this if we had not ben on the march. I know you wil excuse me as you always doe. We left Chapel hill on the 3rd Inst and got to this place on the 12th. We are now in camp in a plesant pine grove where we expect to stay all Summer or til our time is out. The town is a miserable concern but that makes no difference as we doe not camp very near it in fact all of the towns and citys in the South are miserable concerns. There is a coton factory here in operation. I am told by my mess mate that there is about 100 girls at work in it. I thought of going up to see them but he tels me that they all chew tobaco or eat Snuff. Although I use the weede my self it always makes me mad to see a yong lady with her mouth full of the miserable stuff — nearly all the women in the South dip Snuff or chew. You need not laugh for it is true. Dont you think it would be nice to eat Snuff . . . "dont try it though." Perhaps you would like to know why we are kept after the war is over. It is because we have to watch these confounded citizens and make them behave til civil law can be established. I wish they would hury up for I am sick of them. After fighting them til we whiped them to have to guard them is more than I want to doe.[26] Some of them are as Sassy as ever they wer. One said a few days agoe if the yanks had whiped them now they would see how it would be in ten years. Darn their ugly picturs if they want to try it again let them pitch in. We would burn every town in the South in 3 months and kill every one we could catch. I could have thought a great deal more of them if they had not murderd our President. Thank God the man that done it is where he belongs and he will have more of his friends with him in a Short time.

You spoke in your letter of Miss Horning. Her old Lover W. Stall [?] is in this Regt. He says he never heres from her. Perhaps she forgot him when he became a Soljer Boy I supose she is as proud as ever. Her Brother Robert is in the army in a Mass. regt. 20th A.C. a wild felow he is but a good Soldier as ever was. Well how doe you get along with your School. I hope you have a good time with the litle felows. We have no nuse of any kind escept that Jeff Davis has been captured by Gen Shermans troops. Pleas excuse this poor letter.

Yours truly

W. H. BROWN

[26] William was by no means a solitary grumbler concerning delayed discharge, after Lee's surrender, April 9 1865. "The disaffection was general, among officers and soldiers. . . . The glori-

ous end had come — the life of the nation was no longer in danger, and it required some effort to keep the men from going home, orders or no orders. There was considerable excitement in camp on the twenty-first of May. The War Department had ordered all infantry regiments, the term of enlistment of which would expire within four months, to be mustered out immediately. The Ninety-Second was an infantry Regiment, although mounted and serving with the cavalry, and it came fairly under the orders of the War Department for immediate muster out. But General Kilpatrick sent a written communication to the Ninety-Second, saying that, in his opinion, the Ninety-Second was not an infantry Regiment, but a Regiment of cavalry; it was mounted and equipped throughout precisely as the cavalry; was then, and has long been, serving with the cavalry; and that he had ordered his mustering officer to regard the Ninety-Second as cavalry, and not to muster out the Regiment under the orders of the War Department, referring to infantry regiments. At Chattanooga, Brigadier General Elliott, commanding the Cavalry of the Department of the Cumberland, had chosen sneeringly to regard the Regiment as an infantry Regiment, and refused to give the Ninety-Second its quota of horses to mount the men, until the cavalry had first been mounted. The Regiment had then wished to be regarded as cavalry, and have received the same treatment as the cavalry. Now the Regiment wished to be regarded as infantry, and be mustered out and sent home; but Kilpatrick chose to regard it as a Regiment of cavalry. There was considerable harsh language used; but reasonable counsels prevailed; for a time Kilpatrick's orders were submitted to; but an appeal from his ruling was taken to General Schofield, commanding the Department, and before General Schofield had decided the matter, an order came from the War Department to muster out cavalry regiments, whose terms of enlistment would expire within four months; and there being no possible way to avoid it longer, for cavalry or for infantry, the orders were to muster the Regiment out. . . ." (*Ninety-Second Ill. Volunteers* 249).

15

P.S. Please excuse this grease spot as I thought I would send it any way as I did not want to write it off again after I had it finished. Your

EMMA

At Home [27]
May 17 1865

Dearest William

It is with the greatest pleasure I take my seat to answer your most truly welcome letters which were received this morning and you cannot imagine with what pleasure I broke the seals. Pa had been to town and was coming home and I was going to school. I met him and when I saw they were from you my heart was filled with joy for I had almost come to the conclusion I would not get any more. One was dated April 21st the other the 30th the last letter I had from you was dated the 19th of April. I am glad you have got through all the battles safe and as the fighting has ceaced I think you will get home safe which I think you might feel yourself *highly* favored. As to your having a farm or a great amount of money it is not the richest people that are always the happiest you must remember. It is true "Wherever there is a 'will' there is a way" and I am sure you are the "Will" yourself. Dont you think so? I like teaching very well and I think I would be very glad to have you for my scholar a few hours at least. I would tell you something that I would not tell all my scholars. I think also I would have occasion to keep you *inn* a while after school and I think I would be extremely strict with you for I suppose you would not obey all my orders as promptly as I would wish. We are

[27] A crest drawn in the upper left corner of the letter is marked "Frazey."

having very fine weather now we had a splendid rain the other day and every thing is in a growing condition. It rained a shower this morning. The new Methodist church in Foreston was dedicated last sabbath by Dr. Eddy from Chicago. I was there. There was quite a crowd in attendance. They have a very fine church and a vestry built on the back end to hold Class meetings and sabbath school in. It cost the nice *little* sum of over $5000. They raised over $1000 there on sabbath and thought they would get more during the remainder of the day and evening. I came home in the afternoon. They had nearly $3000 to raise when they began sabbath morning. It rained nearly all the time we were at Foreston and did not have a very pleasant time. Saw some of my old friends. Doc [28] wants me to come down after my school is out and stay with him the remainder of the summer. I dont know if I will go or not but think it rather likely — It is too true that our President is dead and buried. He was buried at Springfield. The last letters I had from Will he was in camp near Springfield guarding the vault in which he was laid but I hope Johnson will give each one of them their just dues, I heard a few days ago that they had caught Jeff Davis. I hope it is true and I hope he will streach hemp before he is many more days older — I am really sorry that you cannot come home now. I wish you had been with the number that have started for home. I want to see you so bad I have so many things to tell you I hope it wont be more than two or three months at the farthest. I must bring my scribbling to a close for fear you will have to study hard to read this. Excuse mistakes,

My love to you as ever

EMMA J. FRAZEY

Write as soon as you can for I want to know if you are going to get a furlough. I hope you will.

EMMA

[28] John Wesley Frazey, Emma Jane's older brother.

16

At Home
June 4 1865 [29]

Dearest William,

I resume my seat this after noon to write you a few lines. As I have not heard from you for over a week I thought I would write again. The weather is very warm here now everything is becoming parched for the want of rain, if it is as much warmer according to the distant you are farther south than we are I dont know how you stand it. I was to Sabbath school preaching and class today. While there I thought of you and the rest of the poor soldiers and wondered what you were doing, if you had any meeting to attend which I hope you have. I hear every little while that you are coming home. I only wish it was true. I want to see you so much it seems too bad you cant come home now when the rest do, but I hope your time will come some time. The Camelites have moved their church to Lanark and fixed it up. Had meeting in it saturday for the first. I have 5 weeks of school yet. I like teaching very well. I have just finished a letter to our friend Sadie Crinklaw. I had a good mind to tell her you sent her your love but I thought I would

[29] Pmk Lanark, Illinois, date indistinct.

wait untill you come and you might tell her. I will close for I have nothing to write that would interest you but if you were here I think I could interest you a little while by talking. Excuse mistakes. Write soon

My love to you as ever
EMMA FRAZEY

17

At home
May 19 1866
saturday evening [80]

Dearest Will

I feel very much disappointed this evening that I did not hear from you for I am going away tomorrow morning and shall not get any more mail at Lanark. I would like to see you just now and have one good long talk with you. I was just down to Bookers and just got home. We had quite a good time but I never can go any where but I am always thinking of you and how much I would enjoy it if you had been with us. I hope you are enjoying yourself this evening and all the time for you ought to try to enjoy yourself all along life; but my dear Will the longer I am away from you the more I think of you. Do you think of your unworthy writer as much? Direct your next letter to Shannon in care of Daniel Eichholtzer and write me a good long letter and tell me all about the west; you need not make any calculations on that, which I wrote you in my latter dated the 6th for perhaps pap will change his mind. I wish you success in all your undertakings. I must bid you good night for it is almost 11 oclock, time for retiring.

Ever remember me as your faithful
EMMA

[80] Pmk Lanark, Illinois, May 22 1866. The letter is addressed to William at Boone Station, Iowa.

18

Shannon, Ills.
July 8 1866

My Dear William

Yours of the 2nd inst was recieved yesterday. Was glad to hear you were still well and alive after the 4th. I thought you would have the gayest kind of a time; I enjoyed myself better than I had anticipated, they fought a sham battle in the afternoon between the Fenians and British. It was real good. Tommy Hewit was the Fenian captain, he made a speech telling how brave his men were and told them to stand by their guns and never run. The Rag Muffins were to represent the other party. Just as soon as Tommy Hewit saw them comeing he said, here they come; and they all run, he lost his hat and they acted as though they were almost scared to death: they caught several of them. The fire-work in the evening was very good, but I would have enjoyed it better if some one else had been here. I have 5 weeks of school yet then I will be free again. I will have vacation in about two weeks. I would rather keep right along untill it is out but I cant. I am sorry you do not enjoy yourself any better than you do. I hope you will by and by. You said I need not look for you untill I saw you. I expect you will stay untill fall but

if you get good wages you had better stay; not that I dont want you to come home for some days I think I must see you but then it is our lot to be separated. Will it always be so? I hope you will sometimes remember me; I wish you were here today. Dans folks have every one gone away but me. If you were here we could have a fine time all to our selves. I have not been home for two weeks and dont think I shall untill vacation. I wanted to go yesterday but it rained. Dident you know Clinten Smith? They used to live just above us out there on Sherwoods place. He lives about a half mile from here. I think I shall go up there this afternoon or I will not be able to live until night. It is awful lonesome; I wish you were here I would pass a few hours any way. Excuse mistakes and write often and let me know how you are prospering for I want to see you so much.

Your true hearted
EMMA FRAZEY

19

Lanark, Illinois
August 12 1866
Saturday afternoon

My Dearest William

I have commenced again to write to you. I have written one letter but we did not go to the office so I will write again hoping you will be kind enough to forgive me. I suppose you think me not very faithful in the fulfillment of my promises but it could not be helped this time. I have not gone to Foreston yet and think something of staying at home untill after the "Soldiers Dinner."[31] If I do go away I will let you know but I rather think at present I will remain at home and I want you to be sure and come up for I want to see you so much. I want to see you more than I did after a three years absence because then I got used to not seeing you. Come up the evening before then you wont have so far to go in one day. I hope you will enjoy yourself next time better for I dont think I will always be so quiet but if I am I want to see you any way. How did you get home? Write and tell me all about it or come yourself which will be far more agreeable.

Hoping to hear from you at an early hour I will close for the present

Yours as ever,
E. J. FRAZEY

(Excuse haste)
P.S. Write and tell me if you will come, Emma

[31] Enclosed in this letter is a newspaper clipping called "The Soldier's Dinner":

"Preparations are making to have one of the largest gatherings ever held in Carroll County, on the occasion of the Public reception of our returned soldiers, accompanied by a public dinner, at Lanark, on Thursday, the 31st of August. The prominent citizens of the county have put their shoulders to the wheel and say it shall be worthy of the services of the boys who have risked their lives for the public weal.

"It is suggested that all who may come should bring along their basket of eatables, so that none may go away hungry. — Let us have a grand basket dinner — such an one as Northern Illinois never beheld.

"The expenses of erecting a suitable covering, obtaining a speaker, a band, and other incidental expenses of the occasion, will all be arranged by the Finance Committee at Lanark.

"We hope the 'boys' will preserve their 'soldier clothes,' and wear them on that occasion."

20

Shannon, Ills.
August 22 1866 [32]

Dear William

Your letter was recieved last friday evening. Was glad to hear you were still alive and in the land of the living. Yours found me in possession of good health. I should have written sooner but for some circumstances which I could not controll. Eichholtzers lost their youngest child saturday morning and I was so busy I could not find time to write. They buried it at Foreston sunday. I stayed down untill monday morning. Then Doc brought me up. The folks were all well at F. There is quite a great deal of sickness around F — this summer. I commenced teaching last monday one week ago; I have a very small school since harvest. I will be glad when it is out. Have 8 days yet and I expect that will appear as long as 8 weeks. I am not going home untill it is out. Then I expect to stay at home awhile. Doc wants me to come and live with him this next winter. We have very cool weather for this time of the year it appears like fall.

There was a young man married near here last monday. He went to Carroll sunday evening and came home monday and no one knew or mistrusted anything not even his own folks did not know it until he came back. He stayed up to Dan's the night of the wake. It was very unexpected to every one. There has been 2 or 3 weddings in F. in the last 3 or 4 weeks. People are just thinking of it I suppose. I think I have written all of interest. You said in your letter if I would answer by the 16th you would get it by Saturday but I did not get it untill the 17th. There is a Frazer up here and they got my letters. Please put on in care of D. Eichholtzer. I expect you will be home soon or at least hope so. Please excuse mistakes and write soon.

From your true friend

E. J. Frazey

[32] Pmk Shannon, Illinois, August 27 1866. The letter is addressed to William at Boone Station, Iowa.

21

Foreston, Ill.
November 8 1866
Thursday [33]

Dear William

Your letter of the 5th was recieved this morning, also recieved one the other day. I am glad to hear you have been to L — once more for I had almost come to the conclusion that you had bid farewell to all and left or left without bidding them good by. I have been here since last Wednesday one week and will stay until the last of this or the first of next. If you are situated so that you can with out putting yourself to too much inconvenience if you will come down next Saturday or Sunday I will go up home with you. If you cant come please write and I will come on the train the first of next week as I have engaged a school for this winter

[33] Pmk Foreston, Illinois, November 8 1866. The letter is addressed to William at Lanark, Illinois.

down at Springvale near old Mr. Eichholtzer 4 miles south of here and must go home before commencing which will be in a week or two. I would like to see you *once* any way before I go and have matters talked over. Come if you can you will find me at Dr. Frazeys or some place near there. They live where they used too the second door from the office with green shutters at the door. I must close as it is near mail time. Excuse haste

Yours truly

EMMA J. FRAZEY

22

Foreston, Ills
May 1 1867 [34]

My Dear Emma

I came up to Moline this evening after I quit work and thought I would write you a few lines to let you know how things are moving in this city. Dock and his lady went to a party this afternoon all the *eelat* of town went. I am boarding at Direlys and wil as long as I stay here. When shal I come home can you get along til Saturday a weeak? Did Blakesly doe as I requested him about the wood? If he did not I shal set him down as a *Skesicks*. How is the Schoole House question have they got a place for it yet. I supose you told them what I told you to. It would be no benefit to us to have it so close and the property would not sell as well as I thought it best to let them have it all or none at al. Molie has had a fit of the blues and says to tell you all the aristocracy went to the party except us. We could not very wel goe. How is Pip? Dr. would not goe and I could not make him. Writ as soon as you get this and tell me all the nuse. If you get as lonesom as I doe I pity you. It seems when nite comes that I ought to goe home to see you. I doe not know whether I can stand it two weeaks or not. Foreston is as lonely as ever. I guess I have told you all I can think of at present. I will write again on Sunday

Ever yours true

W. H. B.

[34] Foreston, Illinois, May 2 1867. The couple were married March 26 1867. The letter is addressed to Mrs Emma J. Brown, Lanark, Illinois, and the envelope bears a picture of the head of the Goddess of Liberty, marked A.D. 1865.

Appendix

Camp Pierpont, Va.
January 10, 1862

Dear Friend

E. J. Frazey: yours of the 1st Instant was received this evening. Was as always am very glad to hear from you all. Glad to learn of your welfare. Am in the enjoyment of that most inestimable blessing good health. Am enjoying the present finely as always have since my enlistment into the service. We are in winter quarters at present. Have things very comfortable. Do not suffer any from cold or want of subsistance. It would no doubt be a little diverting to you to see me bent over the wash tub rubbing till the blood begins to seep out of them. It would also amuse you to see me cooking and washing dishes which indeed as well as the

former I hate to do. We soldiers now see the rise of women and can appreciate their value. Things in general are very quiet at present with us. Am daily expecting something serious in this quarter of them being a large body of rebels at Drainesville near this. Our army at this point consists of about 200000 troups. We are now 10 miles from Washington City. Have written to Will two or three times since he wrote me. Will write your Pa. in a few days also Ben. Eshleman. Please remember to all the family to Dierly and wife also to Dr Eshlemans'. Tell Frank for me to be a good boy for if I am so fortunate enough to get out of the army safe I calculate to come out and have that fight with him.

It is now about 8 o'clock evening. Bil Tror [?] is here has backslidden. Please remember me in your prayers. Hoping to hear of you soon I bid you good night. God bless and protect you.

Yours most affectionately

J. R. CALLAHAN

Tell Cousin Mary that I think she must drop me a few lines some day at school when she is not studying her lessons.

Camp at Jerusalem Plank Road, Va.
January 27 1865

Dear Cousin Emma

Your welcome and anxious awaited letter of 17th inst. was received yesterday and perused with much interest and satisfaction. I had begun to think you did not intend to ans. my last letter or you had not goten it, But was glad to learn on reading your letter that such was not the case, that the mail had been sent to some other part of the army that contained your letter, Or was otherwise had been delayed that we did not get for several days after. Your letter found me in the enjoyment of good health. Was happy to learn that you was all well. Emma, I was home 2½ days since I last wrote you. I had 10 days furlough to take the remains of one of my cousins home — John Millott. He died of remitting feaver occasioned by hard marching and exposure on our Raid in the early part of Dec. '64. I regret his loss deeply. He had served with me since September 1861 and was the only one left of 4 other Boys that came out with me from around home and he is know gone and I am seemingly left almost alone of all the Boys that came out with me. He was the 3rd Brother that had been killed or died in this War and there is one other Brother of them in this Army. Now you wil know that army life is by no means a pleasant one. There has been 8 cousins of mine killed or died in the Army and all them young men and many others of the young men from around home, in fact nearly all that came in the army in '61. It makes me feel sad to think of it besides knowing that it is so and haveing perhaps too I have a similar fate ere this war is ended for ought I know now, but I will not despair of hope of yet getting out.

I found my folks all in the enjoyment of good health when I was home and extremely glad to see me. My home looks and seems lonesome there being none of my Brothers or Sisters living at home any more only some little ones of another generation. They are very small yet I told them I heard from you and showed them your last letter to me. They was much pleased to hear from you but my time

at home was so short that I had not much satisfaction or even time to take any notice of the Girls although there is about 13 for every boy in that country. I had a sleigh ride to Bedford while there but it was of a bisiness caracter and not attended with as much pleasure as yours was that you spoke of in your letter. I think I should have enjoyed a sleigh ride with you over to Uncles and seen Cousin Mary. But thats with me at present. Tell Cousin Wil, that I congratulate him on his easy soldiering and would not mind having a Birth in Chicago with him if that is the kind of soldiering they do there I think it would for my helth to have a change from our Virginia plan of soldiering, and tel him if he gets tired there I wil trade places with him the last of April for the Summer. Cousin Emma, I am indebted to you for the names of that young generation as you call it as had never heard them and was much pleased to get them. You wished to know what I thought of it. I am entirely pleased with them but I could tell you much better if I was there to see them, nor do I think the no. is increasing any to fast if indeed it is half fast enough for if this war lasts five or 6 years yet it wil be necessary there was another generation started especially of Men or the girls would some of them [go Crazy?]. But dont think me to be doing injustice to the girls for I am a personal friend of theirs and would not harm one of them intentionally. You stated before you closed your letter that you feared I would get tired ere I got it read. Two or 3 minutes was all the time was all required. Don't imagine that much time weary a soldier where we get to see or hear nothing but the War preparation with the occasional booming of Cannon and the sharp Crack of the Musket that has become so w[e]ary to us that it does us good to have our mind taken away from it with and to something more welcome, and nothing is more welcome to us heare than a long letter from our friends. It gives us something to think of, besides it gives us employment for idle time to ans. them. If you was here to see the anxiety of the soldiers when the mail comes in to see if there is any letters for them from home or from there friends. And when they as many do every morning that there is none for them, how sad they wil go to there tents to have nothing to occupy there mind. But Im forgetting myself. My sheet is nearly full. If I thought it necessary I ought make some apology for making my letter werisome, but if you get tired reading it let me know and I wont write the next one more than half as long but must peruse this one as I have not told you more than half yet that I thought I would when I commenced this but to not make it too wearisome I have to stop.

Hoping to hear from you again soon
Bid you Good Night
From your Cousin Yours

HENRY P. FRAZEY

Evils of War[35]

What is there that causes so much suffering as war? How many families are made desolate. How many loved ones are called away from the embrace of those they have always held dear perhaps never to return. How many, too, need the aid of those at home that have gone to defend their countrys rights. Families, wives,

[35] This undated manuscript is in Emma Frazey's handwriting, and shows corrections in pencil. No source is given.

and children, are suffering daily for the want of necessary food and clothing which they really need to keep them from the bleak storms of winter. Compared with all this which we daily see around us there is something of vast difference when we take our peep at the Hospitals camps and battle fields. The poor soldier has at first to take leave of his friends at home not knowing whether he will ever see them again or not. He goes forth without knowing how soon he may be laid in the cold embrace of death, or to encounter the worst of hardships perhaps to starve to death or to meet some other similar calamity. And if there is any fighting done some persons homes will be made desolate. Almost every hour in the day and night some persons are losing friends — some one is made to mourn. We have not even a faint idea of the suffering which is caused every day. We cannot comprehend it, being away from it, we do not feel the burden so heavy as those who live where the battles are. Their work is carried on amid fields and gardens and homesteads where men are as unused to war as we are here in our own part of the country. The poor, the aged, and sick, are left in the hurry to be murdered or beaten down. The ripening grain is trampled down, the gardens are trodden into a black mud. Orchards are stripped as it were of everything that clothed them. Churches, private dwellings are torn in pieces. And everything presents an aspect of confusion and desertment. Our country is covered with the sick and wounded, and bereavement is brought on almost every family by the evils of this one great thing, War. And I think it is by common consent that we assert that War has caused more suffering than any other calamity that has ever fallen on us as a nation.

An illustration (original in red and blue) from the envelope for the Oct 14 1862 letter.

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An exhibition featuring illustrations by Tom Feelings for Julius Lester's *To Be a Slave*. Also on display are Robin Hood paintings by N. C. Wyeth, and a collection of old valentines. February 10 through April 15.

THE UNITED STATES' SPACE PROGRAM — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

Books, periodicals, and posters from the Science and Technology Division describing the highlights of the latest advances. Through February.

GEMS IN PRINT: AN EXHIBITION TO CELEBRATE THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE HARPER FUND III — LOBBY AND LANDING CASES

Books acquired with the aid of Harper Fund III present a panorama of gems and jewelry, including illustrated work with original design and workbooks from three centuries. Through March 11.

MENDELEYEV CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION — SECOND FLOOR GALLERY

A display tracing the history of the periodic chart of the elements, from its antecedents in alchemy, through Mendeleyev's contribution, to more recent developments based on his work. Through March 17.

The Central Building, continued

ISFAHAN AND SHIRAZ: TWO PERSIAN CITIES — SECOND FLOOR CENTRAL CORRIDOR

Descriptive historical and literary works illustrate the extraordinary cultural heritage of these two cities of modern Iran. Through April 15.

ASPECTS OF URBAN LIFE — THIRD FLOOR PRINT GALLERY

Prints from the late fifteenth century to the present depict man in his urban surroundings. Through April 15.

JOHN QUINN: AN EXHIBITION TO MARK THE GIFT OF THE JOHN QUINN MEMORIAL COLLECTION — ROOM 318

This exhibition, which marks a major gift by John Quinn's niece Mary Anderson Conroy, documents the life and career of the New York lawyer who supported, as collector, patron, and friend, many writers and artists in the early 1900s, especially those of the Irish literary revival and the School of Paris. Through February.

THE DIVERSITY OF THE ARENTS TOBACCO COLLECTION — ROOM 324

Unusual books, manuscripts, and ephemera illustrate the many different sorts of materials included in the Collection. Through March 31.

THE ART OF MEDIEVAL ILLUMINATION: REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLES — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

On display are rare manuscripts charting the development of the technique of illumination during the Middle Ages. Through April 30.

* * *

TECHNICAL BOOKS OF THE MONTH — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

A monthly selection of new books received in the Science and Technology Division, and reviewed in *New Technical Books*.

UNITED STATES POSTAGE STAMPS — MAIN LOBBY

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Examples of the recorded word and the graphic arts from Babylonian tablets to modern press work. Permanent exhibition.

WALT WHITMAN — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR

The Oscar Lion Collection of books by and about Whitman, including first editions, manuscripts, letters, portraits, and memorabilia. Permanent exhibition.

WASHINGTON IRVING — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR

Selections from the Seligman and Hellman collections of Irvingiana consisting of first editions, manuscripts, sketchbooks, etc. Permanent exhibition.

AMERICAN VIEWS — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

A selection of prints from the I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection. Permanent exhibition.

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Ranging from vaudeville to television, this multi-screened film presentation of the performing arts can be seen at five-minute intervals throughout the Library day. On permanent view.

IRVING BERLIN: WORDS AND MUSIC — PLAZA GALLERY

Scores and sheet music from the Library's Music Division commemorating the achievement of the American composer. Through the winter.

DEATH OF ELIZABETH — PLAZA GALLERY

A mural by the contemporary English artist Leonard Rosoman depicting the colorful events and personalities of England in the period before and after the death of the queen. Through the winter.

OPERA — FROM SCORE TO STAGE — MAIN GALLERY

A major presentation of how an opera comes into being. An animated, three-dimensional, audio-visual complex (40 by 80 feet in area) gives a back-stage view of the 1966 Metropolitan Opera production of Richard Strauss's *Die Frau ohne Schatten*. On view for a two-year period.

DRAWINGS BY HIRSCHFELD — AMSTERDAM GALLERY

An exhibition of more than forty original theatrical caricatures by artist Al Hirschfeld. February 7 through April 14.

THE MELODY IS THE MESSAGE: POP SONGS AND THE MEDIA — VINCENT ASTOR GALLERY

Sheet music, memorabilia, and machines (in working order) representing the various media for American popular music from the 1840s to today: minstrel shows, vaudeville, the musical stage, recordings, movies, television. February 25 through June 14.

AVANT GARDE DANCERS — DANCE COLLECTION

The work of Merce Cunningham, Alwin Nikolais, and twenty-five other choreographers is shown in over sixty photographs in a New York State Council on the Arts traveling photographic exhibit prepared in collaboration with the Dance Collection. Through February.

13 MAY 1969

DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER

20 West 53rd Street

An annual exhibition of "Books for the Teenage" in the Nathan Straus Young Adult Library and the First Floor. Through February. Graphics, oils, drawings, and small sculptures by Shirley Fuerst, Gertrude Sappin, and June Blum, in the Art Library. Through February 15.

COUNTEE CULLEN REGIONAL BRANCH

104 West 136th Street

"What the Mind Sees, the Hand Does." A simultaneous presentation of poetry, photography, and painting sponsored by New Dimension Associates. February 11 through March 7.

HUDSON PARK BRANCH

10 Seventh Avenue South

"Flowers of the Street." Paintings by Mario Albertazzi, art critic for *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*. February 5 to February 28.

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION

103 West 135th Street

"Makonde Sculpture of East Africa." Photographs, sculpture, and textiles of the Makonde peoples of Southern Tanzania and Northern Mozambique on loan from Afro-American Collection. Mounted with the help of Harlem Cultural Council. Through February.

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MARCH 1969

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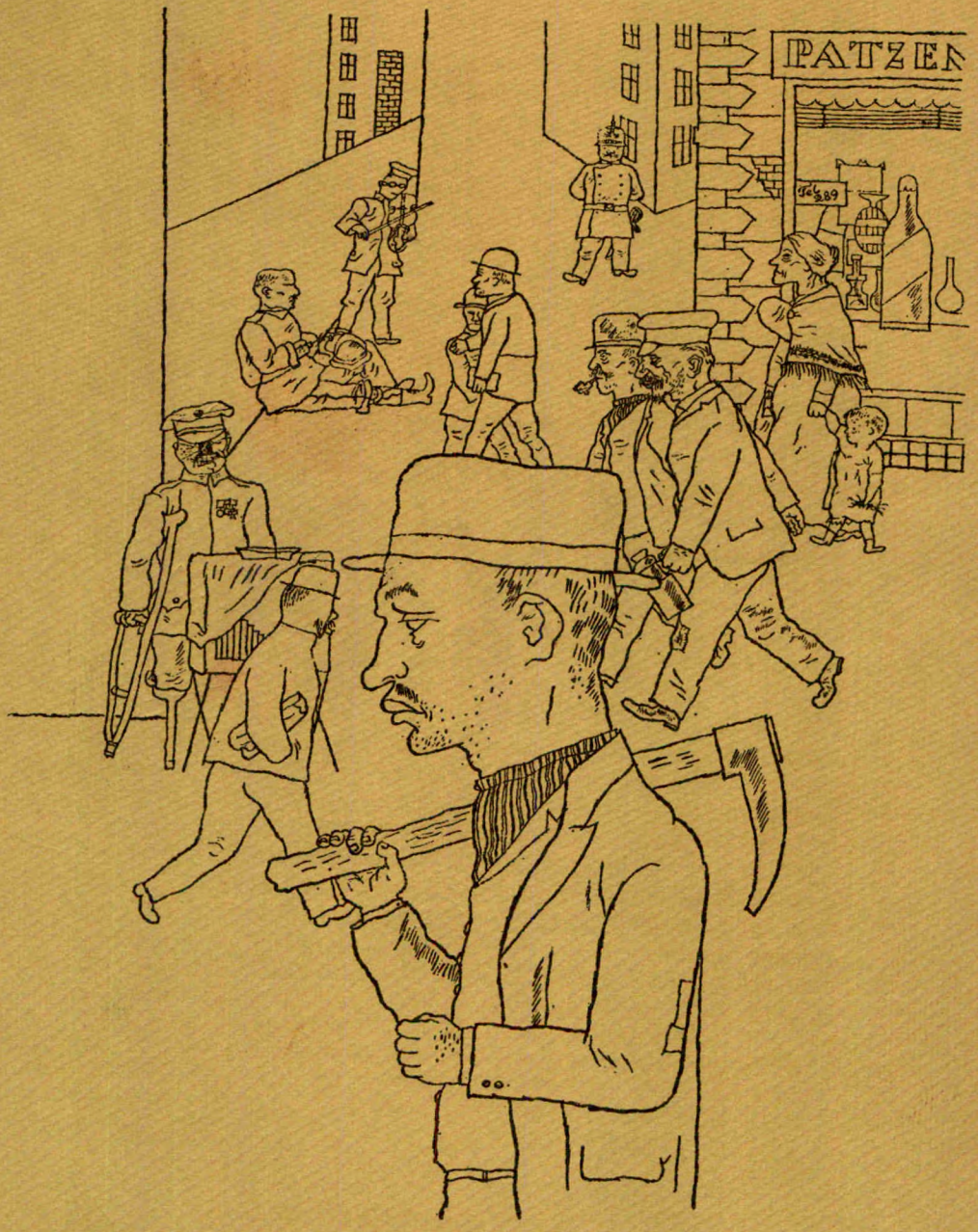

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On the cover: "Workers," a lithograph by George Grosz; undated, but probably from the early twenties. *Prints Division.* A similar work by Grosz from the same general period is included in the Division's wide-ranging current exhibition "Aspects of Urban Life." This great satirist of the Germany of World War I and after was one of the many who came to New York as the Nazis rose to power. Another view of that turbulent period, as seen from the vantage point of the Central Circulation Branch of this Library, may be found in the essay by the late Esther Johnston beginning on page 184 below.

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Front Matter

Branch Headquarters Move Down Fifth

The central offices of The Branch Libraries, formerly located at Donnell Library Center, have moved thirteen blocks southward on Fifth Avenue. The Office of The Branch Libraries, Offices of Children's Services, Young Adult Services, and Adult Services, and Office of Technical Services (including Book Ordering, Cataloging, and Processing) now have new space to breathe in at their new address (cater-cornered from Central Building), 8 East 40th Street, New York, New York 10016.

A Gathering Keeper

From his office bridging two floors on the north side of Central Building, Robert W. Hill has piloted the Library's Manuscript Division, taking on rare cargoes and planning its future course. His retirement at the end of January has brought to a close almost thirty-seven years of service at the Library — a service informed with the devoted and exacting care of the archivist and scholar. As Keeper of Manuscripts since 1941, Mr Hill has often reported important acquisitions in these pages, and he has encouraged other writers and editors to submit articles. To cite an early example, Mr Hill was instrumental in bringing to the *Bulletin* translations of the records in the church archives in Amsterdam of the little-known story of the early days of Lutheranism in America; they were published here in 1944 and 1945 and as a separate volume in 1946 (*The Lutheran Church in New York 1649–1772* tr Arnold J. vanLaer). Mr Hill, an Americanist especially interested in the colonial period (he joined our staff in 1932, and served until 1941 in the American History Division), saw the addition to the collection of such unusual items as the broadside, signed and sealed, headed *Publication of the Peace between England, and the United Netherlands*, referring to the treaty in which the Netherlands recognized English sovereignty over what was called New York by its new owners. Other acquisitions included papers relating to national and international social and political movements of more recent times (the papers of Norman Thomas, J. E. Spingarn, Lillian Wald and Congressmen Sol Bloom and Vito Marcantonio), literary manuscripts and personal papers of writers and artists (the Macmillan Company author files and the John Quinn Memorial Collection), and the countless letters, diaries, and narratives by people famous and little-known, each of which helps to form a comprehensive Manuscript Division.

Robert Hill will also be remembered by many for his gift of public-speaking. Before professional groups and Friends of the Library, on radio and television, he spoke with dignity and polish, out of a wide knowledge of his subject matter and an abiding concern for the Library and the community it serves.

John D. Gordan Bequest: A Notable Conrad Archive

A bequest from its late Curator, John D. Gordan, has brought to the Berg Collection an archive of major interest on that master voyager and teller of tales Joseph Conrad. A Conrad scholar himself, Dr Gordan had assembled this personal library of the manuscripts of several important literary works and over a thousand letters (many accompanied by typescript transcripts), the greater portion to Conrad's literary agent and friend J. B. Pinker.

The manuscripts of two complete novels are included: *Chance*, the novel

finished in 1913 (after his struggling with it for over six years) which assured his international reputation; and the "Napoleonic romance" or "Mediterranean novel" which had been on his mind from at least 1905 until his death in 1924 and which was finally published as *Suspense*. Most of his manuscripts, or typescripts, are heavily corrected: writing was no easy or casual matter for this Polish seaman who had mastered the craft of the English novel.

In the collection there are also manuscript/typescripts of one of Conrad's long stories from the East, "Freya of the Seven-Isles"; of the play "One Day More" based on his earlier story "To-Morrow"; and of five different versions of the introduction to his Collected Works; as well as corrected proofs of his play version of the adventures of the Soho anarchists in *The Secret Agent*.

When Conrad came in from the sea in the mid-nineties, he had been helped by a few writers and editors like Galsworthy and Edward Garnett, but in Pinker, his London agent, he found someone who would give him the encouragement and cash he needed in his search for the "composure necessary to write." Near the end of the century he began the very sound business relationship which would turn into a warm personal and family friendship that continued until the death of his "dear old friend" in 1922. The first of the hundreds of letters to Pinker in the Gordan bequest (from August 23 1899) is one of the most concise, and most famous, expressions of the way a great writer wants to deal in the business of literature: "I sell a work before it is begun, get paid when it is half done and don't do the other half till the spirit moves me. I must add that I have no control whatever over the spirit — neither has the man who has paid the money." He knew the worth of a "Conrad" (a third-person term he was fond of using himself in his letters). It was fair warning. Through the long correspondence we can see a Conrad talking of his family and of his working habits, full of requests, of gratitude, and of occasional testiness ("I am not a draper to measure my stuff to the last yard"). And Pinker sustained him through the early years of sparseness and, even after the later success, in the midst of material and physical ills.

J. B. Pinker's firm soon established itself as agent for some of the best English, European, and American writers; and after his death his son Eric continued the business — and the friendship and correspondence with Conrad. The Berg Collection already has particularly large runs of letters between the Pinker firm and such writers as George Gissing, Arnold Bennett, Walter De La Mare, Maurice Maeterlinck, Anthony Eden, Compton Mackenzie, and Laurence Housman.

Among the other materials of interest in the new Conrad archive are an exchange of letters between Conrad and his young biographer Richard Curle and letters from Conrad's wife Jessie to the Pinkers. All of these extensive files will soon be available to scholars in the Berg Collection and will make possible a closer acquaintance with the workings of this working writer.

A "Fair" Gesture of Support

The Antiquarian Booksellers Association of America has turned the tables on The New York Public Library. At their First International Antiquarian Book Fair (which also celebrates the twentieth anniversary of the founding of their group) to be held March 30 through April 2 at the Hotel Commodore in New York City, all proceeds from admission charges will go to the Library's benefit. More than fifty rare book dealers from all over the world will display their treasures to tempt the connoisseur.

The Sharp Manuscript, London 1759-c1793: A Uniquely Annotated Music Catalogue*

By JEANETTE B. HOLLAND *and* JAN LARUE **

ALTHOUGH one usually thinks of manuscripts and printed music as the primary evidence of the musical life of a past century, catalogues of music furnish valuable accessory evidence of preferences, distribution, dating, pricing, and the like. "Drexel 1022" in the Special Collections in the Music Division of the Research Library of the Performing Arts at Lincoln Center is one of the rare hand-written catalogues of a British private collection of music, musical treatises, and instruments. The Collection, the Catalogue of which is dated on the title page 1759, once belonged jointly to three brothers, Messrs William, James, and Granville Sharp, in London. The Catalogue is unique in containing appraisals of the face value of the Collection neatly set down opposite almost every entry in pounds, shillings, and pence. The "Calculation of the Value of the Collection of Manuscript and Printed Musick Books belonging to William, James, & Granville Sharp, according to the prices set opposite to each Article" was made "by Messrs. Longman and Broderip, Musick Setters in Cheapside." [1] The actual worth of the Collection, however, can hardly be judged by these monetary figures; its significance must be measured in terms of the selection of the music and musical treatises, a selection that reflects the high aims of its possessors, and at the same time gives a strikingly detailed cultural profile of eighteenth-century England's musical endeavors. The contents, including some three hundred and fifty composers, ranges from sacred music c1553–1780 [2] to secular music c1610–1760.[3] Both vocal and instrumental compositions are represented in a rich variety of combinations.

* This Catalogue was exhibited in September 1961 during a reception for the participants in the Eighth Congress of the International Musicological Society, where it was included in an exquisite show of rare books from the collections of The New York Public Library. The Music Division graciously extended its facilities for this research. I am particularly indebted to Mr Sydney Beck, former Head of the Rare Books and Manuscript section of the Music Division's Special Collections for originally making the manuscript available to me and for assisting in the publication of this paper.

** Mr LaRue supplied the coded incipits following the text of the article.

[1] See page G of the manuscript.

[2] With emphasis on England's great past in church music.

[3] With emphasis on eighteenth-century symphonic, operatic, and chamber music mostly from England, Italy, and Germany.

The history of the migrations of the Sharp Catalogue evidently began with the auction of Granville Sharp's Collection in 1814 by Sotheby & Co.[4] The Catalogue later reappeared in the auction sale catalogue of the library of Edward F. Rimbault (London 1877).[5] Where Rimbault had purchased it or how long it had been in his possession is unknown at the present time. The manuscript was most likely among the considerable number of valuable music books that came to America, much to the regret of the English musical public.[6] We can first trace it in the United States in Joseph Drexel's hand-written catalogue of his Musical Library of 1882.[7] A later, printed *Catalogue of the Drexel Musical Library*, no xi of the *Lenox Library Short Title Lists* of 1899,[8] shows the Sharp Catalogue on page 11.

The address of the Sharps in London appears in connection with a number of entries in the Cambridge University *Catalogue of the Music in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (London 1893)[9] and also in Volume i (Sacred Vocal Music) of the *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum* (London 1906). This latter Catalogue mentions in addition a bookplate specially designed by Granville Sharp for the joint Sharp Collection.[10] A somewhat superficial description of this bookplate is given in the *British Musical Biography*,[11] and a reproduction may be found in A. Hyatt King's study, *Some British Collectors of Music* (Cambridge 1963) Plate 2b. On the inside of the front cover of the New York Public Library's Sharp Catalogue another

4 The British Museum possesses an auction catalogue of Granville Sharp's Collection. There is no information, as yet, about what date the joint Collection of the brothers Sharp was still intact in the form catalogued in Drexel 1022, as we possess it today.

5 NYPL classmark, Drexel 1010, p 153, no 2239, priced there .18 (that is, 18 shillings).

6 See "Sale of Dr. Rimbault's Library" *The Musical Times* (September 1 1877) 427 f.

7 NYPL classmark, Drexel 985. This volume is not paginated, and the entry "Catalogue of the MSS and Instrumental Music in the joint Collection of William, James and Granville Sharp, London 1859" [sic] is written on the back of a page with the listing of manuscript compositions whose authors' names start with B.

8 The Lenox Library inherited in 1888 the superb collection of scores, manuscripts, and books on music assembled by Joseph W. Drexel. (Later The Astor and Lenox Libraries and The Tilden Trust were consolidated as The New York Public Library.)

9 Footnote 3 on p 128, commenting on item 183, Volume of Verse Anthems by Purcell, states: "The foregoing Anthems were transcribed from an ancient Mss [sic] in the possession of Messrs. Sharp of the Old Jewry, and bequeathed to that very musical and worthy Family with many others equally valuable, by the Rev. Dr. Finch, formerly of York."

10 See respective entries on p 16, 64, 67, 83, 87.

11 James D. Brown and Stephen S. Stratton *British Musical Biography* (Birmingham 1897) 367, article on Granville Sharp, "the brothers apparently possessed a large musical library, as a bookplate exists, showing a view of an organ in a church, with part of a choir-screen, designed by Granville Sharp, and inscribed, Messrs. Sharp, London. The border of this plate is surrounded by Scripture texts."

bookplate, also designed by Granville Sharp, but nowhere else mentioned, attracts our attention.[12]

A brief paragraph in *Some British Collectors* on the lives of the joint collectors (including also their father, the Reverend Dr Thomas Sharp of Durham) describes them when they were obviously at the height of their fashionable gatherings, which centered mainly on their pleasure in music. A. Hyatt King's remarks on the Sharps' large water-music parties and the receptions held on their barges lead us to think that much of the secular music mentioned in the New York Public Library's Sharp Catalogue may have been performed on these occasions.[13] As for the musical instruments, we know from an engraving of Heinichen [14] that even harpsichords were used on barges. The instruments listed in the Catalogue [15] could have been for water-music or for the House Concerts of sacred music organized by Granville Sharp on alternate Sunday nights.

The name of the Reverend Thomas Sharp occurs in the Catalogue on page 15 as the author of a composition, a *Chant*. In addition, in the section

[12] In England in the 18th century there seems to have been established a definite flair for ex libris as an accessory to most well-ordered libraries.

The two designs for the bookplate engravings of Granville Sharp are of special interest, as they display the distinctive characteristics of the mid-eighteenth-century English style. In ex-libris parlance Chippendale is the popular name for the English rococo that prevailed between 1740 and 1770. In the British Museum bookplate of the Messrs Sharp the accent on a strong architectural design of church, organ, and screen contrasts with the heraldic device of the rococo-styled shield, whereas in the NYPL bookplate (see illustration, p 155 below) the fanciful treatment of scrollwork with acanthus foliage adorning the helmet contrasts with the angular shield. As to the armorial bearings, in both plates a crown is surmounted by a demi-griffin carrying in its beak the design of a Pheon (the broad head of a dart or javelin) within a Chevron (bent bar in V shape). The same motif (also the design in the arms of Sydney, Earl of Leicester) is repeated in the shields, which in the British Museum version is directly attached to the crown, and in the NYPL version separated from crest and crown by a side-faced helmet. From the shell-shaped sides of the NYPL label frame, where in many rococo designs flowerets and sprigleis sprout, a variety of musical instruments, such as flutes, oboes, clarinets, trumpets, a bassoon, a violin, a rackett, and an open music-book emerge, while a consort of wind instruments and an open music-book come into view from behind the shield of the British Museum plate. [See also Frederik Muller & Co (ed) *XL muzikale boekmerken* met eene opgave van meer dan CCC spreuken (Amsterdam 1897); Philip Beddigham *Concerning Booklabels* (London 1963); Egerton Castle *English Bookplates* (London 1892); John Woodward *A Treatise on Heraldry* (London 1892).]

[13] See section "Instrumental Musick MSS in all the Parts compleat" of the Sharp Catalogue p 39 items 1, 2, and p 42 item 14, expressly titled "Barge Musick." These water-music parties were immortalized by Johann Zoffany (1734–1810) in an oil painting depicting the Sharp family on one of their yachts on the Thames at Fulham. I am indebted to Professor Martin Bernstein of New York University for having called my attention to a reproduction of this painting in W. J. Turner *English Music* (London 1941).

[14] See Plate 18 in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (hereafter cited as *MGG*) in depicting "The Arrival of the Goddess Diana accompanied by her nymphs . . . and the Dresden Court-Orchestra with their Conductor, Johann David Heinichen, at the Wedding Festivities in 1719."

[15] Pages N, O, P.

"Books on the Subject of Music, as Histories Treatises Instructions &c." of the Catalogue,[16] a book on music of his titled *Rules for tuning an Organ or Harpsichord* appears on page 171.[17]

William Sharp's composition, "Messiah a Christ Mass Song," appears as item 1539 in the auction catalogue of W. H. Cumming's collection,[18] and Granville Sharp's treatise, *A Short Introduction to Vocal Music* (London 1767; second edition, 1777),[19] occurs twice in the Sharp Catalogue, the entries presumably referring to the two different editions. The Sharp family's creative interest in music is all the more surprising since we know that they were more or less amateurs, professionally engaged in quite diverse fields of occupation.[20] Amateur composers were not as common in Georgian England as in the yeasty times of Elizabeth I.

The Sharp Catalogue is bound in leather, the front and back covers unornamented except for two lines near the edges accenting the vertical and horizontal dimensions of the book. Cover and folios have almost the same measurements, 33cm x 20½cm, and 32cm x 20cm, respectively. The plan for the Catalogue was probably outlined in 1759,[21] and as a copious amount of

16 This section of the Catalogue has no caption in the "Table of the Heads" (see Appendix I).

17 The Auction Catalogue of E. F. Rimbault mentions: *A Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries anciently performed at Coventry by the Trading Companies of that City* (Coventry 1825) by one Thomas Sharp. This author, however, is not related to the Sharp Family to whom the present Catalogue belonged (*The Dictionary of National Biography* [hereafter *DNB*], London 1921/22, XVII p 1354 2nd col.).

18 Sold by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge (London 1917). Wm. Sharp is identified there as being the brother of Granville Sharp.

19 This treatise is mentioned also in the British Museum's *Catalogue of Printed Music* vol II (London 1912) p 487, in the *Catalogue of The Euing Musical Library, Anderson's College* (Glasgow 1878) 116, and in the *Catalogue of Early Books on Music (Before 1800)* Library of Congress (Washington 1913) 252.

20 An extensive biography of Granville Sharp appears in the *DNB* XVII p 1339–1342. A scholar versed in Greek and Hebrew, he published several treatises on biblical criticism. A philanthropist, Sharp agitated vehemently against the reported determination of the government to extirpate the aboriginal Caribees in the West Indies. His fame, however, rests on his untiring efforts in the cause of the abolition of slavery. For his efforts in supporting the introduction of episcopacy in New York and Pennsylvania, in 1787, he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Laws by Harvard University, Providence College, Rhode Island, and William and Mary College, Williamsburg. The complete list of Granville Sharp's works, numbering sixty-one, is given in Prince Hoare *The Memoirs of Granville Sharp* (London 1820) which was compiled from Sharp's manuscripts.

The Reverend Dr Thomas Sharp (1693–1758) is mentioned in the *DNB* XVII p 1354 as theological writer and biographer. An account of the successive offices he held ends in 1755 with his position as official to the dean and chapter of the cathedral of Durham. Among his numerous works was a biography of his father, *The Life of John Sharp, D.D., Lord Archbishop of York.*

William Sharp is mentioned in the article on the Reverend Dr Thomas Sharp as a surgeon at Fulham.

21 The date on title page of the Catalogue is 1759.

paper had been supplied for the book in advance,[22] "A Table of the Heads" [23] (pages A and B in the Catalogue) could be provided with page numbers at the outset. Longman & Broderip, as mentioned above, worked out the "Calculation of the Value of the Collection." Since the firm existed under

The watermark of the paper in the Sharp Catalogue (p 114–115).

[22] See page D of the Catalogue, where the number of "Sheets of Dutch Royal Paper" is mentioned as having been "In all — 55 Quire & 13 Sheets." [One Quire = 4 sheets of paper, folded to form 8 leaves.] The Catalogue is all of the same paper, uniformly watermarked with the famous "Vryheyt" motto on a pedestal for the Amsterdam Lion (rampant with scepter and arrows), surrounded with double circles separated by the words "Libertate Pro Patria Ejusque," and with the countermark GR under a crown. See illustrations on this and the following page. A reproduction of a similar watermark and countermark appears in Edward Heawood *Watermarks* (Hilversum 1950) No 3149, identified as "England (Bucks?) 1753."

[23] See Plate I.

that specific name from 1776 to 1798,[24] one can assume that the Catalogue had been brought to its present form during this period of time.[25]

The countermark of the paper
in the Sharp Catalogue (Index folio C).

The pagination of the Catalogue is mainly in numerals, though partly in alphabetical letters. The original order of "A Table of the Heads" was occasionally neglected when later entries (new acquisitions?) had to be inserted.[26] No biographical and only a few bibliographical dates are given. Throughout the entire manuscript eleven items bear dates — the year either of the time of printing or of the assembling of a certain collection.[27] The entries of compositions and books on composition most often are found in incomplete and abbreviated form: titles vague, composers and authors without their Christian names,[28] wrongly spelled names, publishers' names instead of composers' names placed opposite the title of the composition (or compositions). Occasionally, though rarely, opus numbers complete the entry of the composer and his work.[29] It is therefore surprising to find about one hundred incipits[29a] in the Catalogue that have been copied with great care: (1) pages 45–

[24] James Longman and Francis Broderip. For the history of this firm, see article "Longman and Broderip," *MGG* VIII col 1188. One John Broderip is present in the Sharp Catalogue as a composer.

[25] Though some occasional entries in a rather coarse and non-professional handwriting, for the most part without evaluation, might suggest that a number of items were entered even after the evaluation by Longman and Broderip.

[26] See this author's listing (Appendix I) of the present order of pagination of the Catalogue for comparison with the original "Table of the Heads."

[27] From the earliest dated entry, "Psalmody, being a large Quarto Volume of ancient Music . . . Printed 1553" p 10, to the latest dated composition on p 165, "Budd's Dances 1783," we can deduce the approximate span of time covered by the musical works assembled in the Sharp Collection.

[28] This omission makes identification frequently rather difficult, as on numerous occasions more than one composer of the same family, or with the same name but not related, has been entered in the Catalogue.

[29] On page 59, for instance, "Martini's of Milan 6 [sic] op. 8" could be thus associated as being Giuseppe Sammartini's *Concertos* op. 8. See *MGG* XI col 1334.

[29a] See "List of Catalogue Entries That Include Incipits," p 156 below.

49 and 52–54a belong to compositions titled Full Concerto, Concerto, Overture, Sonatas from . . . Opera Airs, Symphony, and Quartetto; (2) pages 93–100, 107–110, and 117–123 contain Hautboy Concertos, Bassoon Concertos, French Horn and Trumpet Concertos respectively. With the exception of the incipits on pages 52 through 54a all carry almost complete information about the title, instrumentation, and indication of parts.[29b] The compositions belonging to the incipits date mainly c1710–1760, the late baroque and beginning classic era of the eighteenth century. The total number of compositions in the Catalogue of this period far surpasses those of the two preceding eras represented, i.e. (1) the period of early baroque,[30] and (2) the middle baroque, roughly called the pre-Handel era. Sacred music mostly written for or used in the Services of the Anglican Church is represented equally in all three periods.[31] Oratorios and Odes, both sacred (but non-liturgical) and secular, appear in settings written chiefly during the middle and late baroque and early classic eras. Johann Sebastian Bach, unfortunately, is completely absent.

The impressive quantity of music in the collection can be imagined, when one considers that some three hundred and fifty composers [32] are named in the Catalogue, many represented by more than one entry. Handel, for instance, is mentioned in the Catalogue on fifty pages, with a major portion of his work listed.[33]

The distribution of the composers according to their native country and the approximate time of their lives is shown in the following chart:

	16th century	*17th century*	*Handel*	*pre-Haydn*	*Haydn*	*Totals*
ENGLAND	4	29	28	22	43	126
ITALY	2	18	34	15	24	93
GERMANY		5	13	7	20	45
FRANCE		2	4	1	4	11
BOHEMIA		1		2	5	8
NETHERLANDS		1	2		3	6
SCOTLAND			1	2	1	4
SPAIN			1		1	2
IRELAND					3	3
RUSSIA					1	1

[29b] More than half of the total number of incipits are identified by composers' names.

[30] Being represented by about ten composers.

[31] For instance, by Mr Bird, Dr Blow, William Croft, Mr Henry Purcell, Jeremiah Clarke, Dr Maurice Green, Dr William Boyce.

[32] Not counting the numerous "Anonymi" provided with titles of compositions in the manuscript. See this author's list (Appendix II) of the composers' names mentioned in the Sharp Catalogue.

[33] By far the largest number of compositions by one single author listed in the Catalogue are those of Handel. Next to Handel, in descending order, are Henry Purcell, Weidemann, Green, Hasse, and "Pepush."

About fifty-five composers could not be reliably included in this chart, owing to lack of information regarding birth-places and life span. Moreover, figures and classifications in the chart should be regarded as symptomatic rather than definitive, since the dating was occasionally based on indefinite or incomplete bibliographical references in biographical sources, such as "fl. in the 17th c." and "early 18th cent."

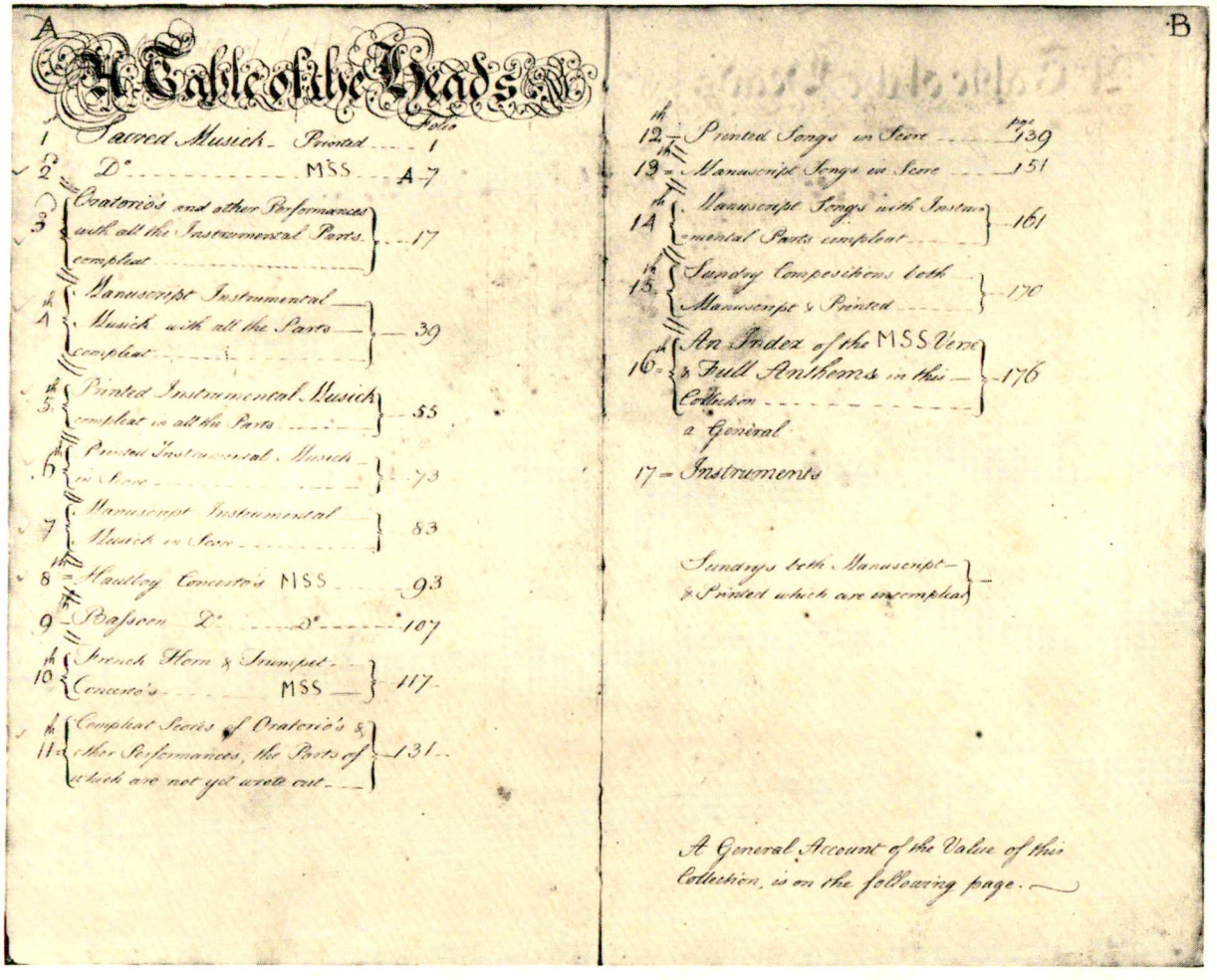
The section "Books on the Subject of Music, as Histories Treatises Instructions etc.," pages 168 through 172, lists seventy-three items which are a cross-section of treatises on baroque music. They fall into three distinct categories, though they are in no specific order in the Catalogue: (1) practical guides designed for instruction, with rules and elementary explanations of terms, aspects of performance, and techniques of the individual instruments (called methods or tutors; even a "Mock Trumpet Tutor" is included in the section); (2) books containing in addition to practical rules more or less systematic elucidations of counterpoint and especially thorough bass; and (3) treatises on the nature of sound and discussions of the aesthetics of music.[34] The first item in the section on "Books . . ." is "Sir John Hawkins History of Musick" 5 Quarto Volumes [London 1776]; we still draw a great deal of information from this standard work. In the "Theory Section" among the considerable number of tutors and instruction books on the basso continuo it is difficult to see why there is no treatise on lute or theorboe practice.

The remarkable range of holdings in the Sharp Catalogue makes one curious as to who was actually responsible for building this Collection. The only clue contained in the two hundred and twenty pages of the Catalogue concerns a number of allusions to sizable gifts made by dignitaries from Cambridge, York, and Durham. Since these men were contemporaries of the Reverend Thomas Sharp,[35] father of William, James, and Granville, we may hazard a guess that the collection was part of the library of the Reverend Sharp and at his death in 1758 was passed on to his sons.

In the absence of any documentary evidence regarding the growth of the Collection, however, we can only guess at the conditions which made it possible. Thus, it may be assumed that there was some kind of advisory relationship between the Sharps and the Handel circle. Further, we may surmise that in the plethora of music publishers at that period, one or another of them

[34] See, for instance, "Smith's Harmonics, or the Philosophy of musical sounds," and "Histoire de la Musique. Par M de Blainville."

[35] See biography of Reverend Thomas Sharp in the *DNB*, mentioned in footnote 20 of this paper.



I The "Table of the Heads," p A and B of the Sharp Catalogue — see Appendix I. *Music Division*

Bassoon Concertos

No		
4	Concerto by Mr. Davis 3 Bassoon Parts 8 Violins 4 Basses 15 Parts	Allegro 29 Folio Pages
5	Bassoon Duett by Dr. Dr. Pepusch Score 1 Fagotto 2do 2 Parts	Adagio 6 Folio Pages
6	Concerto by Mr. Wm. De Fesch. 4 Violins 1 Tenor 1 Bassoon 2 Basses 8 Parts	Allegro. 23 Pages Folio
7	Concerto by Mr. Handel in Radamistus 2 Bassoons 2 Flutes 4 Parts	6 Small Folio Pages
8	Sonata for Bassoon by 3 Violins 1 Bassoon 4 Parts	8 Pages Folio.
	Pages Folio	72

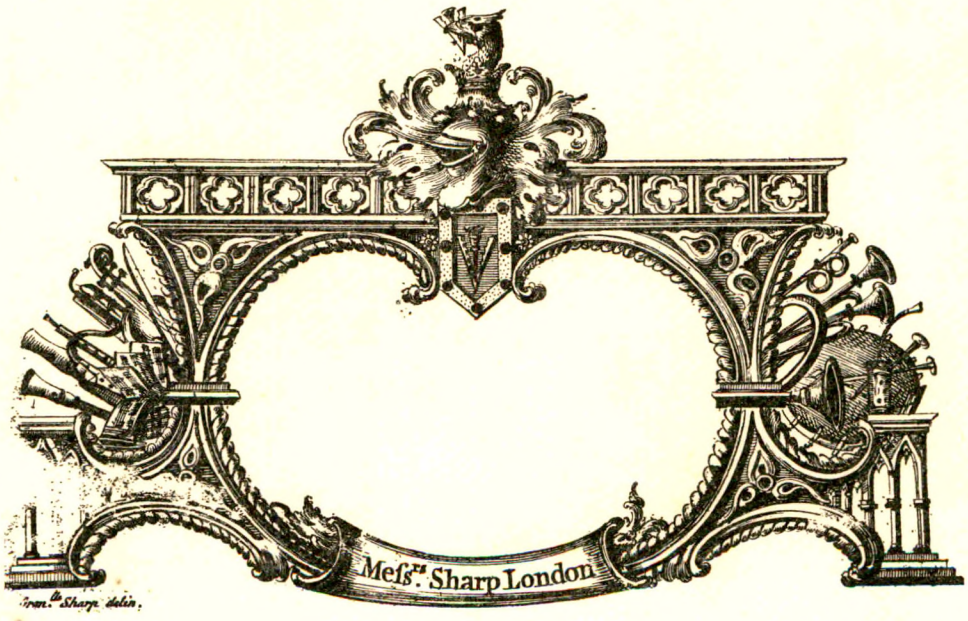
£0.18.0

II P 108 of the Sharp Catalogue. In the original, the ornamental heading is in red ink. Note the incipits and the listing for the Handel Concerto. On this page, the pricing for the five manuscripts is given at the lower right (figured at threepence the folio page of manuscript).

may well have been influential in counselling patrons such as the Sharps.[36] And finally, one might point to the great conflux of foreign composers who came to London during the late seventeenth and entire eighteenth centuries, in particular to the fact that the works of these foreign celebrities were for the most part published almost immediately by the London "Music-Setters," thus making them readily available to British collectors.

The importance of the Catalogue as a music-cultural document is evident. It is suggested in this paper that the London Sharp Collection in both chronological and geographical scope may well rank with its more famous contemporaries. A complete assessment of its value, however, must await a systematic and comprehensive stylistic grouping of its contents.

[36] As, for instance, the publishing house of the first John Walsh and his successors.



The bookplate in the Sharp Catalogue.

Catalogue Entries That Include Incipits

*Explanatory Note**

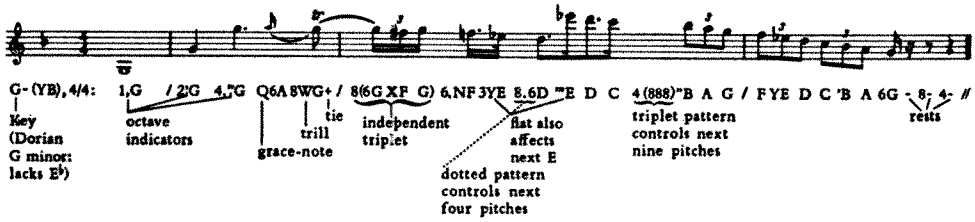
For the convenience of the reader the relevant parts of the code are summarized in condensed form below. The actual form of the incipits may be seen in Plate II.

Pitch. Normal letter names are used for pitches, preceded by commas or primes to indicate octaves below and above the middle octave ('C to 'B). Y = flat, X = sharp, N = natural, effective for all octaves until the next barline. Register indicators (, or ') affect all following pitches until the next register indicator, i.e. carrying through the barline.

Duration. 1 = whole note, 2 = half, 4 = quarter, 8 = eighth, 6 = sixteenth, 3 = thirty-second, 5 = sixty-fourth. A duration number carries through barlines, affecting all following pitches or rests until the next duration number. Dots = periods; rests = hyphens; ties = + directly after a pitch. Two or more numbers in succession indicate a pattern that applies to each group of two or more pitches following, until the next duration number. Non-binary groups require indication of the total duration followed by a parenthesis containing the details (see the sixteenth-note triplet that begins the third bar of the sample below).

Special Signs. Trills and mordents = W before the register indicator; grace notes = Q before the duration indicator; barline = /; double-bar = //; end of code = $; /./ = repeat preceding measure. Repetition of patterns enclosed between equal signs is indicated by following dots, i.e. / = DADA = . . . / abbreviates /DADA DADA DADA DADA/.

SYNTHETIC INCIPIT TO ILLUSTRATE APPLICATION OF CODE



Page 45

25 *Concerto del Rabbi Kimili di Petersburgh.* 2 Violins, 1 Tenor, 1 Basso.
"The Gift of Mr. Jno. Gallopin of Greenwich."
Allegro
G 4/4: 8"G 6BA 8GFG 6FEDC'BA/ 8B 6"DC 8'BAB 6AGFEDC/ 8,B"E 3EF 8.G

27 *Symphonia by the same Author.* 2 Violins, 1 Tenor, 1 Basso.
"The Gift of Mr. Gallopin."
Allegro
YB 3/4: 4"FBG/ F 6'B"CDE 4F/ F 6'B"CDE 4F/

* This text of the coding explanation and the diagram of the synthetic incipit are reprinted, by permission, from J. LaRue and M. W. Cobin *The Ruge-Seignelay Catalogue: An Exercise in Automated Entries* in *Elektronische Datenverarbeitung in der Musikwissenschaft* ed Harald Heckmann (Regensburg, Gustav Bosse Verlag 1967) 47. For further information see Jan LaRue and George W. Logemann "EDP" for Thematic Catalogues" *Notes* XXII 4 (June 1966) 1179–1186.

Page 46

33 *Full Concerto by* 6 Violins, 1 Tenor, 3 Basses.
Vivace
Gm ¢: 4."G 6–'G 8.6B"EDG/ 4E 8.6–C 4G 8.6–'G/ "CCDE 4'B–/

34 *Full Concerto by* 3 Violins, 1 Tenor, 2 Basses.
Allegro
A ¢: 8–"EAE C 6ED EDED/ 8CE AE C 6ED EDED/

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35 *Concerto by Dr. Pepusch.* 5 violins, 2 Hautboys, 2 Basses.
C 4/4: 4"C 8–CCC 8.6C'B/ : /8"C 6CD 8E'B

36 *Concerto by Dr. Pepush.* 2 Violins, 2 Hautboys, 1 Basso.
Adagio
F 4/4: 4'AGA–/–8–"C DC DC/ 2–4–8–C/ DC D6EF 8E 6DC

37 *Concerto or Overture.* 2 Violins, 2 Hautboys, 1 Tenor, 1 Bass.
YB 4/4: 4.'B 5B"CDEFGA 4B 8.6FE/ 4.D 6–C 4'BA/ 4.B 6–"D 4.C 6–E/

38 *Concerto Full.* 3 Violins, 1 Tenor, 2 Basses.
[Same incipit as Page 46, No 33]

39 *Concerto Full.* 2 Violins, 2 Hautboys, 2 Bassoons, 1 Tenor, 1 Basso.
Dm 4/4: 4"D/ 2'A 4FD/ : / AFED 2,A 4–"D/

Page 48

41 *Overture by Mr. Henry Purcell.* 2 Violins, 1 Hautboy, 1 Basso.
C ¢: 4'GGG–/"CCC–/ CC'B–/ B"DC 8E 6FE/

42 *Overture by Signr. G. Kirhoff.* 2 Violins, 1 Hautboy, 1 Basso.
YB ¢: 4"F 8–6FF F'FFF FFFF/8F"FFF 6F'FFF FFFF/

43 *Concerto by Mr.* — 2 Hautboys, 2 Violins, 1 Basso.
YB 3/4: 2'B 4"C/ 8.6DE CD 'B"C/ DE CD 8'B 6"CD/ 2C 4'F/

44 *Sonata by Mr.* — 1 Violin, 2 Hautboys, 1 Basso.
YB ¢: 884 "FD'B "GE'B/ "FD'B "EC'A/ BF"D 'GE"C/

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45 *Sonata by Mr. Jones.* 2 Violins, 1 Basso.
F ¢: 8"F/ F 6CC CCCC 8DCDC/ DCD 6C'B 8AFA"C/ 8F 6AG FEDC

46 *Sonata by Mr.* — 2 Violins, 1 Basso.
Allegro
A 4/4: 4–8–"E 6.38 C'B"C 'BAB/ AGA 8–"E 6FE 4F 8G/

47 *Sonata by Mr.* — 2 Violins, 1 Tenor, 1 Bass.
Allegro
YB 3/4: 4–"F'B/ AB"C/ DEF/ 8GF 4.B 8F/

48 *Sonata by Mr.* — 2 Hautboys, 1 Bassoon.
G ¢: 4"G/ FEDC/ 2'BA/ G"D/ 8GFGA 4GD/ 8AGAB

49 *Sonata by Mr.* — 2 Hautboys, 1 Basso.
Andante
D 3/8: 8'DFE/DGF/ EBA/ 4G 8F/

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66 *Concerto by* Violino 1mo, 2do, Hautboy, & 2 Basses.
Dm 2: 2'DF/ EA/ 4D"FED/ 8XC'AB"C DNC'YBA/

67 *Symphony by* 2 Violins & 2 Basses.
G 4/4: 8"E/ 866 DC'B "C'BA BAB 8GE/ 866 DC,B 'C,BA BAB 8G"D/

Page 52, continued

68 *Symphony by* 2 Violins & 2 Basses.
G 4/4: 8"D/ G 6AB 8AG "'D 4"D 6EF/ GF 8G –E 866 DC'B "C'BA/ BAG 8–

69 *Symphony by* 2 Violins & 2 Basses.
F 2/4: 8–/4'A 8B 6AG/ 8F 6AG 8FA/ AFCF/ FF 6FGAG/ FE 8F–/

Page 53

Weideman's Overture in fourteen parts.
F 4/4: 4."F 3–CDE 8.6 FC FA/ 4.G 3–CDEF

Ditto by Ditto in fourteen parts.
YB 4/4: 6.3'B,B 'DF B"D CE D'D FB "DF EG/ 4F 6.3 FB A"'C

Ditto by Ditto in ten Parts.
D 4/4: 4'D 6–EDC : / 4DG 8GF 4F/

Concerto by Ditto in four Parts.
Em 3/4: 4"E 4.'B 6–"G/ 4'A 4."F 6–'A/ 8.6 GA 4B"E/

Concerto by Ditto in five parts.
Cm 4/4: 8'G/ 86.3 "EDC G"'C"G 8G 6FNE 8FF/

Ditto by Ditto in five parts.
Gm 4/4: 6"D/ 4.D 6–G 4XF 6–A/ 4.G 6–D

Ditto by Ditto in five Parts.
Dm 4/4: 6'A/ 4.66 "F–D A–'A/ "D–'D

Page 54

L Cecere's Concerto Tibiae 12 parts.
G 2/4: 4"G 8'B"D/ : / G 6FE 8DC/

Concerto Tibiae 6 parts.
C 3/4: 4"E 2F/ 4.G 8EFG/ AGAG 4F/

Page 54a

Weideman's Overture in 15 Parts.
D 4/4: 8.6 "D'D DD D"D 8.D 3EF/ 8.6 G'G GG G"G GA/

Ditto by Ditto in ten Parts.
YB 4/4: 6.3 'B,B 'DF B"D CE D'D FB "DF EG/

Ditto by Ditto in 15 Parts.
Dm 4/4: 4."D 3–'ABXC 8.6 D'A 8"F 6.3 ED/ 4XC

Concerto Tibiae 11 Parts.
C 4/4: 8 "G 6EF 8GG 4G "'C/

Ditto. 11 parts.
C 3/4: 8'CCCCCC/ GGGGGG/ "CCCCCC/

Defesoh's 8th Concerto 11 Parts.
F 4/4: 4'F "F 6ED 8C C'B/ 4C B

Concerto one Violin & two Basses 3 part.
F 4/4: 4– 6"FEFG 4F C/ D 6FEFG

Concerto Tibiae in C.
C 4/4: 8"G/ E 6DC 8GG AG–G/

Page 93

1 *Concerto for Hautboys by Signr. Geminiani.* Hautboy Primo, Do 2do, Violino 1mo Concertino, Do 2do, Violino 1mo Repiano, Do 2do, Alto Viola 1mo, Do 2do, Fagotto, 2 Bass Repianos.
F 4/4: 6–"ABG AFGE FFGE FDEXC/ 8DFDB 6–

2 *Concerto* 1 Hautboy, 4 Violins, 2 Basses.
G 4/4: 3"DEF/ 8GGGGG 4'G 8"G/ G 6FE 8DC'B

3 *Concerto for* 1 Hautboy, 4 Violins, 2 Horns, 3 Basses.
"the same with No 7 only transposed to F"
F 4/4: 8"F 6'FF 8FFF 6AB "C'ABG/ 8"F 6'FF

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4 *Concerto* 2 Hautboys, 6 Violins, 1 Tenor, 3 Basses.
F 3/4: 6'FCDE FEFE FEFE/ FCDE

5 *Overture by Mr. Weideman.* 2 Hautboys, 6 Violins, 1 Tenor, 1 Violoncello, 2 Basses.
YB 4/4: 4."B 6BAG 8.6 FD EC/ 4D'B 2–/

6 *Sinfonia Del Seibert.* 2 Hautboys, 2 Violins, 1 Tenor, 1 Bass.
Allegro
C [4/4]: 424 'CCC/CCC/DDD/DDF/FEA

7 *Concerto in Gamut the same with No 3.* 1 Hautboy, 2 Horns, 2 Violins, Basso.
G 4/4: 8"G 6'GG 8GGG 6B"C D'B"C'A/ 8"G 6'GG 8GG

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8 *Concerto* 1 Hautboy, 2 Violins, 1 Violetta, 1 Bass.
Allegro
C ¢: 6'CD/ 8ECG"CC'B–G/ A 6GF 8EF 4G 8– 6"C'B/

9 *Concerto for Flutes or Hautboys.* 2 Hautboys or Flutes, Alto Viola, Basso.
Adagio
F 4/4: 4"C 8/C 4D+ 6DDEF/ 4C+ 6CEFC 4'B+ 6B"GE'B/

10 *Concerto.* 1 Hautboy, 2 Violins, 1 Tenor, 1 Bass.
Andante
Dm 4/4: 8"D'D–DE,A'AE/ FD–BCA,B'G/ 4,A

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12 *Concerto.* 1 Hautboy, 2 Violins, Alto Viola, 1 Violoncello, Basso.
F 4/4: 46666 "C–CDE F–EFG/ E–EFG A–GAB/

13 *Concerto or Overture.* 1 Hautboy, 2 Violins, 1 Tenor, 2 Basses.
A 2/4: 4'A 6–EFG/ 8AEC,A/ 4E–/ "E 6–'B"CD/

14 *Comic Overture.* 2 Violins, 2 Hautboys, 1 Tenor, 1 Bass.
Largo e Staccato
G 3/4: 8.6 'GB A"C 8.'B 3"CD/ 4'D– –/ 8.6 EC FA 8.G 3AB/ 4,B– –/

15 *Concerto or Overture.* 2 Hautboys, 2 Violins, 1 Tenor, 1 Bass.
Gm 4/4: 4."G 3DNEXF 8.6 GB AG/ 2XF 4–8.F 3NEF/ 4.G6–

Page 97

16 *Concerto by Signr. Hasse.* 2 Violins, 2 Hautboys, 2 Horns, 1 Tenor, 1 Bass.
Allegro
F ¢: 8"C/ CFFA AFFC/ : / 4D

17 *Concerto* 2 Hautboys, 4 Violins, 1 Bassoon, 1 Tenor, 1 Bass.
YB 3/4: 44.66 "F"F–"F/ G'G–"G/ A'A–"A/ 4B'B–/ 6BFB"D FD'B"D/

18 *Concerto by Mr. Linicke.* 1 Hautboy, 2 Violins, 1 Tenor, 1 Violoncello, 1 Basso.
Adagio
G 4/4: 4'G 6GBAG "DCDE 8D 6CD/'BAB"C 'B"C'B"C

19 *Concerto by Mr. Linicke.* 2 Hautboys, 2 Violins, 1 Tenor, 1 Bassoon, 1 Basso Continuo.
Largo
YB 3/2: 2"DDD/ DDD/D 4DCDC/

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20 *Concerto Mr. Lenike.* 2 Hautboys, 2 Violins, 1 Tenor, 1 Bass.
Largo
YB [3/2]: 2'FFF/ BBB/ 8"CD 2EC 8DE/ 2.D 4C 2'B/

21 *Concerto by Mr. Lenicke.* 1 Hautboy, 2 Violins, 1 Bassoon, 1 Tenor, 1 Bass.
Largo
C 3/2: 2"CCC/ DDD/ DDD/ ECG/

22 *Concerto by Mr. Lenike.* 2 Hautboys, 2 Violins, 1 Tenor, 2 Basses.
Largo
Am 4/4: 4.'A 6"FE EDDC C'BB"E/ 8C'A 4–2–/ 4.A 6"FE EDDC

23 *Concerto for a Flute or Hautboy.* 1 Flute, 3 Violins, 1 Basso.
Allegro
D ¢: 8'A/ "D'AD"F EC'A"E/ F'A"DF EAEC/

Page 99

24 *Concerto — Hautboy.* 1 Hautboy, 4 Violins, Tenor, 2 Basses.
Allegro
F ¢: 4"FCD 8–'A/ B"ABA GC–F/ FEEG

25 *Concerto.* 1 Hautboy, 2 Violins, 1 Tenor, 1 Bass.
Grave Staccato
Gm 4/4: 88666.3 "G'G–"GGG A'D–"AAA/ B'G–"DDD YE'C–"CCC/

26 *Concerto Hautboy or Flute Almain.* 1 Hautboy, 2 Violins, Basso.
Adagio
G 3/2: 2–"DD/ DGG/ GDE/ C'A 4B"C/ 2'B 4GA

27 *Concerto.* 2 Hautboys, 2 Violins, 1 Tenor, 2 Basses.
Allegro
F ¢: 8"F/ EDC'B AGFG/ AB"CD 4'G 8–6AB/ 8"C'AFC

Page 100

28 *Concerto for 2 Flutes or Hautboys by Signr. D: Michele Brewnitz.* Flauto 1mo, Do 2do, Violoncello.
"The Gift of Mr. Jno. Gallopin."
YB 2/4: 8"F/ BF'DF/ : / 4B 8–F/ GECF/ DF 4B+/ BA/

29 *Sonata for Flutes & Hautboys by Mr. Finger.* 2 Flutes, 2 Hautboys, 1 Basso.
Dm 3/2: 2"A 4AGFE/ 2FD 4FA/ AGAGFE/ 2FD 4FG/

Page 107

2 *Concerto by* Bassoon Solo, 8 Violins, 1 Tenor, 3 Basses.
Allegro
C ¢: 6–,GAB/ 8'C,CCCC 6DE FGAB/ 8'C,CCC

3 *Concerto by Mr. Benegar.* 1 Bassoon, 4 Violins, 2 Hautboys, 1 Tenor, 3 Basses.
Allegro
YE 3/4: 6'EEEE GGGG BBBB/ EEEE AAAA

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4 *Concerto by Mr. Davis.* 3 Bassoon Parts, 8 Violins, 4 Basses.
Allegro
YB 4/4: 8'F/ 4B"C 8D 6C'B 8AB/ FGDE F,B–F/

5 *Bassoon Duett by Dr. Dr. Pepusch.* 1 Fagotto 2do.
Adagio
YB ¢: 4–8–,F 4.G 6AB/ 8.A 6G 866 FGF EFG 8.F 6E/ 8D,,B–F

6 *Concerto by Mr. Willm. De Fesch.* 4 Violins, 1 Tenor, 1 Bassoon, 2 Basses.
Allegro
Dm 4/4: 8–"AFD XCD 4E+/ 8E'A"D 6EF 8E'A "E 6FG/ 8FXCDE

8 *Sonata for Bassoon by* 3 Violins, 1 Bassoon.
G 3/8: 6'GA/ 8BAB/ 4A 6GA/ 8BAB/ 4A 6B"C/ 8D 6CDED/

Page 109

9 *Concerto's by* 1 Bassoon, 2 Violins, 2 Hautboys, 1 Violoncello, 1 Tenor.
No 1
Dm 4/4: 8,DDFD GEAG/ FD'D 6ED XCDEC/ 8,AF"FD
No 2
F 3/4: 8–'FFFFF/2.F/ 8–AAAAA/ 2.A/ 8–CCC

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17 *Concerto by* 1 Bassoon, 4 Violins, 1 Tenor, 2 Basses.
"The Gift of Mr. Hebden."
Largo
YB 3/4: 4,B,,B,B+/ B 8AGAF/ 4G,,G,G/ G 8FEFD/ 4E,,E,E/ E 8DCD,,B/

Page 117

1 *Concerto in D.* 2 Horns, 4 Violins, 2 Hautboys, 4 Basses, 1 Tympano.
D 4/4: 6'D"DCD 8'D"DD 6C'B 8A"D+/ D 6C'B 8AGFD–A/

2 *Concerto in D.* 2 Horns, 4 Violins, 2 Hautboys, 4 Basses, 1 Tympano.
D 4/4: 4."D 8E 8.6 FE FG/ 4.A 8B 8*6 AB AG/ 4F 8EF 4DE/
[* Dots missing in original]

3 *Concerto in F.* 2 Horns, 4 Violins, 2 Hautboys, 3 Basses.
Allegro
F 4/4: 4"A–A–/ A–8–6""C"A 8""C"C/ 4A–A–/ A–8–6""C"B 8""C"C/

4 *Overture in "Cato" by Mr. Ecoles in D.* 1 Trumpet, 1 Horn, 3 Violins, 2 Hautboys, 1 Tenor, 3 Basses, 1 Tympano.
D ¢: 8'D 6DD 8DDD,A–A/ 6'DCDE FEFD 8G,G–6GF/

Page 118

5 *Concerto in D* (*Overture in "Semiramis"*). 2 Horns, 4 Violins, 2 Hautboys, 1 Tenor. 4 Basses, 1 Tympano.
Allegro
D ¢: 4'D 8–6DC 8D,A'DF/ : / 4E 8–6ED

6 *Concerto in D by Signr. Hasse.* 2 Horns, 4 Violins, 2 Hautboys, 3 Basses.
Allegro
D ¢: 8'D,A'D,A 'DFEG/ F,A'D,A'DFEG/ FAGB 4A

7 *Concerto by Mr. Lamp.* 4 Violins, 1 Horn, 2 Basses.
E 4/4: 4'E 6–,B'CD EDEF GFED/ 8E,BGB 'E,B 'G 6FE/ 8B,B

8 *Concerto in F by* 2 Horns, 4 Violins, 2 Hautboys, 1 Tenor, 3 Bass.
F ¢: 4'F 6–CDE FEFG AGFE/ 8FC,A'C FC A 6GF/

Page 119

9 *Overture or Concerto in G by* 8 Violins, 1 Tenor, 2 Horns, 3 Basses.
G 4/4: 4"G'G 8G 6FG 8AF/ 4G 4.D 6AB 8"C'A/ 4B 4.G 6FG 8AF/ 4G

10 *Concerto in Eb by* 3 Violins, 1 Horn, 3 Basses, 1 Tenor.
YE 4/4: 8'E"E'E"E 6'E"EDC 'BAGF/ : /

11 *Concerto in F by Signr. Georgia Avandane.* 4 Violins, 2 Hautboys, 2 Horns, 3 Basses.
F 4/4: 4'A 8.A 6A 8A 6"CD C'BAG/ 4A 8.A 6A 8A 6GA GFED/ 4E 8.E 6E 8E

12 *Concerto in F by* 3 Violins, 2 Horns, 2 Hautboys, 1 Tenor, 2 Basses.
Allegro
F ¢: 4'F 6AG 8F A 4"C 8'F/ "F 4A 6GF EFGE 4C/ 6EF 8G+ 6GEDF

Page 120

13 *Concerto in D by* 2 Trumpets, 2 Horns, 2 Hautboys, 4 Violins, 1 Tenor, 3 Basses, 1 Tympano.
Largo Andante
D 4/4: 6"D'DFA 8FD 6–,A'EA 8EC/ 6–DB"D 8'B,B 6–'EA"C 8D'D/ 6–DGB

Page 120, continued

14 *Concerto in Eb by* 4 Violins, 2 Horns, 2 Hautboys, 4 Basses.
Allegro
YE 4/4: 6'E"DC 'BAGF : / 8EED,B –'ED,B/

15 *Concerto Con Corni da Caccia Del Signr. Giov. Batta Somis.* 2 Horns, 4 Violins, 2 Basses.
Allegro
YE 2/4: 8'B/ 6"E'EEE EEEE/ 8FEGA/ 6"E'EEE EEEE/

16 *Concerto — Trumpet by Mr. Lineke.* 1 Violin, 2 Hautboys, 1 Trumpet, 1 Bass.
Allegro
YE ¢: 8"E'BGE "E'B "F"B/ "G'B "A 6GF 8GE–G/ 6FBFD 'B"FBF GAGF EFED/

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17 *Concerto in F by* 2 Horns, 4 Violins, 2 Hautboys, 1 Tenor, 3 Basses.
F 4/4: 8"C/ CCCC F"FFF/ FFFF "C'CCC/ CCCC 6FEFG

18 *Concerto in F by* 4 Violins, 2 Horns, 2 Hautboys, 1 Alto Viola, 3 Basses.
F 4/4: 4"FFF–/ 6FGAB 8""C"E 4F–/ 6FGAB 8""C"C 4D 8–D/

19 *Concerto in F by* 4 Violins, 2 Horns, 2 Hautboys, 1 Alto Viola, 3 Basses.
F ¢: 8'F/ F 6GA B"CDE 8F"F F"D/ C 6'BA GABG 8A"FFD/

20 *Concerto in F by* 2 Horns, 4 Violins, 2 Hautboys, 1 Tenor, 4 Basses.
Allegro
F 2/4: 8"C/ F 4A 8G/ F 4C 8'B/ A 4"C 8'B/ A 4G 8F/ 2"D/ 8DB 6BDC'B/

Page 122

21 *Concerto in D by* 2 Horns, 2 Hautboys, 4 Violins, 1 Tenor, 1 Tympano, 4 Basses.
Largo
D 3/4: 4–8*6'AGFE/ 4D"DD/ D 2C/ 4D 2F/ E 4E/ 8.F 6'G 2XG/
[* Dots missing in original]

22 *Concerto in Eb by* 2 Horns, 2 Hautboys, 3 Violins, 1 Tenor, 3 Basses.
YE ¢: 6,B'CD/ 8.6EA GF 4F 6–,B'CDE/ 86FA GF 4G 6–EFGA/
[Faulty rhythm in original]

23 *Concerto in D by* 2 Violins, 2 Horns, 1 Tenor, 1 Bass.
Allegro
D ¢: 4"DC 8D'DDA/ 668 B"DG CEA 6FC 4D 8'A/ : /

24 *Symphonia in D by* 2 Violins, 2 Horns, 1 Tenor, 1 Bass.
Allegro assai
D 4/4: 8"D/ 664. AFD EFG/ 8.'B 6"G FDEC 8D'A 6"FDEC/ 8D'A 6"FDEC

Page 123

25 *Concerto in F Di Signr. Georgia Avandano the same with No 11.* 2 Violins, 2 Horns, 1 Bass.
Allegro
[Same incipit as Page 119, No 11 above; with tempo mark added here]

Appendix I

Subject Index of the Sharp Catalogue in its present appearance with reference to the original "Table of the Heads" on pages A and B.

Original Divisions	Present Pagination	Subjects [Italic type signifies an entry in the "Table of the Heads"; roman type signifies an internal heading.]
	A-H	*A Table of the Heads,* Reckoning of Ms & Printed Musick-Books, Sundrys, Instruments; Calculation of the Value of the Collection.

Original Divisions	Present Pagination	Subjects
	I-M blank	
	N, O, P	Instruments [Enumeration of the Instruments of the Collection]
	Q-X blank	
1st	1–11	*Sacred Musick Printed*
	4, 12, 13 blank 14, A1–A3 missing A4, A5 blank	
2d	A6–A15, 16 [sic]	*Sacred Musick MSS*
3d	17–30	*Oratorios and other Performances with all the Instrumental Parts compleat*
	28, 29 missing 31–35 blank	
4th	36–54a	*Manuscript Instrumental Musick with all the Parts compleat*
5th	55a–72	*Printed Instrumental Musick compleat in all the Parts*
	166, 167 interleaved between 71 and 72	
6th	73–78	*Printed Instrumental Musick in Score*
	79–82 blank	
7th	83–91	*Manuscript Instrumental Musick in Score*
	92 blank	
8th	93–100	*Hautboy Concertos MSS*
	101–105 blank	
9th	106 title page 107–110	Bassoon Concertos Manuscript *Bassoon Concertos MSS*
	111–115 blank	
10th	116 title page 117–124	French Horn Concertos Manuscript *French Horn & Trumpet Concertos MSS*
	125–130 blank	
11th	131–138	*Compleat Scores of Oratorios & other Performances, the Parts of which are not yet wrote out*
12th	139–149	*Printed Songs in Score*
	150 blank	
13th	151–157	*Manuscript Songs in Score*

Original Divisions	Present Pagination	Subjects
	158–160 blank	
14th	161–164	*Manuscript Songs with Instrumental Parts compleat*
15th	165	*Sundry Compositions both Manuscript & Printed*
	166, 167 see 5th Division	
	168, 169	Books on the Subject of Music, History Treatises Instructions &c.
	170	Words of Airs to Oratorios &c without Music
	171, 172	Books on the Subject . . . cont
	173–175 blank	
	176	NB = guide to symbols attached to the following, alphabetically arranged
16th	176	*An Index of the MSS Verse & Full Anthems in this Collection*
	177, 178	[Anthems the incipits of which start with the letter A]

[From p 178 to the end of the tome no numerical pagination: folios are alphabetically indexed and contain the incipits of the Anthems in alphabetic order starting with letter B and ending with W.]

17th *Instruments* [This item does not follow the *Index of the . . . Anthems*. The cataloguing of the instruments appears, however, on pages N, O, P as shown above.]

Appendix II

Listing of the Composers' Names As They Appear in the Sharp Catalogue

Signr. Abacco
Abel
Signr. Giuseppe Matteo Alberti
Albinoni
Dr. John Alcock
Dr. Aldridge
John Alfield
Ambrogio
Carolo Ambrosio
Signr. Giov. Giacomo Androux
Michael Arne
Dr. Thomas Augustine Arne
Arnold
Baron D'Astorga [Emanuele, Giacchino, C. R.]
Jean Oliver Astorga
Asuni
Mr. Atterburg
Signr. Georgia Avandano
Mr. Charles Avison
Ayreton

Mr. William Babel
Bach
Banister
Baptista
Barbandt, Barbant
Francisco Barsanti
Bartelemon
Bassani
Christopher Bassano
Batten
Mr. Battershall, Battishill
Beingen
Bellogness
Mr. Benegar
Bennegan
Berg
Bessonchi
Martino Betti
Signr. Alexandro Bezozzi
Biagoli
Sir Charles Bingham
Bini
Mr. William Bird
Mr. Bishop

Blake
Blanch
Dr. Blow
Boccherini
Bomporti
Bononcini
Lewis Borghi
Signr. Borri
Dr. Willm. Boyce
Brabante
Signr. Dominico Brassolini
Signr. D. Michele Brewnitz
Mr. John Broderip
Thomas Brown
Budd
Burgess
Burnett
Charles Burney
Busby
Bush

Caccia
Caldara
Carey

Carissimi
Carminiano
Carter
Carlo Ceceri
Cervetto
Revd. Mr. Chetham
Dr. Wm. Child
Giovanni Chinzzen
Ciampi
Clagget
Signr. Carlo Maria Clari
Jeremiah Clarke
Joseph Clarke
Claudius
Clementi
Mr. Cobson
Cocchi
Dr. Cook [Captain Cooke]
Mr. Wm. Corbett
Signr. Arcangelo Corelli, Correlli
Monsieur Couperin
Courtaville
Mr. Hugh Cox
Christelli
Dr. Wm. Croft
Mr. Thos. Curtis

Mr. Davis
De Fesch, Defesch, Mr. Willm. De Fesch
Degiara
Degiardino [see Giardini]
Del a Faco
Mr. De La Ruette
Mr. Thomas Saunders Deputs, Duputs
Richardo Dering
Dibdin
Dieltenhofer
Ditters
Draghi
Mr. Henry Duncalf
Durfey [see D'urfey]

Ebdon
Mr. Eccles
Esser
William Evance
Signr. Alphonso D'Eve
Joseph Eyre

Giuseppe Fain
Falle
Farmer
Felstead
The Revd. Mr. Wm. Felton
Mr. Michel Christian Festing
Filtz
Dr. Finch
Mr. Finger
Signr. Fiocco Senior
Andrea Fiore
F. E. Fisher
Fisher [John Abraham]
Fisher [Johann Christian Fischer]
Fisin
Forelli [Federigo Fiorelli]
Christophero Forster
Frike
Froberger

Gaith
Mr. Galliard
Signr. Galluppi
Ganthoni
Gardner
Garoler
John Garth
Gasparini
Francesco Geminiani
Count Germain
Giardini [see Degiardino]
Dr. Orlando Gibbons
Gillier
Giordani
Goldwin
Goodson
Goodwin
F. J. Gossec
Lewis Grabu Esqu.
Signr. Grahani
Signr. Franc. Grassi
Graun
Greaves
Dr. Maurice Green
Grotteman
Guglielmi
Gunn

Signr. Nicola Francesco Haim Romano
Thomas Hale
Mr. Handel
Hargrove
Hartley
Signr. Hasse
Haydn
Dr. Phil. Hayes
Heighinton
Revd. Mr. Phocian Henley
Hermit
Herner
Mr. James Hesletine
Hilton [John]
Mr. Hodson
Holcomb
Mr. George Holmes
Hook
Hooper
Mr. Howard
Mr. Robt. Hudson
Humble
Humphry [Pelham Humphrey]

Mr. Joseph Jackson of Oxford
Mr. Wm. Jackson
Jomelli
Richard Jones
Mr. Richard Justice

Kammel, Kammell
Mr. Keaton
Mr. Godfrey Keller
The Earl of Kelly
Kelway
Mr. James Kent
Rabbi Kimili di Petersburgh
Charles King
Robt. King
Signr. G. Kirhoff
J. F. Kloffer, Klosser
Kotywura
Signr. G. A. Kreusser
Adam Kroll

Mr. Lamp, Lampe
Signr. Lampugnani
Langdon
Lanzetti
Law [Henry]
Giovanni Maria Le Clair
Leveridge
Levesque
Andrew Liddle, Lidel
Mr. Lenicke, Lenike
Mr. Linike, Linicke, Lineke
Locatelli
Matthew Lock, Locke
Charles Lockhart
Loeillet
Lonati, Lunati
Long
Lotti
Ludovicus
Lully

Maasmann Prusse
Macklean
McGibbons
Mancinelli
Marcello
Martelli
Martini [Giov. Batta. Sammartini]
Martini [Giuseppe Sammartini]
Michele Mascitti

J. Matheson
Mr. Godfrey Meusel
Mozart
Mudge

Mr. Valentine Nalson
Nardini
Dr. Nares
Noferi
Mr. Frederick Nussen

Orlandi
Mr. James Oswald

Palestrina
Palondi
Parti
Pasquali
Pasquino
Mr. Stephn. Paxton
Mr. Peasable
Dr. Pepush, Pepusch
Signr. David Perez
Signr. Pergolesi
Pesch
Johannes Christophorus Pez
Piccini
Plà
Platti
John Playford
Signr. Pollardi
Pollaroli
Porpora
Porti
Predestini of Naples
P. Prelleur
Presto
Pugnani
Punto
Daniel Purcell
Mr. Henry Purcell

Signr. Quantz

Mr. Randal
Mr. John Ravenscroft
Thomas Ravenscroft
Reading
Mr. Joseph Real
Remeau
Fr. Remy
A. J. Retzel
R. Ricci
Richardson
Richter
Ridley
Mr. Rogers
Andrew Ronner
Rosa
Roscia
Roseingrave
Rush

Giovanni Andrea Sabatini
Sacchini
Giuseppe Sacti
Sandonit
Signr. Angelo Maria Scaccia di Milano
Alessandro Scarlatti
Signr. Domenico Scarlatti
Schethy, Schetky
Schickhard
Schroeter
Schultz
Schwindl
Seibert
Revd. Dr. Thomas Sharp
Madame Sirmon
B. Smith
Mr. Smith [Joh. Christoph]
J. S. Smith
Theodore Smith
Mr. Soaper
Signr. Giov. Battista Somis
Stamitz
Mr. John Stanley
Stefanis [Gaetano de]
Abbot Stephani
Signr. Stradella
Stroud

Mr. Tallis
Tartini
Ferdinando Tenducci
Carlo Tessarini
Thumoths
Tibaldi
Hidel Todesco
Sir Joseph Toeschi
William Topham
Torelli
Gabriel Tortoriti
John Travers
Mr. Tudway
Elizabeth Turner

D'urfey [see Durfey]
Francesco Uttini

Vachon
Mr. Valentine [Robert]
Mr. Valentini at Rome
Mr. Vanbrugh [George]
Vanhal
Van Maldere
Veracini
Verbruggen
Vince
Vincent
Vincenzo
Leonardo Vinci
Visconti [Gasparo]
Vivaldi

Walond [William I]
Mr. Wanless
Mr. Saml. Webbe
Mr. Weidemann, Weideman
Mr. John Weldon
E. White
Matthew Wilkins
Mr. Saml. Wise of Nottingham
Woodcock
Dr. Worgan
John Wynne of Cambridge

Young [William]

Zolli [Giovanni de Zotti]

Wordsworth's Marginalia on *Paradise Lost*

By Bishop C. Hunt, Jr
Harvard University

THE DOVE COTTAGE Library owns a copy of the second edition of *Paradise Lost* (1674) which contains unpublished annotations by Wordsworth.[1] The poet's autograph signature, "W. Wordsworth," appears in ink on the title page. Previous owners (or users) were "Thos. Evans" and "Thomas Williams," who signed their names on the title page, and on p 39; "John Williams," p 249; and "John Jones," whose name occurs in several places. There are a number of ink-stains and childish scrawls throughout, and on p iv an inscription, also in a childish hand, "Ten the 28 1782 Thomas Jones Died." Inside the front cover are two notes added after Wordsworth's death. One is in the hand of Mary Wordsworth and refers to her brother, Henry Hutchinson, who died in 1839. The other is by the poet's son William:

> This book was bound by my Brother Henry — its cover was the skin of some favorite Animal which He had dressed, I forget further particulars.
> M. W. Rydal Mount, Oct 7th, 1850.
>
> It was also much read & referred to by my Father.
> W. Wordsworth.

The volume was not included in the Rydal Sale of 1859, and has only recently come to light.

Exactly when or where Wordsworth acquired the book is not known, and in the absence of real knowledge any guess is bound to be risky. The number of Welsh names written inside, however, suggests the possibility that he might have picked it up in the course of a trip through the West Country and into Wales. Wordsworth visited the Wye Valley and North Wales in August 1793, for example, and spent several weeks in Bristol during the summer of 1795. He was in Bristol again in March 1797, and from the time of settling at Alfoxden, about thirty-five miles away, until he went to Germany in the autumn of 1798, Wordsworth visited the city on at least six separate occasions; he made a practice of staying either with Joseph Cottle or with James Losh, who was then living a few miles from the city itself.[2] And of course he returned to the Wye Valley in the summer of 1798, an

[1] Grateful acknowledgement is made to the Trustees of Dove Cottage, and to Prof Basil Willey, who kindly obtained Xerox reproductions of the marginalia.

[2] Mark L. Reed *Wordsworth: The Chronology of the Early Years, 1770–1799* (Cambridge, Mass 1967) 145, 167; 194, 212, 237, 239, 240–41, 243–44.

excursion which led to the composition of "Tintern Abbey." Wordsworth could have acquired his copy of the second edition of *Paradise Lost* (which provides a much better text than the "modernized" edition of 1767 which he used at Cambridge)[3] sometime during this period.

Even in 1800, the second edition would have been a comparatively rare book. One possible source — though it should be emphasized that this is the purest conjecture — is Joseph Cottle, the bookseller and publisher of *Lyrical Ballads*, with whom Wordsworth was in constant touch while living at Alfoxden. The surviving letters show that Wordsworth often asked Cottle to get books for him, including such different titles as Southey's *Joan of Arc*, Darwin's *Zoonomia*, the *Economist*, the "works" of Charles Lloyd, and "three volumes" of Massinger, as well as Cottle's own verse and a translation of *Icelandic Poetry, or the Edda of Saemund* by Cottle's brother, Amos.[4] On September 13 1797, for example, Wordsworth wrote to Cottle saying, "I propose to be in Bristol ere three weeks are past, when I shall have the pleasure of talking to you on books, &c."[5] More specifically, Wordsworth spent at least two weeks in Bristol in December – January, 1797–8, on returning from London after failing to get *The Borderers* accepted for the stage; he perhaps stayed with Cottle's parents.[6] Immediately afterwards, at Alfoxden during the early months of the year, he began to write his first thoroughly "Miltonic" blank verse. While walking back from Bristol to Alfoxden in January, in fact, he may have composed the great fragment, "On Man, on Nature, and on Human Life," later published as the *Prospectus* to *The Recluse*, which appears to be the "glad preamble" to *The Prelude* mentioned at the beginning of Book VII.[7] It is tempting — once again, of course, it is only a conjecture — to think that Wordsworth might have obtained his copy of Milton shortly before this.

A careful study of the handwriting of the marginalia suggests that they probably belong to the years 1798–1800. Admittedly, handwriting is not a very accurate guide; but a comparison with Wordsworth's manuscript letters shows that his writing, both before and after these dates, is sufficiently

[3] *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth* ed E. de Selincourt, rev Helen Darbishire (Oxford 1952–59) v 362, 485.

[4] *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: The Early Years 1787–1805* ed. E. de Selincourt, rev Chester Shaver (Oxford 1967) 163, 199, 214, 217–18; 196, 214.

[5] *Letters* 192.

[6] Mary Moorman *William Wordsworth: The Early Years 1770–1803* (Oxford 1957) 352; Reed *Chronology* 212.

[7] Moorman 362; *Wordsworth's Prelude* ed E. de Selincourt, rev Helen Darbishire (Oxford 1959) xliv-xlv.

different, in slight but noticeable ways, to make such a degree of accuracy possible, though by no means certain.[8] A more reliable indication of date is the correspondence between Wordsworth's comments on Milton, and certain details of his poetry and prose written during this period. On the basis of internal evidence, I should say that the annotations are not likely to be *earlier* than 1798; though the terminal date of 1800 could perhaps be extended forward a year or two, just to be on the side of safety. The main point is that the marginalia are without doubt "early" rather than "late." As such, they help to confirm Wordsworth's interest in Milton at the height of his own creative powers.

Altogether Wordsworth wrote commentaries on thirteen passages: two in Book III, one in VI, two in VII, one each in IX and X, five in XI, and one in XII. He also marked a number of passages with a cross or other symbol; these are listed separately at the end of this article. All the annotations are in ink. An attempt is made to supply enough of the text of Milton to make Wordsworth's references intelligible. Matter supplied by the editor is enclosed within square brackets. Words deleted by Wordsworth are printed in italics within square brackets. Words added by Wordsworth, apparently for clarification, are given within pointed brackets.

I

Book III, 524

Each Stair mysteriously was meant, nor stood
There alwayes, but drawn up to Heav'n somtimes
Viewless, and underneath a bright Sea flowd
Of Jasper, or of liquid Pearle, whereon
Who after came from Earth, sayling arrivd,
Wafted by Angels, or flew o'er the Lake
Rapt in a Chariot drawn by fiery Steeds.
The Stairs were then let down, whether to dare
† The Fiend by easie ascent, or aggravate
His sad exclusion from the dores of Bliss. (516–25)

† This is injudicious; a Spirit who was able to make such a voyage as Satan has just performed who "at one slight bound could high overleap all bound" could not have his access to heaven either facilitated or obstructed by letting down or drawing up of a Train of stairs. —

The note refers to IV, 180, where Satan "In contempt / At one slight bound high overleap'd all bound / Of Hill or highest Wall" into Eden. Wordsworth's evident dislike of epic machinery (compare the next comment on the "Sea of

[8] I am greatly indebted to the Librarian of Dove Cottage, Miss Nesta Clutterbuck, for much patient help on this matter.

Jasper") no doubt reflects his attitude to "poetic diction"; which helps to confirm the date of the marginalia. It is revealing that his reverence for Milton did not prevent him from severely criticizing the language of *Paradise Lost*. Most of his comments are in fact destructive, or contain suggestions for improvement.

2

Book III, 548

As when a Scout
Through dark and desart ways with peril gone
All night; at last by break of chearful dawne
Obtains the brow of some high-climbing Hill,
Which to his eye discovers unaware
† The goodly prospect of some forein land
First-seen, or some renownd Metropolis
With glistering Spires and Pinnacles adornd,
Which now the Rising sun guilds with his beams.
Such wonder seis'd, though after Heaven seen,
The Spirit maligne, but much more envy seis'd
At sight of all this World beheld so fair. (543–54)

† This part of the picture might have been improved by [*the delineation*] ⟨a simple introduction⟩ of some of the most interesting rural images of an extensive prospect viewed at daybreak ⟨such as⟩ Hamlets cottages & woods with reaches of a river, all [*piercing*] ⟨lifting themselves⟩ here & there thro the morning vapour. The three last verses are inimitably picturesque. It has been said of poets as their highest praise that they exhausted worlds and then imagined new, that existence saw them spurn her bounded reign &c. But how much of the most valuable part of the poet's province [*consists in*] how much of the real excellence of Imagination consists in the capacity of exploring the world really existing & thence selecting objects beautiful or great as the occasion may require. Who is there that does not peruse this description of so familiar an appearance with ⟨far⟩ more pleasure than the preceeding account of the sea of Jasper [*and*] ⟨or⟩ liquid pearl, the palace gate embellished with diamond and with gold, or the golden stairs which were occasionally let down from heaven.

Wordsworth's "improvements" call to mind the first twenty lines of "Tintern Abbey," with its extensive prospect of "cottage-ground," "woods," "wreaths of smoke / Sent up in silence, from among the trees," and the background of the River Wye. There is also a passage in "Book I" of *The Recluse*, "Home at Grasmere," written in early 1800,[9] which has almost the same collocation of images; it describes

[9] *PW* v 471.

A pensive Stranger, journeying at his leisure
Through some Helvetian dell, when low-hung mists
Break up, and are beginning to recede;
How pleased he is where thin and thinner grows
The veil, or where it parts at once, to spy
The dark pines thrusting forth their spiky heads;
To watch the spreading lawns with cattle grazed,
Then to be greeted by the scattered huts,
As they shine out; and *see* the streams whose murmur
Had soothed his ear while they were hidden. (475–84)

Milton's three "inimitable" verses (*i.e.*, 549–51) influenced Wordsworth's vision in *Excursion* II, 827ff, of a "mighty city" glimpsed through the mist, "With alabaster domes and silver spires." The passage was probably written in 1806,[10] after Wordsworth had learned to imitate the more traditional "set" pieces of *Paradise Lost*, using the same kind of elaborate imagery against which he protests here.

Something should be said about "inimitably picturesque." Wordsworth was interested in aesthetic theories developed during the eighteenth century which attempted to give precise definition to various kinds of visual beauty. In particular he studied the works of William Gilpin, who wrote an important *Guide to the Lakes* (1789) and influenced a generation of travellers to search for picturesque "views" of landscape. In 1796 Wordsworth asked William Matthews to send him Gilpin's *Observations* on the Lake District (1787) and on Scotland (1788); and on his trip to Wales in July 1798 he actually took with him Gilpin's *Observations on the River Wye . . . Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty* (1771).[11] Gilpin dwells at length on the picturesque value of "spires" and distant buildings, such as Milton describes in 549–51. At a slightly later date, Wordsworth also made extensive annotations in a copy of Richard Payne Knight's *Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste*, which again shows his interest in the subject.[12]

Wordsworth's statement that the "real excellence of Imagination" lies in "exploring the world really existing" and in "selecting objects beautiful or great" is important, and brings to mind the often-quoted phrase in the *Preface* of 1800, about using "a selection of the real language of men." Coleridge later objected to what he termed the "equivocal" use of the word "real," but

10 *PW* v 415.

11 *Letters* 170; Moorman 402.

12 See E. A. Shearer and J. T. Lindsay "Wordsworth and Coleridge Marginalia in a Copy of Richard Payne Knight's 'Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste'" *Huntington Library Quarterly* I (1937) 63.

Wordsworth's meaning seems clear enough here. The comment also goes some way toward refuting what Wordsworth maintained later, that he had written the *Preface* "solely to gratify Coleridge";[18] he is unlikely, it would seem, to have jotted down the same opinions about language and the nature of the imagination in his copy of Milton unless he were thoroughly convinced of their truth. Could it be that the ideas expressed in the *Preface* were largely Wordsworth's in the first place, and that Coleridge, at once perceiving their importance, merely encouraged him to develop the implications of his theory?

Wordsworth's rather blunt insistence on matter-of-fact "reality" illustrates one of the essential differences between Milton's imagination and his own. He preferred to "keep the reader in the company of flesh and blood," and would surely have agreed with Dr Johnson that *Paradise Lost* occasionally suffers from the "inconvenience" of comprising "neither human actions nor human emotions." For the sake of his own imaginative integrity, he had to resist certain aspects of *Paradise Lost* — sumptuous imagery like the "sea of Jasper," for instance. By so doing, he was able to profit from the immense influence which Milton exerted upon him, while avoiding the plight of many lesser poets of the eighteenth century who found themselves dominated by the Miltonic sublime. Significantly, most of the marginalia are on the later, stylistically "simpler" books of *Paradise Lost*.

The quotation in the third sentence is from Johnson's *Prologue*, "spoken by Mr. Garrick at the opening of the theatre in Drury Lane, 1747":

> When learning's triumph o'er her barbarous foes
> First rear'd the stage, immortal Shakespeare rose;
> Each change of many-colour'd life he drew,
> Exhausted worlds, and then imagin'd new:
> Existence saw him spurn her bounded reign,
> And panting Time toil'd after him in vain. (1–6)

It is fascinating to find Wordsworth referring to Johnson at the height of his supposed revolt against neo-classic poetics. Ordinarily one thinks of Johnson, the arbiter of good sense in literature, as opposed to the idea of a poet being a mystic or visionary, such as Gray's Bard or the prophetic narrator of *Paradise Lost*. But Wordsworth singles out, for once, just the opposite quality of Johnson's imagination, and censures his tribute to Shakespeare precisely because it suggests that in the process of artistic creation the poet must spurn

[18] Moorman 492.

the "real" world. Wordsworth's attitude to poetry here is more neo-classical, if that is possible, than Dr Johnson's.

3

Book VI, 327

But the sword
Of *Michael* from the Armorie of God
Was giv'n him temperd so, that neither keen
Nor solid might resist that edge: it met
The sword of *Satan* with steep force to smite
Descending, and in half cut sheere, nor staid,
But with swift wheele reverse, deep entring shar'd
† All his right side; then *Satan* first knew pain,
And writh'd him to and fro convolv'd. (320–28)

† I am not sure that it has ever been observed that Milton here is guilty of an oversight. He forgets the expression which he puts into the mouth of Sin descriptive of her own birth. "All on a sudden miserable *pain* Surprised thee [*] &c.

This comment refers to II, 752–3, where the "Portress of Hell Gate" replies to Satan's insults by reminding him of her painful birth in "flames thick and fast," when "a Goddess arm'd / Out of thy head I sprung." Possibly it is an oversight on Milton's part; though the words of Sin in Book II are spoken in anger, and may be a deliberate falsification of the facts. In any case the remark shows how closely Wordsworth read the text.

4

Book VII, 426, 439

Featherd soon and fledge
They summd thir Penns, and soaring th'air sublime
With clang despis'd the ground, under a cloud
In prospect; there the Eagle and the Stork
On Cliffs and Cedar tops thir Eyries build:
Part loosly wing the Region, part more wise
In common, rang'd in figure *wedge thir way*,[13a]
Intelligent of seasons. . . . . .
Others on Silver Lakes and Rivers bath'd
Thir downie Brest; the Swan with Arched neck
Between her white wings mantling proudly, Rowes
Her state with Oarie feet. (420–40)

That as the male swan is infinite[ly] more majestic Milton ought rather to have said between *his* white wings mantling &c. —

An example of the poet keeping his eye on the object! Compare the description in "Home at Grasmere" of two "milk-white Swans" whom Wordsworth loved to watch,

[13a] Underlined, with marginal note: "very beautiful."

Not only for their beauty, and their still
And placid way of life, and constant love
Inseparable, not for these alone,
But that their state so much resemble ours. (349–52)

5

Book VII, 451

The Sixt, and of Creation last arose
With Evning Harps and Matin, when God said,
Let th'earth bring forth Foul living in her kinde,
Cattal and Creeping things, and Beast of the Earth,
Each in thir kinde. (449–53)

Let the earth bring forth foul living in her kind. This seems an oversight; fowl had been created before, nor is there any mention in the creation of this day of any other animals than insects reptiles & quadrupeds.

Wordsworth's remarks are the result of a textual error found in all early editions of *Paradise Lost*. Bentley's conjecture of "Soule" is now accepted as correct; the compositor probably transposed "Foul" from a few lines before (447).[14] The precision of Wordsworth's phrase, "insects reptiles & quadrupeds," suggests that at the time of writing the marginalia he was familiar with the Linnaean system of biological classification. He had read Erasmus Darwin's *Zoonomia* in 1797, and owned a copy of Donovan's *Natural History of British Insects* (1792), which begins with a comprehensive survey of Linnaeus' work.[15]

6

Book IX, 483, 484

Then let me not let pass
Occasion which now smiles, behold alone
The Woman, opportune to all attempts,
Her husband, for I view far round, not nigh,
† Whose higher intellectual more I shun,
† And strength, of courage hautie, and of limb
Heroic built, though of terrestrial mould,
Foe not informidable, exempt from wound,
I not; so much hath Hell debas't, and paine
Infeebl'd me, to what I was in Heav'n. (479–88)

This language seems inconsistent with the character & powers ascribed by Milton to his two great personages Satan & Adam. Though Adam might be exempt from wound, a being whose hands[']{} dispatch was outgrown even in the precincts of his bower, which were unsightly & unsmooth, could not as far as related to corporeal strength be ⟨supposed⟩

[14] See the textual commentary on *The Poetical Works of John Milton* ed Helen Darbishire (Oxford 1952) I 302.

[15] *Letters* 199. The Donovan is now in the possession of Mrs Dickson of Ambleside, who kindly allowed me to examine it.

a formidable antagonist to one who is gifted with powers to subvert systems, of whom ⟨the poet tells us that⟩ God & his son except created things naught valued nor *shunned*.

One of Wordsworth's objections to *Paradise Lost* concerns the difficulty inherent in the poem, of "lik'ning spiritual to corporeal forms"; the problem, in the words of Raphael to Adam in V, 564ff, of relating "To human sense th'invisible exploits / Of warring Spirits." The quotations refer, first, to the lines earlier in Book IX where Adam and Eve discuss the pruning of their garden: "for much thir work outgrew / The hands' dispatch of two Gard'ning so wide" (202–3):

> what we by day
> Lop overgrown, or prune, or prop, or bind,
> One night or two with wanton growth derides,
> Tending to wild. (209–12)

The other alludes to Satan's confrontation with Sin and Death in Book II, 677–80:

> Th'undaunted Fiend what this might be admir'd,
> Admir'd, not fear'd; God and his Son except,
> Created thing naught valu'd he nor shunn'd.

Wordsworth seems not to have understood that Satan is in many ways a coward, and that his fear of Adam is one sign of his gradual degeneration in the course of the poem.

The most interesting part of Wordsworth's comment is the phrase about Milton's *two* great personnages, Satan and Adam. Clearly he was not deceived into thinking Satan the hero of the poem; he saw that Satan *shares* with Adam the role of central protagonist. This is important, because his remarks on Book X, below, could be misinterpreted if this were not kept in mind.

7

Book X, in reference to 504ff, esp 533

> They all
> † Him follow'd issuing forth to th'open Field,
> Where all yet left of that revolted Rout
> Heav'n fall'n, in station stood or just array,
> Sublime with expectation when to see
> In Triumph issuing forth thir glorious Chief;
> They saw, but other sight instead, a crowd
> Of ugly Serpents; horror on them fell,
> And horrid sympathie; for what they saw,
> They felt themselves now changing; down thir arms,
> Down fell both Spear and Shield, down they as fast,

> And the dire hiss renewd, and the dire form
> Catchd by Contagion, like in punishment,
> As in thir crime. Thus was th'applause they meant,
> Turnd to exploding hiss, triumph to shame
> Cast on themselves from thir own mouths. . . .
> . . . . . They fondly thinking to allay
> Thir appetite with gust, instead of Fruit
> Chewd bitter Ashes, which th'offended taste
> With spattering noise rejected: oft they assayd
> Hunger and thirst constraining, drugd as oft
> With hatefullest disrelish writh'd thir jaws
> With soot and cinders filld. (532–70)

> Here we bid farewell to the first character perhaps ever exhibited in Poetry. And it is not a little to be lamented that, he leaves us in a situation so degraded in comparison with the grandeur of his introduction. Milton's fondness for the Metamorphoses probably induced him to draw this picture, which excellently as it [is] executed I cannot but think unworthy of his genius. The "spattering noise" &c. are images which can ⟨only⟩ excite disgust. The representation of the fallen Angels wreathing [sic] their jaws filled with soot and cinders with hatefullest disrelish contains in it nothing that can afford pleasure. Had the poet determined to inflict upon them a physical punishment, certainly one more noble[,] more consonant to the dignity of the beings might easily [cetera desunt]

Wordsworth expresses an aversion to several very "physical" images in *Paradise Lost* (*cf* no 11, below). His remarks may also, however, be directed at Milton's style; he perhaps considered the description of Satan's degeneration as "inelegant," as a violation of literary decorum. While recognizing the excellence of the "execution" of the passage (its craftsmanship), he objects to the imagery used (it inspires "disgust").

The observation on Ovid is acute; modern editors cite *Metamorphoses* IV, 576–89 (the account of Cadmus' gradual change into a serpent) as Milton's source here. Wordsworth is surely wide of the mark, however, in talking at this point of the "dignity" of Satan's crew. Milton's purpose is to make their punishment as degrading and repellent as possible, and the corruption of their sense of taste (one may think of Blake's Tharmas) is a primitive and final humiliation. The whole point is that Satan has lost all dignity; that the dignity of Evil is in reality a mere illusion. But this is not to say that Wordsworth was of the devil's party without knowing it; his remarks on Satan elsewhere make it perfectly clear that he was not. He is reported to have said, for example, that he thought Dr Arnold (of Rugby) was "mistaken"

> in the philosophy of his view of the danger of Milton's Satan being represented without horns and hoofs; that Milton's conception was as true as it was grand; that making Sin ugly was a common-place notion compared with making it beautiful outwardly, and inwardly a hell. It assumed

every form of ambition and worldliness, the form in which sin attacks the highest natures.[16]

We may infer, then, that Wordsworth objects to the devils' writhing their jaws in disrelish as a "common-place" notion; which, within the terms of reference, is perhaps an accurate judgement. What is certain, is that Wordsworth did not make a radical misinterpretation of Satan's role in *Paradise Lost*, or fail to see Milton's complete condemnation of the evil which Satan represents.

Nevertheless — and without entering into the "Satan controversy" — it is plain that Wordsworth's peculiar egotism has a good deal in common with Milton's; an egotism that was probably strengthened by his saturation in the rhetoric and imagery of *Paradise Lost*. Wordsworth once said, according to Hazlitt, that he "could read the description of Satan [in Book I, 587ff] till he felt a certain faintness come over his mind from a sense of beauty and grandeur." [17] Perhaps, to some extent, he "identified" with Satan; but what reader does not? In any case, Wordsworth's remarks should not be wrenched out of context, or used to support some sinister psychological interpretation. To call Satan the greatest character in literature was, after all, a critical commonplace of the time.[18]

8

Book XI, 203ff

Why in the East
Darkness ere Dayes mid-course, and Morning light
More orient in yon Western Cloud that draws
Ore the blew Firmament a radiant white,
And slow descends, with something heav'nly fraught. (203–07)

It may however be observed that Gray in making his bards vanish in a bright track instead of a murky cloud has given his picture too much sameness and lost that contrast which is so striking in Milton's. Besides as his figures are described as a griesly band with bloody hands it would have been more consonant to their nature to have represented them as disappearing in a troubled gloomy sky.

Wordsworth quotes Milton's lines in Prelude VIII:

Lo! everything that was indeed divine
Retain'd its purity inviolate
And unencroach'd upon, nay, seem'd brighter far

[16] A conversation with "Lady R," recorded in *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth* ed Alexander B. Grosart (London 1876) III 449.

[17] *The Collected Works of William Hazlitt* ed P. P. Howe (London 1930) XI. 457.

[18] Again *cf* Hazlitt: "Satan is the most heroic subject ever chosen for a poem . . . his ambition was the greatest, and his punishment the greatest." — *Works* V 63.

For this deep shade in counterview, that gloom
Of opposition, such as shew'd itself
To the eyes of Adam, yet in Paradise,
Though fallen from bliss, when in the East he saw
Darkness ere day's mid course, and morning light
More orient in the western cloud, that drew
"O'er the blue firmament a radiant white,
Descending slow with something heavenly fraught." (1805, 813–23)

Compare also an entry in Dorothy's *Journals* for June 13 1802: "William observed that the full moon, above a dark fir grove, is a fine image of the descent of a superior being." [19]

The comparison with Gray refers to *The Bard, A Pindaric Ode:*

'Stay, oh stay! nor thus forlorn
'Leave me unbless'd, unpitied, here to mourn:
'In yon bright track, that fires the western skies,
'They melt, they vanish from my eyes.
'But oh! what solemn scenes on Snowdon's height
'Descending slow their glitt'ring skirts unroll?
'Visions of glory, spare my aching sight,
'Ye unborn Ages, crowd not on my soul! (101–08)

Wordsworth began the Immortality *Ode* in March 1802 and the *Ode to Duty* in early 1804; the latter he acknowledged to have been modelled on Gray's "Ode [*i.e.*, Hymn] to Adversity." [20] The evidence indicates that Wordsworth studied Gray's odes in preparation for writing his own.

Gray's "Visions of glory" on "Snowdon's height" suggests, incidentally, a possible source for the Snowdon episode in *The Prelude*. The extent of Wordsworth's debt to Gray here has not, I think, been recognized; much of the incidental imagery of Gray's *Ode* — words and phrases like "hoary," "stream'd," "the torrent's aweful voice," "hoarser murmurs breath," the stormy "main," the dreary "shore," "Far, far aloof," "azure realm," "meek Usurper," a "Form divine" in "bearded majesty," "They breathe a soul to animate," the "flood" and the "roaring tide" — all turn up, with slight modifications, in the space of forty lines in *Prelude* XIV (33–74).

9

Book XI, 247

Th'Arch-Angel soon drew nigh,
Not in his shape Celestial, but as Man
Clad to meet Man; over his lucid Armes

[19] *The Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth* ed Helen Darbishire (Oxford 1958) 174.
[20] *PW* IV 464, 418.

A militairie Vest of purple flowd
Livelier than *Melibaean*, or the graine
Of *Sarra*, worn by Kings and Hero's old
In time of Truce; *Iris* had dipt the wooff;
His starrie Helme unbuckl'd shew'd him prime
In Manhood where Youth ended; by his side
† As in a glistering *Zodiac* hung the Sword,
Satan's dire dread, and in his hand the Spear. (238–48)

Will it be hypercritical to remark that as the Angel came in a human shape this could not be the identical sword of Michael given him from the armoury of God which *with huge two-handed sway, felled squadrons at once*. If so, we must imagine the Angel gifted with a power over his sword similar to what he has over his own essence viz. of making it take what size he pleases. But this seems doing to[o] great violence even to the imagination. In fact Milton is perpetually entangled in difficulties respecting the armour he has chosen to give his Angels. Satan when from a toad he starts up in his own shape is thus described ["]nor wanted in his grasp what *seemed* both spear & shield . . .["]

Wordsworth refers to VI, 250–51; Satan

Saw where the Sword of *Michael* smote, and fell'd
Squadrons at once, with huge two-handed sway
Brandisht aloft the horrid edge came down
Wide wasting. (250–53)

Preparing to do battle with the Angelic Squadron in Book IV, Satan had stood

Like *Teneriff* or *Atlas* unremov'd:
His stature reacht the Sky, and on his Crest
Sat horror Plum'd; nor wanted in his grasp
What seem'd both Spear and Shield. (987–90)

It is curious that such inconsistencies should have bothered Wordsworth. Evidently Milton's "difficulties" in describing the indescribable disturbed his sense of *fact*.

10

Book XI, 262

But longer in this Paradise to dwell
Permits not; to remove thee I am come,
And send thee from the Garden forth to till
† The ground whence thou wast tak'n, fitter Soile. (259–62)

† Why is it to be supposed that Adam was taken rather from the ground without paradise than than [sic] that within it?

The observation is acute. Once again, it shows Wordsworth's essential literalness of mind.

11

Book XI, 439

His eyes he op'nd, and beheld a field,
Part arable and tilth, whereon were Sheaves
New reapt, the other part sheep-walks and foulds;
Ith' midst an Altar as the Land-mark stood
Rustic, of grassie sord; thither anon
A sweatie Reaper from his Tillage brought
First Fruits, the green Eare, and the yellow Sheaf,
Unculld, as came to hand; a Shepherd next
More meek came with the Firstlings of his Flock
Choicest and best; then sacrificing, laid
† The Inwards and thir Fat, with Incense strew'd,
On the cleft Wood, and all due Rites perform'd.
His Offring soon propitious Fire from Heav'n
Consum'd with nimble glance, and grateful steame;
The others not, for his was not sincere;
Whereat he inlie rag'd, and as they talkd,
Smote him into the Midriff with a stone
That beat out life; he fell, and deadly pale
Groand out his Soul with gushing bloud effus'd. (429–47)

† This is inelegant and reminds one too strongly of a Butcher's stall, it is the more to be lamented as the rest of the description is a pattern of simplicity; it is language which seems lost, to modern tongues.

Despite the boldness of the *Lyrical Ballads*, Wordsworth could be careful to the point of fastidiousness in his choice of words. Certainly his judgement here is traditional; by eighteenth-century standards, "inwards" and "fat" would have seemed "low" and out of place, except in burlesque poetry or in Hudibrastic satire. His remark that Milton writes a language which seems "lost" to modern tongues recalls the attack in the *Preface* to the *Lyrical Ballads*, on the "gaudiness and inane phraseology of many modern writers." It is significant that Wordsworth found Milton, who has so often been attacked for artificiality of language, a "pattern of simplicity." In the *Preface* he cited Milton specifically, to prove his assertion that the language of poetry differs little from that of prose "when prose is well written." He was aware, of course, that the use of foreign idioms in English is a "very dangerous practice"; Milton had often "injured both his prose and verse by taking this liberty too frequently." [21]

12

Book XI, 453

O Teacher, some great mischief hath befall'n
To that meek man, who well had sacrific'd;
Is Pietie thus and pure Devotion paid?

[21] From W's conversations with Klopstock in Hamburg, Sept 1798; recorded by Coleridge in "Satyrane's Letters" *Biographia Literaria* ed J. Shawcross (Oxford 1907) II 178.

† T'whom *Michael* thus, hee also mov'd, repli'd.
These two are Brethren, *Adam*, and to come
Out of thy loyns. (450–55)

† He also moved [*there*] in reading this the manner in which Michael is introduced ought to be remembered "he kingly from his state inclined not." The sympathy of such a being in the spectacle gives it additional interest.

He refers to XI, 250–51; *cf* no 9, above. Wordsworth seems to have looked hard for evidence of the "human interest" which Johnson said was lacking in *Paradise Lost*.

13

Book XII, 59 (the Tower of Babel)

Forthwith a hideous gabble rises loud
Among the Builders; each to other calls
Not understood, till hoarse, and all in rage,
† As mockt they storm; great laughter was in Heav'n
And looking down, to see the hubbub strange
And hear the din; thus was the building left
Ridiculous, and the work Confusion nam'd. (56–62)

This picture is not consonant to what might be expected from superior beings spectators of such a scene; [*to than*] Shakespear is far more rational & impressive "Oh! but man proud man – – – – plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven as make the angels *weep*."

The quotation is from Isabella's speech in *Measure for Measure* (II, ii, 117ff.):

> But man, proud man,
> Dressed in a little brief authority,
> Most ignorant of what he's most assured —
> His glassy essence — like an angry ape
> Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
> As make the angels weep; who, with our spleens,
> Would all themselves laugh mortal.

Nonetheless, Wordsworth echoes Milton's lines in *The Excursion*:

> And they who rather dive, than soar, whose pains
> Have solved the elements, or analysed
> The thinking principle — shall they in fact
> Prove a degraded Race? and what avails
> Renown, if their presumption make them such?
> Oh! there is laughter at their work in heaven! (IV, 951–56)

These lines are an expansion of a passage found in the *Addendum* to *The Ruined Cottage*, dating from the spring of 1798.[23] Compare also a passage

[23] Lines 58–68; *PW* v 402.

in the *Preface* of 1800, alluding to Satan's tears in *Paradise Lost* I, 619. Both Poetry and Painting, Wordsworth says,

> speak by and to the same organs; the bodies in which both of them are clothed may be said to be of the same substance, their affections are kindred, and almost identical, not necessarily differing even in degree; Poetry sheds not tears "such as Angels weep," but natural and human tears; she can boast of no celestial ichor that distinguishes her vital juices from those of prose; the same human blood circulates through the veins of both.[23]

It is interesting, finally, to find Wordsworth making this sort of casual comparison between Milton and Shakespeare, or Ovid, or Gray. The marginalia express ideas which must have come to Wordsworth on the spur of the moment, and they suggest that he was acutely aware of literary tradition and of the history of particular words and images. To a greater extent than is usually recognized, he must have been aware of his debt to other writers.

Marked Passages

In addition to the annotations, there are some thirty marked passages. Eight of these (all but one marked in ink) have a cross beside them, or an "X" apparently indicating disapproval. The rest occur in Book V, designated with a short, wavy horizontal line in pencil. The crosses are without doubt Wordsworth's; he uses the same symbol to indicate passages to which his written commentaries refer. The marks in Book V, however, cannot so certainly be identified. If they are Wordsworth's, they probably belong to a later date; as he grew older his respect for books seems to have increased, and after about 1805 he tended to mark a valuable volume with pencil rather than ink. The same short, wavy line does appear in other books from Wordsworth's library, so there is a chance that the marks in Book V are his after all.[24] Whoever made them appears to have been following the course of Milton's theological reasonings, and if Wordsworth is responsible, this could also be an argument for a date somewhat later than that assigned to the annotations and marked passages found elsewhere in the book.

A single asterisk * denotes marks made in pencil. A double asterisk ** denotes Wordsworth's "X" of disapproval. Each line-number indicates a

[23] *PW* II 392.

[24] *I.e.*, John Spalding's *History of the Troubles . . . in Scotland . . . 1624 to 1645* (*Aberdeen* 1792); and *Flagellum, or The Life . . . of O. Cromwell* (London 1672). These are now in the Berg Collection of The New York Public Library, and in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge, and I am grateful for the privilege of examining them.

separate mark, but several marks made close together are taken as a single "passage." Finally, there are several indecipherable words pencilled beside VIII, 83.

Book IV: 1014

* Book V: 4; 38, 45; 62; 124; 155, 162, 166, 176, 178, 186; 225; 238; 269; 303; 321, 323–4; 341; 361; 473, 479, 482; 532, 538, 543; 576; 659; 678, 682, 689; 776; 805, 810; 830; 855; 884

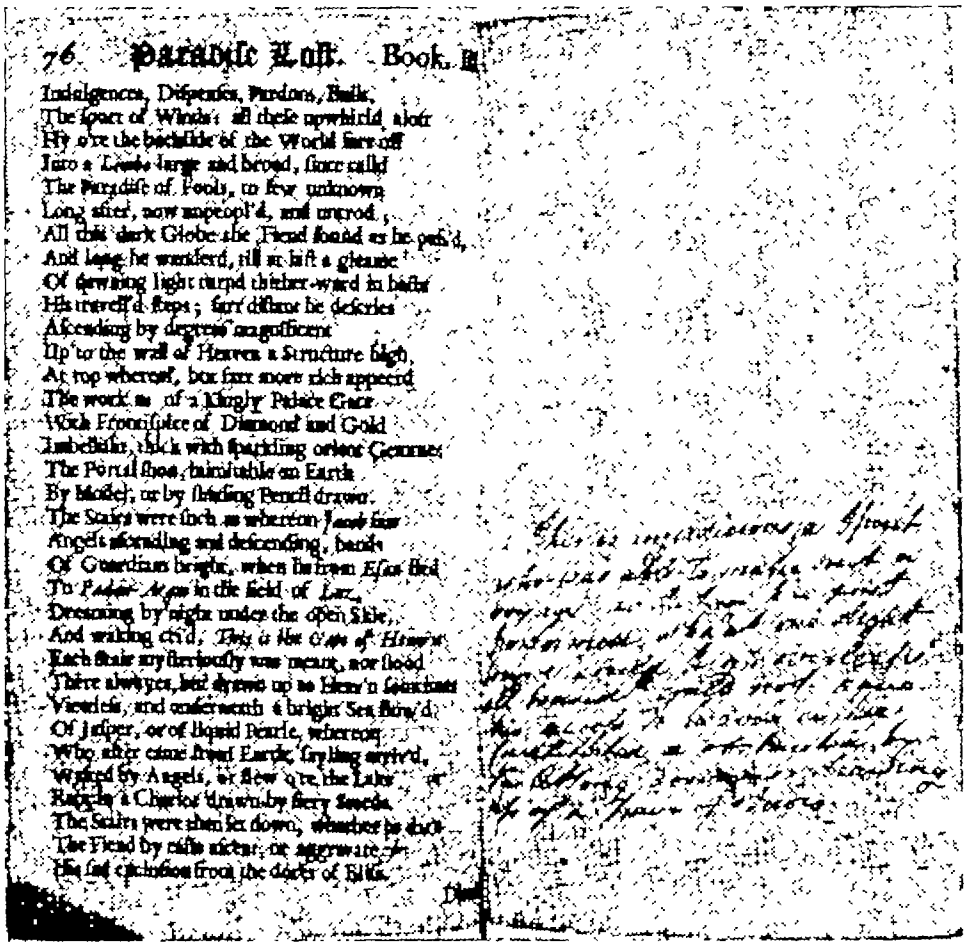
* Book VII: 606–07 [a large cross; *cf Prospectus* to *The Recluse*, 25–35]

** Book VIII: 594

Book XI: 173; ** 385, 403

Book X: 306; 923

Book XII: 66


76. Paradise Lost. Book. II.

Indulgences, Dispenses, Pardons, Bulls,
The sport of Winds: all these upwhirld aloft
Fly o're the backside of the World farr off
Into a Limbo large and broad, since called
The Paradise of Fools, to few unknown
Long after, now unpeopl'd, and untrod.
All this dark Globe the Fiend found as he pass'd,
And long he wandered, till at last a gleame
Of dawning light turned thither-ward in haste
His travell'd steps; farr distant he descries
Ascending by degrees magnificent
Up to the wall of Heaven a Structure high,
At top whereof, but farr more rich appeerd
The work as of a Kingly Palace Gate
With Frontispice of Diamond and Gold
Imbellisht, thick with sparkling orient Gemmes
The Portal shon, inimitable on Earth
By Model, or by shading Pencil drawn.
The Stairs were such as whereon *Jacob* saw
Angels ascending and descending, bands
Of Guardians bright, when he from *Esaus* fled
To *Padan Aram* in the field of *Luz*,
Dreaming by night under the open Skie,
And waking cri'd, *This is the Gate of Heaven*.
Each Stair mysteriously was meant, nor stood
There always, but drawn up to Heav'n sometimes
Viewless, and underneath a bright Sea flow'd
Of Jasper, or of liquid Pearle, whereon
Who after came from Earth, sayling arrived,
Wafted by Angels, or flew o're the Lake
Rapt in a Chariot drawn by fiery Steeds.
The Stairs were then let down, whether to dare
The Fiend by easie ascent, or aggravate
His sad exclusion from the doors of Bliss.

Wordsworth's first comment (see p 169 above).

Dove Cottage Library

Entrance on Forty-second Street

By Esther Johnston

THE YEARS of the twenties and thirties, the boom, the depression and the approach of World War Two I had the good fortune to spend in the Central Circulation Branch of The New York Public Library. With its entrance on Forty-second Street, it was a fine vantage point. It had the dubious honor of being the busiest circulation room in the world; without doubt it was the least functional. The great building facing Fifth Avenue had been planned primarily for reference, to house the Astor, Lenox, and Tilden collections in the library building provided by the City. The legend was — and why should I question a legend that I enjoyed — that the area on Forty-second Street had been intended for an open court, balancing the service entrance on Fortieth Street, so that the carriage trade could leave the coachman in charge while the readers went about their bookish errands. Actually it had been part of the formal Agreement between the City and the Library's Trustees that there would be a circulating branch in this central location which was convenient to most citizens and to the people who lived or worked in the neighborhood. The business center was then on Twenty-third Street but the trend was northward.

The space for Central Circulation, eighty by eighty feet, was contrived by roofing the court with a skylight. Inconvenient though the room proved it had a charm and its inconveniences developed a hardy strain of librarians who either survived and thrived upon its rigors or collapsed and were assigned elsewhere. But the general effect of Central Circulation was pleasing and informal as sometimes happens with improvisations. The walls of warm yellow Sienna marble and the red tiled floor gave accent and color. It was in welcome contrast to the dull tan background known as university buff and the golden oak furniture of most libraries of the period. Lighting

Editor's Note: Miss Johnston, whom *Bulletin* readers will remember for her charming story of the early days of Seward Park Branch in our September 1966 number, was Chief of the Library's Circulation Department until her retirement in 1951. Shortly before her death last year, she had begun to prepare these reminiscences about the readers who came to Central Circulation when she was head librarian there in the twenties and thirties, and of the books they were reading. Undoubtedly she would have revised and expanded this essay — in fact, on the typewritten copy she left, there is a handwritten note "The move to Arnold Constable Bldg?" which indicates her plan to talk about the new publicly supported central library scheduled to open early next year. In this new mid-Manhattan library, the descendant of her old Central Circulation will continue to provide popular (and not so popular) reading matter for new generations of readers. We felt it best to present this record of an earlier era in the Library's history, without much editorial interference.

Central Circulation:

In the early twenties (top);

at noon on June 1 1932 (bottom).

Branch Press Office

Central Circulation in the early days. The readers came later (see overleaf) but here are the skylight, the grills, the books, and the busts — one of which (Milton in marble, rear left) found its way into the "Plutonian underworld" of the Editor's Office.

Public Relations Office

at me fiercely, his heavy eyebrows shot up and he said "Don't be silly! When do we go?"

Franklin F. Hopper, much younger, was Chief of the Circulation Department, ranging the thirty miles from Tottenville on Staten Island to Kingsbridge and Fordham in upper Manhattan and the Bronx. He was charged with the responsibility of developing a strong unified system and establishing uniformity of method while preserving the diversity and flavor of the neighborhood branches. It was no easy task, with some older librarians tenacious of old methods ("We've always done it that way") and a scarcity of professionally trained librarians. Mr Hopper had great skill in working with personnel, a delightful lightness of touch and awareness of the colorful and changing aspects of New York. Fortunately his sense of humor aided him in directing the activities of so many women.

His prime assistant in this active occupation was Florence Overton who was Supervisor of Branches, a new position requiring both determination and tact. This most Central of her branches had a changing staff of about forty, large because of the inconveniences of the room, long hours, and the need for clerks and pages to search for books in the stacks and to keep orderly bookshelves. It was a varied and shifting group as librarians were given experience in Central Circulation and frequently transferred to take charge of other branches. In the Twenties, New York was the Mecca for young women from the South and West as Paris was for New Yorkers: living quarters were available and pleasant before the tight squeeze of population, high rents, beatniks, and hippies. A young woman with a book under her arm was safe on the streets and evening hours required late excursions. Almost all the librarians had a special subject interest and gave books in their field particular attention and could be called for special requests. From those early days in Central Circulation, their names have spread throughout the library world. Margaret Wehler was Assistant Librarian (after 1940 as Librarian she brought her abilities and skill to work during the hard war years, later becoming Assistant Chief of the Circulation Department). Katherine O'Brien went to Riverside Branch and then became head of adult services, Frances Ireland went on to organize the American Library in Madrid, Katharine Kosmak had charge of the U. S. library in Prague until Americans were expelled, while Elizabeth Abolin, Ellen FitzSimons, Winifred Gambrill went on to take charge of other branches or libraries as did Doris Hoit in Pasadena, Elizabeth Edwards in Chattanooga. These and many others gave abundantly of their talents and a fine spirit developed.

fixtures were handsomely wrought, pendant in each corner of the room and from the oval of the domed skylight over the center of the room. Oh that skylight! It gave but a murky light that was poorly supplemented by twinkling and inadequate candlepower. The skylight had a few movable windows to give air in the summer. This they failed to do but in winter how well they supplied draughts of cold air. In stormy days rain dripped through and the floor was dotted with shallow pans filled with sawdust to prevent spatter and protect the books. Readers cautiously picked their way as through a barnyard.

Central Circulation was an enclave in the lower regions of the great building, flanked by the Central Children's Room and the Newspaper Room, surmounted by special collections on upper floors which the single elevator approached slowly — so slowly that a drama critic compared it to the dragging second act of a play. The atmosphere grew more rarified as the elevator ascended, passing the Science and Technology of the first floor, Economics of the second, to the Music, the Art and Architecture of the upper floor, and the rare books and manuscripts of the Reserve and Manuscript Divisions and of the Spencer Collection with its rare bindings and later the Berg Collection that partly replaced the Picture Gallery.

For most of the period Edwin H. Anderson from his office on the second floor directed both the reference library and the far-flung system of Branches provided mainly by Carnegie funds; and when wearied by administrative details, Mr Anderson was one of the readers who came to Central Circulation for some lighter moments and to find fiction and biography to take home. His hearty laugh resounded through the room but his displeasure at the frank and frivolous character of the latest fiction caused a hasty secreting of new books that he would certainly not like. He had grown more conservative with age at a time when the trend was for the new and startling. Censoring the Director's reading was a delicate task.

Harry M. Lydenberg was Chief of the Reference Department, bridging the change from the old Lenox Library on upper Fifth Avenue to the handsome new Building closer to the center of town. A spare active man he was and his heavy eyeglasses and intent expression caused some trepidation until his friendliness and sense of humor came through. He was a great bookman, a great collector who saved anything that might benefit later generations. When I asked him if he cared to accept an invitation to visit the Van Cortlandt Manor to see the collection of books, maps, letters, and portraits that the Van Cortlandt family, then in residence, offered to show him, he looked

Activities centered around the conventional charging desk with a small office behind a grill at the left of the entrance and a window for returning books at the right. These handsome bronze grills made a barrier and were soon removed to allow a more genial exchange with borrowers. The red ottomans around the columns and some comfortable chairs provided pleasant accommodations for casual readers. Their use became too casual as loiterers from Bryant Park pre-empted them early in the morning, shielded by unread books and crowding out readers. Ottomans and chairs disappeared and were replaced by low bookcases. Mr Benson, a general vigilante, made rounds frequently and evicted the sleepers. One old loiterer hid his drowsiness behind a book and when wakened protested he was not sleeping but thinking. "Thinking," said Mr Benson, "You can't think here. This is a library."

At some time between the opening of the building in 1911 and my impression in 1925, white plaster casts of Greek and Roman worthies with a bust of Longfellow in white plaster and of William E. Seward in bronze found a refuge. There had been a few strange deposits as well as princely treasures among the inheritances of the Library. These busts gave a mortuary aspect not in harmony with the yellow marble nor with the vitality of the service. One by one they disappeared into some Plutonian underworld, ostensibly for cleaning, and they were not restored. And we must admit that in 1925 there were still SILENCE signs which soon disappeared. Their memory survives today in cartoons that can scarcely picture a library without them, nor a librarian without white cuffs on a blue serge dress.

The twenties and thirties were a glorious period for American fiction and drama. Willa Cather and Ellen Glasgow, Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis and Scott Fitzgerald were in the fullness of their powers. Edith Wharton and Henry James, though declining, had left a rich deposit of good novels. On the horizon were Faulkner and Hemingway and Thomas Wolfe bringing vast changes in the literary scene. Steinbeck, Erskine Caldwell, and James Farrell were stirring the conscience of the nation towards concern for the rural indigents, the urban slum dwellers, and in the thirties the Okies. Thornton Wilder, Eugene O'Neill, Sidney Howard enlivened the theatre, Rodgers and Hammerstein, Cole Porter, and Irving Berlin gave the musical comedy a new vitality released from stereotypes. What joy to read the galley proofs of a new book without benefit of critics, to see the opening or preview of *Oklahoma, Our Town, Mourning Becomes Electra,* and *They Knew What They Wanted.* Perquisites for librarians were admission to previews of plays and the pre-publication reading of new books.

Poetry had a fine lustre in the twenties and a general appeal in contrast to the alienation from the public that came with the thirties and forties. Vachel Lindsay, Carl Sandburg, Edgar Lee Masters, Robert Frost, Edna St Vincent Millay, Stephen and William Rose Benét, Elinor Wylie, Edwin Arlington Robinson, and Robinson Jeffers were rooted in the American soil, and voiced the aspirations of the nation. T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, Marianne Moore, and Wallace Stevens were more remote, the first two actual expatriates.

Of the critics, Mencken was using his bludgeon, goading and infuriating the public, while Stuart Sherman, Christopher Morley, William Rose Benét in the "Phoenix Nest," Henry Canby guiding the *Saturday Review of Literature*, made use of persuasive and penetrating analysis rather than force and derision.

But to return to our setting. This pleasant oasis for the book borrower, designed for a small public, with forty or more branches taking care of local readers, had by 1925 outgrown its capacity for books and borrowers alike. On Saturday afternoons the crowd grew so dense that for a few hours its use was restricted to cardholders and even these could scarcely see the books for the people. On the first of the restricted Saturdays a guard was stationed at the entrance to ask to see the reader's card, that passport for admission. Mr Kelly had been a yeoman's mate in World War I. He had a soft heart but a rasping voice and tact was not a trait he had learned in the Navy. Dowagers bristled as he barked "Lady, show your card. You can't go in without it. Here you, show your card."

Those were Andrew Carnegie days — not Dale's who was just on the threshold — public relations had not acquired a name.

"Mr Kelly," I said, "I believe you can find a better way to say that. Why don't you ask 'Madam, may I see your card'?"

"Oh I couldn't say that. I'd really get into trouble."

"But why not? It sounds more courteous."

"I couldn't call a decent woman Madam. She'd be insulted. You know about those houses in the Tenderloin."

I retreated before his red face and a delicate question of semantics and we settled for "Please may I see your card?" Even so Mr Kelly was obviously not the man for the job and he was assigned to the more congenial task of collecting overdue books.

Unlike the other circulating branches which were supported by the City, Central Circulation was a ward of the Reference Department, nourished on private funds, jostling with many departments all clamorous for book funds

to meet the public's needs. (The maintenance of Central Circulation and Central Children's Room changed after July 1 1949, when the City assumed their support.) The nourishment was thin gruel for the hungry crowds both before and after the change. The situation was a curious one as many of the branches in Manhattan and Staten Island existed years before the Central Building came into being. Although emphasis was given to Central Circulation's being a branch only, its location behind the vast Renaissance façade on Fifth Avenue misled many eager readers who expected to find all the 2,000,000 books available for circulation, from the Gutenberg Bible to a certain volume of the encyclopedia. The public wanted the Library to supply these with no nonsense about a catalogue and stacks closed to the public.

As there were no high schools in the neighborhood the branch was intended for adult readers only. This limitation spiked a favorite argument of the self-appointed censor — that of shielding young people from controversial books. New York has been freer from censorship than other cities and more pressure has been exerted to *include* books of limited and special interest than to *exclude*. Although Joyce's *Ulysses* was forbidden by law to be published or sold in this country, the Library was often berated for not circulating it. It was a relief when Judge Woolsey's decision in 1933 made it legally possible to release the book which was printed in this country with the Judge's decision included. We kept the book in the office for a few weeks until the sensation abated and enjoyed lending it to those college boys who came with considerable bravado to demand no censorship. We did suggest that they read Judge Woolsey's decision for its literary quality as well as the legal definition. "It must always be remembered that the locale is Celtic and the season spring. . . ." "Whilst in many places the effect of "Ulysses" on the reader is somewhat emetic, nowhere does it tend to be an aphrodisiac." And now it is even on some high-school reading lists!

As the demand for good books, for classics, far exceeded the supply, purchase stressed them rather than current best sellers which might be reserved in other branches and through pay circulating libraries. Fifty copies of *War and Peace*, of *Anna Karenina* were not enough and there was an inexhaustible demand for *Candide*, for Shaw, for some of Dickens and Thackeray. One day a reader complained that we did not own Marcus Aurelius. When she was shown the record on the shelflist and told that fifteen copies were in circulation, she reversed her stand. "I thought I was the only one interested. I'll leave a reserve and think better of New York readers." It was a frequent assumption especially from readers coming from parts of the country where

curiosity about Oriental art, Wagner's motifs, Ossian, or cyphers in Shakespeare marked one as a little lonely or pixilated. What a revelation that fifteen or twenty people were reading or attempting to read on that very day the books in one's field of interest. There was the possibility that two of these enthusiasts would come together in the library, discover and share their common interest. One evening a biographer of Clive of India met an actor preparing for a role in the motion picture of that name. Strangers when they arrived, they were soon on fine terms, agreed to divide the books that were available and return them for exchange on a certain date. Frequently readers gave us help with a reference question as when a Hapsburg prince overheard two ladies asking at the time of the abdication of the Duke of Windsor about morganatic marriage and the right of issue to the throne. In the most courteous manner he set us right — and who would know better? A borrower who stood before an orchid of fantastic appearance was transfixed by recognizing one that he had seen only in Burma or Sumatra. It had been given to us by a famous collector of orchids, Samuel Untermyer, and our borrower was probably the only one in the city who would recognize it.

In 1925 the Scopes trial with Clarence Darrow and William Jennings Bryan on opposing sides brought acute interest in evolution that outlasted the trial itself and caused us to duplicate many of the books on the Darwin theory and heredity. A crime wave was causing concern and books were published about it both lurid and solemn. A police captain begged for an escort to the Reference Department and the mazes of the catalogue to secure a copy of the Lexow report on vice. He was intrepid on the streets but craven before the intricacies of the catalogue. Other, less spectacular events, the opening of the American Wing at the Metropolitan Museum for example, stimulated the study of related fields, in this case architecture and furniture.

There was a new wave of theories on psychology and it was difficult to find good books to meet the demand. Everett Dean Martin of Cooper Union and adult education movements was of great aid in a booklet on psychology:

> If the booklet has any value in pointing out the difference between the psychology that at least tries to be honest and the outrageous stuff that is used to exploit the ignorant, it will have served its purpose.

Freud was the fashion of the day even among those who could not spell his name or his subject. Jung, Adler, and various followers and opponents came and had their vogue and their devotees. Dorsey's *Why We Behave Like Human Beings* and several other good books supplanted the shoddy ones on

personality that had been the sole alternatives to scholarly treatments and college texts. A boy came seeking help in psychology. He was in sore trouble in his job at the circus then playing at the old Hippodrome where he was an elephant handler. He had little trouble with the elephants but oh the people! He had a touching faith that a book would supply the answer and we found one that we hoped would help him in that peculiar world of clashing personalities. Parents, too, discovered that there was a new science called child psychology and their interest broadened from physical care, spinach, and nailbiting to tantrums and temper, fears and frustrations.

There was in the twenties an avid interest in the books that attempted to humanize knowledge once considered too recondite for the common reader. Wells's *Outline of History* was one of the first and most popular. Scorned by some historians, praised by the layman, it gave a bold and absorbing pageant of history, carrying in its sweep those people who seldom read. Durant's *Story of Philosophy* was a prime example of simplification. Its popularity was sustained for many years; at one time there were one hundred and fifty copies for our branch and one hundred and fifty names on the reserve list. Mr Durant wrote: "For twenty years I have been prowling around the great library. . . . I have taken away from it, nearly all the treasures I used in writing 'The Story of Philosophy.' Now I am happy to know that my book is on your shelves and that your readers like it. . . . All things come to those who wait — twenty years." Interest in the book fanned out and backward in time to the originals and many new copies of Plato, Aristotle, Kant, Spinoza, Schopenhauer, and others were added.

While Abbé Dimnet's *Art of Thinking* sharpened our wits, *Manners for Millions* provided social help to those for whom Emily Post was way out of line. Then came Dale Carnegie. In the twenties snob appeal had grown along with the general prosperity. "You would not be old-fashioned in your dress. Why be old hat in your reading?" Picture a young woman hanging her head at the table. "Are you embarrassed and silent at a dinner party while others talk on many subjects?" And worst of all "This is a book for your parlor table — to impress your callers."

Fortunately there is a stubborn individualism among readers who refuse prescribed ornamentation of the mind, who will not be stampeded by advertising. A librarian can bear joyous testimony that many readers reject any mandates of higher powers, no matter how benevolent. This independent reader brings variety and discrimination to the library. For these tough-minded, these strong-willed individuals, the library replaces year after year

the provocative books of the past as well as those which interpret modern life. Book clubs organized in the thirties soon recognized this and changed from an arbitrary selection of *the* best book of the month to a recommendation with free range for personal choice among several. For this civilized leaven of the community the library must have dozens of copies of books of poetry and essays, of the arts and distinctive fiction and philosophy. This aristocracy of readers is based not at all on social or economic status nor on formal education. A brakeman on the New York Central borrowed at frequent intervals *The Book of the Dead*; a bill collector who took some rough treatment from Park Avenue apartments found comfort in James's *Portrait of a Lady*; a tax commissioner after the annual climax devoted himself to Anthony Trollope. A seamstress living in a cramped apartment had a passion for astronomy. She agreed to go to Long Island for a week expecting a chance for star-gazing in the evening. The week was a sorry failure as her employer kept her at the sewing-machine day and night and she had no chance to star-gaze nor to read the books we assembled for her. Another enthusiast was more fortunate. As he could not afford a telescope, he studied books on optics, made his own and invited his Brooklyn neighbors to a backyard show of the heavens. A purser on a merchant ship stocked up for his short runs with books showing a nice taste for travel and philosophy of the Doughty, Cunningham, Hudson sort. He sometimes returned from a voyage with himself and the books in sad condition. Damage to the books he paid for willingly. One of his compliments to the staff was that no one attempted to "reform or improve me when Barry went overboard."

Two contradictory tendencies were obvious in our library, the increasing reliance on books: yes, in spite of radio, television, movies, automobiles — and the diminishing space in apartments. Compactness of living quarters was intensifying even in those days before the population explosion. Private homes yielded to apartments and apartments for middle-class families became smaller. Those books for every gentleman's library lost their domestic housing and found shelter in the public library or the New York Society and the Mercantile Libraries. As the stream of books broadened, private libraries thinned out and public libraries became the communal store. But libraries too have a problem in space. The distractions of city life do not destroy reading but diversify it. A radio talk, a play, a Foreign Policy luncheon, contemporary art exhibits, a sermon, the Town Hall lectures stimulate interest in the books referred to. Mention by Churchill visiting in New York sent a score of readers to ask for a poem he quoted. So did the exchange

of poetry a few years later when President Roosevelt sent a message to the Prime Minister by Walt Whitman: "Sail on, Oh Union strong and great . . ." and Mr Churchill replied with Arthur Hugh Clough's "Say not the struggle nought availeth."

There is probably no more sensitive indicator of literary taste and contemporary association than a library like this. Even on those turbulent Saturday afternoons when it resembled a literary automat, the quality of books demanded gave a constant interest. There were quiet intervals, stormy days and evenings when the use was neighborly, when there could be leisurely book talks with borrowers. Then we had a chance to enjoy the personalities that abound in a city. An army colonel explained his passion for books on Custer's last stand, using his cane to trace on the red tile floor the terrain of Little Big Horn, quite oblivious of other readers who paused in their special search to give him an audience. A stout tenor from the Metropolitan emphasized his overriding desire for an opera score by showing photographs of himself in full regalia and offering to sing for his identification (as Caruso actually did at the Fifth Avenue Bank when questioned by a skeptical teller). A police lieutenant was so delighted to find a poem that he had not read for twenty years, "The Face on the Barroom Floor," that old favorite of the non-poetic, that he read it aloud in a rich brogue, delighting the little group that gathered.

We stood a good deal of criticism from readers who wanted foreign classics in translation and could find listed for circulation only books of criticism of Molière, Schiller, Racine, Lessing. As English translations wore out they could not be replaced as they were out of print or published only in many-volumed sets. English publishers following Tauchnitz on the Continent were the first to supply a need with the Everyman edition published by Dent and by Dutton in this country. These small inexpensive volumes were of great service and were forerunners of the Modern Library and various other hardcover and inexpensive series. Indeed a veritable revolution in publishing was at hand though as yet unrecognized. The small spot on the publishing horizon was destined within a decade or so to upset the industry, then to vitalize it and to carry books into remote places and onto the shelves of supermarkets and drugstores. Publishers who opposed the paperback came to embrace it and to find it a money-making by-product, not only supplying the classics but a few years after publication reprints of their own most valued titles.

Central Circulation played a small, very small, part in the first venture, of which we did not then grasp the significance. Robert de Graff was develop-

ing his idea for Pocket Books, selecting titles of classics and near classics in continuing demand. The shelf list was a record of the number of copies purchased, worn out, and replaced over a period of many years. The library allowed this precious inventory to be checked; the first list of paperbooks to be published in this country was partly compiled from that. Now almost every publisher has his own list of paper-bound books and there are many independent firms relying upon paper-bound editions alone. These are used in libraries where the sturdier bound editions are not available or to meet a sudden demand.

A few years later the how-to-do-it books were upon us with instruction for every known craft, hobby, or utility. Only birth and death were unyielding for the amateur practitioner. An entire generation had become accustomed to the use of books. Children whose parents had never owned a book had the range of a neighborhood library from childhood to manhood beginning with the great system of children's rooms developed under the wise supervision of Anne Carroll Moore. In 1900 the number of adults in New York who had been exposed to books other than textbooks must have been relatively small in spite of the various collections, including religious and foreign language, which combined with the New York Free Circulating Library and its branches to form the Circulation Department of The New York Public Library. With the growth of city branches built with Carnegie funds, with special rooms for children, and with the training of children's librarians, came a flowering of good books for children with first-rate authors, illustrators, and publishers entering the field. The children's room in Central Building was one of the first in the country to give such regard to the reading of children and to take an active part in the stimulation of the production and reading of well-written and well-illustrated books and to import the best books from England and the Continent. Helen Masten and Maria Cimino continued its distinguished tradition and their graduate readers and writers spread into the branches throughout the city.

The growing interest in art was accelerated in the late twenties when the circulating picture collection was moved from small quarters to more spacious ones near the 42nd Street entrance and Central Circulation. The collection assembled by Romana Javitz made a central point for artists, commercial artists, stage designers, movie and later TV writers and producers, publicity men, and writers. The clippings were not alone those of reproductions of painting and sculpture but more conspicuously artifacts, of social and historical significance, for their use.

The Theatre section of the Reference Department was in its infancy when George Freedley was appointed to organize and expand it. When the Locke collection was given to the Library an exhibit was planned to show the wealth and variety of its material and to bring out from storage and inaccessibility the material in clippings and playbills and prompt books that would be invaluable to the student, actor, and social historian. Florence Overton, then Supervisor of Branches, was as passionate a lover of the theatre as could be found in the five boroughs and she enthusiastically undertook the rounding up of material on the minstrel show as one phase in the history of the American theatre. She asked me to help and though I had never seen a minstrel show I was a naive and eager assistant.

Houdini was reported to have a minstrel show collection in addition to his fine library on magic and magicians. A telephone request brought a ready response and an invitation to choose whatever we wished to borrow. At the appointed hour of eleven we arrived at his brownstone house on the upper West Side. Houdini himself opened the door and took us through a living room (in which there were five busts of himself on the piano) to the upstairs where the apparatus of magic filled one room and books of the theatre one or two more. Houdini was preparing for appearance at the old Hippodrome on 44th Street; he showed us the handcuffs, the box in which he could be battened down, and many other contrivances. His build was stocky and the dexterity of his hands and sinewy wrists was noticeable even in his handling of the less magical material. His extensive collection had been well indexed and arranged by an old Shakespearian actor surnamed Bill who had been his librarian for several years. He had died a few days before our visit and Houdini kept bemoaning his loss and regretting that Bill could not hear our praise of his orderly arrangements.

> Oh Bill, wherever you are, I hope you can hear this tribute. No one who could appreciate you came while you were alive.

Or when he had trouble finding material he would call "Bill if you were here you could put your hand on this." These appeals came as Houdini was preparing his program to expose the hoax of those who claimed to have contact with the spirit world. But he knew that Bill would break through the barrier if he could. In spite of Bill's lack of response, we found a rich store of playbills, photographs, and posters. Houdini would soon learn to unshackle the boxed material with the same skill that he showed in releasing himself from hazardous predicaments. Our case illustrative of that past era of theatrical

Americana was one of the most colorful in the exhibit. Houdini gave us a theatre party when his show opened and we watched with particular interest his exposure of spiritualist claims. The whole exhibit also brought a mighty increase to the circulation of plays and books about all phases of stage life.

In 1929 Abbé Dimnet's *Art of Thinking*, Lindbergh's *We*, and Katherine Mayo's *Mother India* reached the best-seller list and best of all Benét's *John Brown's Body*. Books about the stock market abounded until November of that year and then stood on the shelves in disgraced rows like dahlias after the first frost. Men from Admiral Byrd's Antarctic expedition borrowed books on polar exploration. The Gypsy race had been scornful of the wisdom to be found in books but several women in their multi-colored skirts came to find records of their people, making their way from Pitt Street where they hibernated in deserted and desolate stores until they could take to the road again. Tudor City, recently opened, contributed new and more permanent residents; and new offices added their employees during the lunch hour and after office-closing.

In 1930 the unemployed and the apples appeared on Fifth Avenue and reading took an upward turn, increasing in volume during the depression. New occupations of our age appeared on applications for cards — aeronautical engineers, mannequins, radio announcers, motion-picture producers and actors, automat busboys, institutional cooks, the custodian of the Goddess of Liberty. Absorption in books about the stock market gave way to reading about one's work, sharpening skills in order to retain a job or to find new employment. A request came from an oysterman turned pastry cook. Oysters had fallen in esteem during prohibition, deprived of the beer that was their natural accompaniment. The new pastryman asked for a "receipt" for bread pudding:

> I've got a lot of stale bread and I want to turn it into a good tasty pudding. But don't give me a receipt that calls for butter and eggs and raisins. They cost more than the stale bread's worth.

How to make oysters palatable without beer, a tasty bread pudding without butter, were predicaments of the thirties not only in cookery but in business, in publishing, in arts and letters — and in libraries. How to make one book do the work of two, how to give every possible aid within limited resources to the adult seeking to resume his education.

A readers' advisory service was established in Central Building, with Jennie Flexner coming from Louisville to take charge. Soon her office at the

south end of the corridor on the main floor was helping many readers who were referred by the branches, by the educational and counselling services, or by friends. Somewhat later adult education classes were started in some of the branches remote from college centers. With the cooperation of City College, this educational program became an established institution, the College's Simon Lissim bringing his skill, imagination, and experience to organize art classes, Jennie Flexner representing the Library. The popularity of these classes lead to broadening into other subjects.

About this time a foreign assistant was appointed — an innovation for Central Circulation although the branches in foreign neighborhoods had long had these special librarians — Seward Park, Yiddish, Russian, and Hebrew; Yorkville, German; Webster, Czech; Aguilar and Hudson Park, Italian; Tompkins Square, Polish; Hamilton Grange, Russian. Stefi Kiesler's fluency in French and German, her knowledge of their literatures, aided in the purchase of books and their full use with readers. Within a few years in the full tide of the Nazi terror such a service proved invaluable in this seaport city. Indeed a highly prized tribute came from Hitler himself. He complained in a German newspaper, printed in translation in the *Saturday Review of Literature* of November 21 1942, of the unfair advantage this library practice gave in developing American citizens. His book *Mein Kampf* was written in 1924 and available in English translation in 1931. There were a few objections to its circulation but they were discounted; indeed the demand was not as heavy as it should have been for this blueprint that warned an unheeding world.

Central Circulation has not the assembly rooms that gave some of the branches a center for gatherings of readers of foreign birth or parentage. Leaders of governments-in-exile met their compatriots there. Thus Premier Hambro brought encouragement to Norwegians gathered in the Port Richmond Branch on Staten Island, attracting an audience from Brooklyn and New Jersey. President Beneš and Jan Masaryk were frequent visitors to the Webster Branch, that center of Czech books and arts. Although this occurrence came later it should not go unrecorded — the last visit of Masaryk. He spoke informally at a crowded assembly of Czechs and sympathetic Americans and before his talk gave a fine example of ready wit and kindness. In his honor a quartette was playing Smetana, said to be a favorite of Masaryk, when the violinist, a very young girl trembling with excitement, suffered the breaking of a string. Music stopped, the little violinist with faltering fingers tried to attach a new catgut. Masaryk's kind voice broke the tension:

"Take your time! Take your time! There's no lack of guts in this country. Not yet!" The awkward moment was eased, the string attached, the quartette advanced, the good speech of encouragement followed and then the coffee and cakes for which the Czechs were famous.

To return a bit — 1932 was a tragic year. The library was a constant resource for some who had not read before or had read very little. The man who tinkers — almost extinct in the city except those intent on radio or automobile — was on the scene once more. The home carpenter and painter came for the how-to-do-it books. Newly published popular texts and government publications were on the widely read list.

A breeze of hope came as the New Deal got under way. The swelling need for books was so hindered by lack of funds to meet the twenty per cent increase in circulation that the number of books allowed had to be reduced from four to a borrower to two. As this restriction came during the week of the inauguration and the closing of banks it was accepted as a trifling handicap, at first scarcely noticed. Then citizens to whom liberal access to books was as customary as liberal access to water were dismayed. Research workers, writers, business men, radio and motion picture men were all inconvenienced by the frequent trips required and at their insistence five thousand dollars were found for the depleted book fund. Use of the "new Leisure," an unfortunate term for involuntary idleness, caused concern. Many of the current ideas for training for leisure were based merely on the filling of idle periods. "Having put vacant time into life, we cannot so easily put life back into the vacancy created," wrote Mr Hopper, then Chief of the Circulation Department. Some new and curious requests were recurrent. The dehydration of fruits, photography, designing clothes and furniture, making of rubber stamps (ominous?), repair of houses. Pamphlets served in place of books. When they were worn out they could be discarded and cheaply replaced. A pamphleteering revival interested those concerned with the widespread use of material in simple language and succinct form. The Foreign Policy Association, the University of Chicago, and the Government Printing Office were leaders in developing this field. While no Dean Swift nor Tom Paine emerged, *Arms and the Men* published by Fortune and later *One World* by Wendell Willkie had their short-lived popularity.

1936 brought *Gone with the Wind*; its vogue has not been surpassed nor even equalled. In all the accents of Europe, in all the regional dialects of this country, readers begged, implored a copy of the book. Soon translated into the European languages it appeared as *Autant en emporté le vent* and

Im Winde verweht. The movie brought a fresh frenzy. (In 1951, when I was in Taormina, the cinema was playing to packed houses *Via col vento* and the glow of Mt Etna seemed to mingle with the burning of Atlanta.)

In the best-seller lists were *How to Win Friends and Influence People*, Dr Heiser's *American Doctor's Odyssey*, Hemingway, and Thomas Wolfe, all popular, outstripping the library's stock in hand. One borrower, a former book reviewer for a southern newspaper, told a story indicative of others that we never heard. He had lost his job, and stranded in New York, evicted from his room, he spent days in the library and more than one night in Bryant Park. "There," he said, "I read Willa Cather's *Shadows on the Rock*, just published. I was so transported that I forgot the sordidness of my surroundings, the desperation of my situation. I was absorbed by the pure beauty of the book."

Throughout the thirties the tide of immigration steadily increased until frontiers were entirely closed and the few refugees who came through the underground were those aided by the International Rescue Committee. The registration desk gave a range of Europe in exile — a member of the Spanish Republican cabinet; German doctors and writers; the President of a Japanese importing firm; French playwrights, notably Henry Bernstein; Max Ascoli, distinguished writer and later the editor of the influential *Reporter*; Wittlin, a prize-winning novelist of Poland; the former president of the PEN Club of Austria who escaped after five months in a concentration camp; the one-time coroner of Prague studying English for his oral examination for a physician's license; Señora Isabel de Palencia, a handsome woman of wit and learning, formerly ambassador to Sweden from the Spanish Republic whose book on the regional costumes of Spain was in both the English and Spanish collections and who soon published her autobiography *I Must Have Liberty*; an economic advisor to the American Embassy in Berlin. Doctors, lawyers, professors, all trying to re-establish themselves in a new intellectual and political climate. Some were waiting until their native lands should regain democratic status, or achieve it for the first time; others, especially those from Germany, resolutely embraced life in a new country, concentrating on books to interpret America and to aid in their becoming citizens. Of the French and German borrowers of this period, more than two-thirds were men. Of these, thirty per cent were writers, journalists, translators, playwrights. Next came architects, engineers, and artists and teachers. Seventy-five per cent of the men and forty-five per cent of the women had college degrees. Foreign

books were almost unattainable, especially those from Spain from which many orders for standards were returned stamped "lying under interdiction."

Many American expatriates returned from France and Italy and found the intellectual life more bracing than they had expected. A healthy reappraisal of American life was taking place, neither chauvinistic nor muckraking: the "Rivers of America" series, Sandburg's *Lincoln*, Canby's *Thoreau*, Beard's *America in Mid-Passage*, Van Wyck Brooks's *Flowering of New England*. Under WPA direction Guides to the states and the valuable "Index to American Design" covered new fields. The Readers' Adviser assembled a list about the United States for refugees who were learning the language and whose intellectual capacity outstripped the simple books in English previously wanted by newcomers of limited education and reading ability even in their native languages. In these years of disillusion and foreboding, the simpler past of American life was revived with rueful and affectionate humor: in *Life with Father*, Constance Rourke's *American Humor*, De Voto's *Mark Twain's America*, Freeman's *Robert E. Lee*, Wilder's *Our Town*, Damon's *Grandma Called It Carnal*.

Throughout these years books on the arts were in growing demand, the proportionate increase larger than that of any other class. Poetry was less read as the new poets seemed to be alienating themselves from American life, leaving its interpretation to the dramatist and novelist. For one reader of modern poetry, there were a dozen for the plays of O'Neill, Maxwell Anderson, Sidney Howard, and of course the perennial Shaw and Ibsen.

"One of the delights of this Library," said a reader coming down from the reference room on the third floor, "is the unexpectedness of books and people. I sat at one of the long tables; nearby was a tragic figure of a woman flanked by a nun on either side, her pallor contrasting with the black of her hair and eyes. Then I recalled her picture — that of ex-Empress Zita of Austria. Across from them was a shabbily dressed man more interested in keeping warm than in reading the Irish magazine in front of him. That's the contrast we see." An unusual one to be sure; and many were the contrasts we were unaware of. But the heights and depths we saw — nuns in lovely obeisance before the low-slung catalogue looking up their thesis material and at the next case forerunners of the beatniks, such as Maxwell Bodenheim, on similar search. They added zest to the day and to the vast army of Dr Johnson's "common reader."

Many writers who used the Reference Department came down three flights for books of collateral material to take home. Willa Cather used to

work in a small room off the Director's office. I took her some material she had asked for on flogging in the army of Frederick the Great. I treasure the picture of her, intent upon the records of the Ursuline nuns in Quebec and their eighteenth-century letters to France. She was in a mood to stop work for a few minutes and to talk, not of her own writing but of the French letters they wrote and to show the early maps of Quebec bound in fine red morocco. Miss Cather had a regard not only for the French tradition in letter-writing but for that tradition expressed in French cooking. Do you not recall the little girl Cecile in *Shadows on the Rock* saying on a bitter night: "Papa, j'ai peur pour le persil," that precious parsley brought from France and protected for survival in the rugged climate of Quebec. And Brother Joseph in *Death Comes for the Archbishop* mixing a salad with such herbs as he could find in Santa Fe or making soup which wins the Archbishop's praise. "When one thinks of it, a soup like this is not the work of one man. It is the result of a constantly refined tradition. There are nearly a thousand years of tradition in this soup." Miss Cather's research was painstaking and the results were distilled into her writing.

Mary Austin of somewhat dour visage, as if some of the Indian squaw had rubbed off after years in the Southwest, showed her devotion to the Spanish culture and deplored Miss Cather's preference for the French period of Archbishop Lamy. Mrs Austin was a doughty defender of the Spanish settlements, and when the bulldozer threatened to "improve" the fine old plaza in Santa Fe, she was a leader in its defense and in preserving the historic and beautiful, so easy to demolish, so impossible to replace. It was said that Mrs Austin concealed herself in the Museum of Natural History in New York meditating for the night in the midst of Indian gods and artifacts of the Southwest. She was at our registration desk when a Porto Rican applied for a card. He could not speak English and she translated for him. That courtesy led to a break in her usual silence and she was grandly eloquent about the country she described so well in *The Land of Little Rain* but she showed no interest in small talk and trivialities.

Very different in his approach in writing was Arthur Train, a constant and broad-ranging reader. He followed all the clues with the determination of his Mr Tutt. To see him at the office door was to be assured of a good time and a mettlesome search. As a good storyteller he so stimulated interest in his research that one wanted to forsake any other task and to go the full trail of the custom of blooding the child, fox-hunting in Ireland, ancient homes and their ghosts, the kidnapping of Charley Ross, ghost-ridden houses in

New York, or voodooism in Harlem. Occasionally he would dramatize a story in process, drawing a diagram of its possible endings on a desk or on the tablecloth at a restaurant. When he published *Yankee Lawyer*, the autobiography of Ephraim Tutt, in 1943, a lawsuit against him was filed by an outraged purchaser who claimed fraud when he realized that the character was fictitious. In the defense Robinson Crusoe was cited as one of the many fictitious characters telling his story in the first person. Mr Train, having been an assistant prosecutor in William Travers Jerome's office, took pride in the fact that his Mr Tutt's stories had never been successfully challenged for their legal accuracy. His book *Puritan's Progress* gave a vivid picture of New York at the turn of the century as observed by a transplanted Bostonian. "I do not write to improve or to moralize but to entertain" and his entertainment was seasoned with philosophical reflection about the law. Occasionally he sent an appeal from Sol's Cliff in Bar Harbor where he wrote in the summer.

Edna Ferber used our collection briefly when she was writing *Showboat* — briefly because the material about showboats was meagre. Since her book and the motion picture, a score of such books, stories, and reminiscences have been written and libraries, especially in cities along the Mississippi and Ohio, have collected local material. Miss Ferber started a trend that preserved many records of a brash and colorful period of American frontier life. When I telephoned her that a tied-up collection of old magazines listed an article that might be helpful to her, she came down post-haste. The packet was opened and the one article that she wanted was missing or stolen. My chagrin was deep and I never again trusted to tables of contents and indices without checking for the actual material. Miss Ferber was indeed understanding, "That is life, my dear," and stayed to tell about her research work. Eventually we found some compensating material.

Norman Hapgood, who had been editor of *Collier's Weekly*, was a constant library borrower. His first enquiry was for the use of detective stories for which he was writing a defense. At that time, about 1935, it was customary for the apologetic reader to excuse his addiction by saying that he read so many serious books that he needed the distraction of a detective story, citing Woodrow Wilson as one whose example was followed. Norman Hapgood struck out boldly for mystery without apology. One young devotee declared "I got to scare myself to sleep at night." Mr Hapgood's interests were far-ranging and he talked about them with verve and penetration. He was in general in favor of the New Deal but utterly opposed to the court-

packing proposal as a devious way of obtaining a doubtful goal. His radio address in opposition was carefully prepared a short time before his death.

Ford Madox Ford's heavy build and rather dull face completely belied his lively mind and good conversation. Knowing that the Library was in financial difficulty, he left a contribution in appreciation of the help given to a visiting Englishman. Aldous Huxley was so tall, so spare that he unfolded like a jackknife when he got up from a chair, his myopic eyes peering anxiously. He talked with great vivacity about England and its depressed areas, of those ghost towns Birmingham and Manchester disfigured by modern industry but in that depression time with no smoke from chimneys to give vitality to ugliness.

Will Cuppy was a tremendous reader bringing a suitcase full of books from his lighthouse on old Jones Beach before its improvement, and taking back as many again. His witty reviews of current detective stories were a weekly feature of the *Herald-Tribune*. For his own humorous books — *How to Be a Hermit, How to Tell Your Friends from the Apes, How to Become Extinct,* he read innumerable books of history and natural history to supplement his own accurate observations. Furthermore he gave every librarian who helped him a grand time. A chance meeting in the office with Edmund Lester Pearson brought together two specialists on the Lizzie Borden and other unsolved American mystery stories. Will Cuppy's first and only attempt on the lecture platform was a complete failure, he said, mopping his brow in recalling the experience before a fraternal organization where stony silence met his understated humor and the laughter was held for the jokes that never came — a shattering experience.

Du Bose Heyward lived in the City for some months after the main body of his work was finished and he was probably working on one of the stage or movie versions of *Porgy and Bess* or *Cabin in the Sky*. He was a delightful person whose untimely death grieved everyone who had the slightest contact with him — in fact no contact with him seemed slight.

In the bright pageantry of authors some of whom we knew slightly were the three Benéts and beautiful Elinor Wylie, Honoré Willsie, Lewis Mumford, Parton Hibben, and Harold Denny of the New York *Times* returned from a long assignment in Russia and looking up the records of the Russian trials and purges of the thirties. Among the actors were Katherine Stewart, a fine English character actress of commanding presence with flowing cape and tall cane — a veritable "Rule Brittania"; Beverley Sitgreaves; Sam Jaffe; Shirley Gale; and Daniel Reed. Daniel Gregory Mason was one of the

musicians (most of them went to the special collection at the 58th Street Branch) and lovely Ruth St Denis represented the dance.

Most writers are such satisfactory people to work for and with — precise in their requests so that no time is lost in finding a clue in contrast to the vague person who sneaks around his subject asking for the general instead of the specific, fearful of revealing his purpose. Usually the writer is articulate and suggests any collateral line that would be helpful, not fearful that his plot might be plagiarized.

It was not all light going with our borrowers. There are usually odd and frustrated characters in libraries and our size brought them in force. A man came to the information desk holding rather ostentatiously a book with lurid cover and provocative title *The Man Who Killed Kitchener: the Life of Fritz Joubert Duquesne,* by Clement Wood. I said, "I thought Kitchener was drowned with all aboard the *Hampshire.*" "Shake hands with the one who killed him. This is my story." And the hand of the self-declared murderer seized and shook my reluctant one. The book, which I read later, and Duquesne were both discredited and the latter involved in a spy ring during World War II.

During these years Father Divine was in his heyday in New York. Although we never saw him in the library we knew well some of his followers. Their adopted names such as "Heavenly Light" and "Angel Mary" led to difficulties in collecting overdue books and appeal was made by letter to Father Divine who had urged his followers to return all "borrowed" property. A letter from him dated August 28 1936 told of his appeal to his congregation and ended:

> With best wishes this leaves me Well, Healthy, Joyful, Peaceful, Lively, Loving, Successful, Prosperous and Happy in spirit, body and mind and in every organ, muscle, sinew, joint, limb, bone and vein and even in every atom, fibre and cell of my bodily form.
>
> Respectfully and sincerely, I am
> REV. M. J. DIVINE
> (better known as FATHER DIVINE)

A hypnotist of most evil aspect insisted upon retaining the only copy of a book on his subject and used his hypnotic eye to secure it. A woman whose jaw was wired so that she spoke with difficulty finally returned a book by Plato which she recovered from a "gentleman" who had knocked her down. A mutilator of books was caught after long observation, with the chapter of a new and expensive book, following an established pattern of cutting out

parts of new books just after they were put on the rack for circulation. He was old and shabbily dressed, but his Irish speech was beautiful. He had been educated at Trinity College in Dublin and was a one-time musicologist. Asked why he mutilated books when he had a library card for borrowing, he said:

> It is indefensible. I have my meals in the automat and it is easier to carry chapters of books that interest me than to carry a heavy load. But I have no valid excuse.

Judges usually have a soft heart for book mutilators and thieves, perhaps feeling that they have higher aims and better tastes than those who steal jewels and money. The culprit was not sent to jail in spite of the ruin of more than a hundred books but he was forbidden the use of the library in any part and we saw him no more.

In 1935 the Works Progress Administration came into being, affecting the library and other cultural institutions. Instead of the dole, it offered a self-respecting though bare living to thousands of those out of work because of the closing of factories and departments. Men and women were assigned to libraries to help as clerks for filing, arranging of books and mending, sending postcards for overdue books, and otherwise supplementing the work of a staff depleted by the loss of librarians and clerks to other fields — military establishments, U. S. Information Service, and libraries abroad. The thirty-hour week of the WPA brought an architect who helped with more exacting clerical work and made some useful layout plans for the crowded room, a shoe salesman who made a fine record of collecting overdue books, typists, stenographers, factory workers, and clerks. They were given some training in the simple techniques, the charging of books and checking off their return, restoring them to the shelves and mending their torn pages. The least educated were the most difficult as their ambition led them to seek the information desk for which they were not qualified rather than to work behind the scenes, prosaic in contrast to the public bustle. After several years as economic conditions improved most WPA workers were urged by the organization to seek regular employment in their old fields: some resisted steadily and wanted appointment to the regular staff but it was not always possible. One young woman, a diligent worker, but with very limited education was particularly insistent. She realized that some extravagance of her appearance might discourage such an appointment. She usually came unsuitably dressed in beaded chiffon, platinum hair, violent make-up, but insisted:

> I can take off my party dresses and the rouge, restore my hair to its natural color, omit the long earrings and remember not to chew gum. Why, I can be primitive too. I've always wanted to be a psychologist and help people plan their lives.

Her WPA supervisor urged her to improve her typing skill, to lower her ambitions somewhat, and to plan her own life for those employments within her range.

It had been a great experiment, the WPA, and the occasional boondogling that may have existed had been slight compared to the salvage of morale, the self-respect, the holding together of family life, and the sharpening of skills that would have rusted through disuse.

Since 1940 Central Circulation has changed in many ways with improved lighting and some of the other equipment so urgently needed. Although the Donnell Library has opened on 53rd St with many of the attractions that the older branch lacks and with the convenience of location near Rockefeller Center, the old room is nearly as crowded as ever. State aid has brought wonderful improvement of the book stock. There are many hints of the new machines that will take over much of the person-to-person work; of push-buttons that will pluck out in a moment all the information on a subject. This is no longer reference work but "information retrieval" to conform to the jargon of the computer age in which materials covering the whole audio-visual field are used more than books. One remembers the protest about the use of the first electric charging-machine, when borrowers turned in their cards or took them to other branches to protest against mechanization; the objection to using microfilm of the New York *Times* and other papers. And now the computer and the Xeroxing of manuscripts. The computer has decoded the Stonehenge mystery that has baffled scholars through the ages (although the findings are still in dispute among scholars). It is no doubt working under skilful direction on the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy, on the Dark Lady of the Sonnets, on the recent discoveries of the Scrolls in Israel. Another generation may be conditioned to reading books on microforms, a thimbleful at a time. Perhaps the reader may even learn to enjoy the method. It will be used in many undiscovered ways. But even when the machine is well-oiled and running smoothly, purring (does it purr?), its performance can surely not bring the relish for the work and the enjoyment of the reader and the book that we have had. The zest as well as the questions will still depend upon the reader and the librarian.

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Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street

HEROES AND VALENTINES — ROOM 78

An exhibition featuring illustrations by Tom Feelings for Julius Lester's *To Be a Slave*. Also on display are Robin Hood paintings by N. C. Wyeth, and a collection of old valentines. Through April 15.

FIBER OPTICS — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

The versatility of the newly developed technique of fiber optics is shown in books, periodicals, and photographs from the Science and Technology Division.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY REGINALD MARSH — LOBBY AND LANDING CASES

A selection of original drawings in pen and ink, pencil, and color, for the books illustrated by the New York artist, commemorating the gift of Mrs Felicia Meyers Marsh. March 15 through June 16.

MENDELEYEV CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION — SECOND FLOOR GALLERY

A display tracing the history of the periodic chart of the elements, from its antecedents in alchemy, through Mendeleyev's contribution, to more recent developments based on his work. Through March 17.

The Central Building, continued

ISFAHAN AND SHIRAZ: TWO PERSIAN CITIES — SECOND FLOOR CENTRAL CORRIDOR

Descriptive historical and literary works illustrate the extraordinary cultural heritage of these two cities of modern Iran. Through April 15.

ASPECTS OF URBAN LIFE — THIRD FLOOR PRINT GALLERY

Prints from the late fifteenth century to the present depict man in his urban surroundings. Through April 15.

NEW IN THE BERG COLLECTION, 1962–1964 — ROOM 318

Selected acquisitions including the archive of Lady Gregory; such notable items as the manuscripts of Byron's "Nisus and Euryalus" and of Irving's *A Tour on the Prairies*; and material for the study of figures as diverse as J. R. Lowell, Hardy, Conrad, Firbank, Shaw, Forster, Virginia Woolf, Huxley, Day-Lewis, and MacNeice. March 10 through September.

THE DIVERSITY OF THE ARENTS TOBACCO COLLECTION — ROOM 324

Unusual books, manuscripts, and ephemera illustrate the many different sorts of materials included in the Collection. Through April 30.

THE ART OF MEDIEVAL ILLUMINATION: REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLES — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

On display are rare manuscripts charting the development of the technique of illumination during the Middle Ages. Through April 30.

* * *

RECENT ACCESSIONS — ROOM 84

A rotating display of books and dustjackets exhibiting materials recently added to the collection of the Jewish Division.

TECHNICAL BOOKS OF THE MONTH — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

A monthly selection of new books received in the Science and Technology Division, and reviewed in *New Technical Books*.

UNITED STATES POSTAGE STAMPS — MAIN LOBBY

An almost complete collection of United States postal issues and airmail stamps, 1847–1926. Permanent exhibition.

HISTORY OF PRINTING — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR

Examples of the recorded word and the graphic arts from Babylonian tablets to modern press work. Permanent exhibition.

WALT WHITMAN — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR

The Oscar Lion Collection of books by and about Whitman, including first editions, manuscripts, letters, portraits, and memorabilia. Permanent exhibition.

WASHINGTON IRVING — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR

Selections from the Seligman and Hellman collections of Irvingiana consisting of first editions, manuscripts, sketchbooks, etc. Permanent exhibition.

AMERICAN VIEWS — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

A selection of prints from the I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection. Permanent exhibition.

30 MAY 1969

THE LIBRARY & MUSEUM OF THE PERFORMING ARTS AT LINCOLN CENTER

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THE PERFORMING ARTS — PLAZA GALLERY

Ranging from vaudeville to television, this multi-screened film presentation of the performing arts can be seen at five-minute intervals throughout the Library day. On permanent view.

IRVING BERLIN: WORDS AND MUSIC — PLAZA GALLERY

Scores and sheet music from the Library's Music Division commemorating the achievement of the American composer. Through the winter.

DEATH OF ELIZABETH — PLAZA GALLERY

A mural by the contemporary English artist Leonard Rosoman depicting the colorful events and personalities of England in the period before and after the death of the queen. Through the winter.

OPERA — FROM SCORE TO STAGE — MAIN GALLERY

A major presentation of how an opera comes into being. An animated, three-dimensional, audio-visual complex (40 by 80 feet in area) gives a back-stage view of the 1966 Metropolitan Opera production of Richard Strauss's *Die Frau ohne Schatten*. On view for a two-year period.

DRAWINGS BY HIRSCHFELD — AMSTERDAM GALLERY

An exhibition of more than forty original theatrical caricatures by artist Al Hirschfeld. Through April 14.

THE MELODY IS THE MESSAGE: POP SONGS AND THE MEDIA — VINCENT ASTOR GALLERY

Sheet music, memorabilia, and machines (in working order) representing the various media for American popular music from the 1840s to today: minstrel shows, vaudeville, the musical stage, recordings, movies, television. February 25 through June 14.

DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER

20 West 53rd Street

An annual exhibition of "Books for the Teenage" in the Nathan Straus Young Adult Library and the First Floor. Through March. Oils, watercolors, and woodcuts by Thea Schnstak, and oils by Bea Begman, in the Art Library. Through April 15.

COUNTEE CULLEN REGIONAL BRANCH

104 West 136th Street

"Love & Other Survivors — Uptown & Down South." Scenes of Harlem and the American South in black-and-white photographs by Jack Harris and Bob Fletcher. March 10 through April 4.

HUDSON PARK BRANCH

10 Seventh Avenue South

"Flowers of the Street." Paintings by Mario Albertazzi, art critic for *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*. February 5 to March 14.

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION

103 West 135th Street

Contemporary Art by Afro-Americans. On display are prints by the ten artists represented in the book, from a copy of the folio edition presented by the compiler, Louise Jefferson. Through March.

APRIL 1969

BULLETIN
OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

BULLETIN OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

VOLUME 73 APRIL 1969 NUMBER 4

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THE LIBRARY & MUSEUM OF THE PERFORMING ARTS, DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER, COUNTEE CULLEN REGIONAL BRANCH, HUDSON PARK BRANCH, SCHOMBURG COLLECTION 280

On the cover: Reginald Marsh's finished drawing (bottom) and one of his preliminary sketches (reduced) for the dustjacket of Dos Passos' *Grand Design* (1949). The scene is a cocktail party in the Georgetown section of Washington during the days of the New Deal. A preliminary sketch of another scene from the novel, Herbert Spotswood at the microphone, is used as a tailpiece on p 266. These three original drawings are reproduced with the kind permission of Marsh's widow, Felicia Meyer Marsh. They are part of Mrs Marsh's recent gift to the Prints Division of nearly a thousand drawings, some in sketchbooks, of her husband's work as a book illustrator. His first rough sketches are included, and successive stages of drawings up to the finished state ready for the printer. Illustrations by Marsh appeared in such popular modern classics as the 1947 edition of the Dos Passos trilogy *U.S.A.*, as well as in fine editions of earlier works such as Defoe's *Moll Flanders*.

The current Main Lobby exhibition is a record and celebration of the new gift. On two earlier occasions Mrs Marsh had presented to the Library impressions of her husband's etchings, engravings, and lithographs, so that now in the Prints Division there is a representative and comprehensive collection of Marsh's graphic work. To Mrs Marsh, and to ourselves, this seems a fitting home for the productions of this realist of the School of New York who chronicled the life of this city's sidewalks and boardwalks, its seediness and exuberant burlesque, its sad-and-merry-go-round of poverty and gaiety in the '30s and '40s.

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Communication:

Lord Byron as Parodist of "The Battle of Blenheim"

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GEOFFREY CARNALL, in the January *Bulletin*, has responded to the parody of Southey's "Battle of Blenheim" in the *Morning Chronicle* with an interesting conjecture about Tom Moore as author. I should like to suggest one of Moore's friends as a more likely candidate, namely, Lord Byron. Byron's early and long-lasting hostility to Southey and to the plundering of the weak by the strong makes one wonder whether he was responsible for this newspaper contribution.[1] For lack of any direct acknowledgment by Byron. I must rely on internal and circumstantial evidence alone, but I feel that this firmly justifies considering the possibility. Byron objected not only to the turncoat politics of this "epic renegade" (*Don Juan*, Dedication, I) but also, and much earlier, as in the "Prayer of Nature," to his poetical principles and practices, his self-consciously simplified ballads and inflated epics. He derides Southey's ballads in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, which was begun in 1807 and was ready for publication in a short form in October of the same year,[2] a few months before the "Blenheim" parody appeared. Byron singles out Southey in the "Argument" written for the first edition (1809) of *English Bards*, but printed later, and in the text: "Behold the ballad-monger Southey rise" etc (lines 202–234).[3] In this long passage he derides *Joan of Arc*, *Thalaba*, *Madoc*, and the Berkeley ballads. Among his later depreciatory references to Southey is the fusillade of the *Vision of Judgment*, in which one of the stanzas carries both of Byron's charges against Southey:

> He meant no harm in scribbling; 't was his way
> Upon all topics; 't was, besides, his bread,
> Of which he butter'd both sides; 't would delay . . .

1 For the later development of this hostility, see Claude M. Fuess, *Lord Byron as a Satirist in Verse* (New York 1964; reprint of 1912 ed) 60–62 and 84; and C. L. Cline "Byron and Southey: A Suppressed Rejoinder" *Keats-Shelley Journal* III (Winter 1954) 27–38.

2 R. E. Prothero, ed *Works of Lord Byron*, Letters and Journals (London 1898) I 292: letter to Miss Pigott of Oct 26 1807.

3 *Complete Poetical Works of Byron* (Boston: Cambridge Edition 1905) p 244–245. All future indications of lines refer to this edition.

To name his works — he would but cite a few —
"Wat Tyler" — "Rhymes on Blenheim" — "Waterloo." (XCVI)

At the time of the publication of "A Danish Tale," Byron, a Whig, was living in London, where he must have been following the stirring debates over the Copenhagen affair. This interest may be inferred, first from his letter of January 21 1808 to Robert Charles Dallas: "I did study the 'Spirit of Laws' and the Law of Nations, but when I saw the latter violated every month, I gave up my attempt at so useless an accomplishment." [4] On this very day Lord Grenville had argued for a full investigation into the expedition, and Erskine had presented a protest against the seizure of the fleet, precisely on the grounds of its being an unwarranted violation of the law of nations (Hansard x 16–28 and 32–36). It is very likely that Byron had attended this opening session of Parliament. A second sign of interest comes from Byron's diary for January 12 1821; he alludes to Edward Noel Long, "who, after having served honourably in the expedition to Copenhagen (of which two or three thousand scoundrels yet survive in plight and pay), was drowned early in 1809." [5] This is no flattering reference to the rewarded officers of that expedition, such as Gambier and Cathcart.

The most telling indication of his indignation over the plundering of Copenhagen occurs in the "Curse of Minerva," dated March 17 1811. In this "fierce phillipic on Lord Elgin," [6] the despoiling of Copenhagen is listed first as an instance of England's treachery:

Hers were the deeds that taught her lawless son
To do what oft Britannia's self had done.
Look to the Baltic — blazing from afar,
Your old ally yet mourns perfidious war. (211–214)

Byron is obviously alluding to the horror of the bombardment. This is reinforced at the end, I think, where Minerva predicts the eventual burning of Albion's major city of London. The striking forecast follows directly after mention of the bloody deeds of warlike Albion, which might almost be a summary of one section of the "Danish Tale" (50–76):

The slaughter'd peasant and the ravish'd dame,
The rifled mansion and the foe-reap'd field,
Ill suits with souls at home, untaught to yield. (300–302)

[4] *Works, Letters and Journals* (London 1898) I 172–173.
[5] Peter Quennell *Byron, a Self-Portrait: Letters and Diaries* (New York 1950) II 563.
[6] *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron* (London 1859) 453, n 1.

Another similarity, verbally more striking I believe, is found at the beginning of both poems. "A Danish Tale" starts in pastoral fashion with a description of the crimson sunset, a slight hint of the carnage and conflagration that will form the main themes.[7] Byron starts similarly:

> Slow sinks more lovely ere his race be run,
> Along Morea's hills the setting sun;
> Not, as in northern climes, obscurely bright,
> But one unclouded blaze of living light. (1–4)

In the Latin motto used for "A Danish Tale" there is, I feel, another Byronic touch. Byron, of course, knew Juvenal well and naturally the Roman poet would be one of his favorite authors, especially for the Tenth Satire. He uses as the motto to "Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte" (published anonymously in 1814) a quotation from the same section of the Satire as the motto for "A Danish Tale." Byron's diary of 1821 bore a notation on Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes*: " 'T is a grand poem — and *so* true! — true as the 10th of Juvenal himself." [8]

Another area of inquiry that might contribute to the tentative attribution of "A Danish Tale" to Byron is the long-standing contact between him and the newspaper, the *Morning Chronicle*. On September 26 1806 the *Morning Post* had published a four-line squib upon the death of Fox. Byron quickly replied to this "illiberal impromptu" with a set of sixteen couplets "On the Death of Mr. Fox," intended for the *Morning Chronicle*.[9] After 1808 the *Morning Chronicle* was to print several poems by Byron and many favorable poems and articles about him (several of the anonymous poems by Byron had a political and satirical basis).[10] The last work of his published there is the long "Ode from the French" (in the March 15 1816 number); this poem, evoked by Waterloo and the fall of Napoleon, returns in large part to the theme of the destruction and cruelty of war. I use the word "return" on the assumption that there is validity to my ascription of "A Danish Tale" to Byron.

[7] The source is furnished by "The Battle of Blenheim": "It was a summer evening; / Old Kaspar's work was done, / And he before his cottage door / Was sitting in the sun" (1–4).

[8] *The Poetical Works* (London 1859) 640–641, n 5.

[9] The Cambridge ed of Byron's works, p 114, asserts that it was written in Oct 1806, and "appeared" in the *Morning Chronicle*; but my examination of the set in the British Museum does not reveal it. The poem was included in *Hours of Idleness* (1807).

[10] In the *Chronicle* of Mar 2 1812 appeared the "Ode to the Framers of the Frame Bill," by Byron, though unsigned and uncollected until 1880. Other poems appeared on March 7 and 14 1812: "Sympathetic Address to a Young Lady," an attack on the Prince Regent; and "The Heroine of Saragoza," a reprinting of three stanzas from *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. That year on Oct 12 it printed Byron's "Address, Spoken at the Opening of Drury-Lane Theatre" and on Oct 23 a parody, "Parenthetical Address by Dr. Plagiary," based on an intrusion by one Dr Busby at the Drury Lane festivities. In a different vein were the "Elegiac Stanzas" published in the *Chronicle* on Oct 7 1814.

Unity of Theme in *Volpone*

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BEN JONSON'S *Volpone* has for centuries been acclaimed a masterpiece; yet it has been condemned for as long a time for its seemingly irrelevant subplot, fool interludes, and mountebank scene, as well as for the near-tragic tone of its denouement. With these charges against it, the play has nevertheless won such admiration and respect as to suggest that there is much in it to be appreciated which, though overlooked by the critics, must be implicit in its performance.

In 1953 Jonas A. Barish took the first step toward finding a connection between the main plot and the subplot by identifying their respective protagonists as Volpone and Sir Politique Would-bee, justifying their relationship through the theme of disorder.[1] Although his interpretation opens up possibilities for greater appreciation of the play, the so-called discordant parts remain so for the most part, and the analogy between Volpone and the knight seems forced, since there is little parallel in the play's action to support the relationship.

A more meaningful analogy may be found by contrasting Would-bee with Volpone's would-be heirs. Peregrine exploits the knight's desire to appear sophisticated and knowing in the subplot, just as Volpone exploits his clients' desire for his gold in the main plot; each is the "center attractive" of his own plot.[2] In both cases it is their victims' blindness which makes their exploitation possible. In their victims' blindness we find the unifying theme for the play: self-deception. Through this theme the subplot may be seen to mirror the main plot; the would-be sophisticate operates in a world of folly, while the would-be heirs operate in a world of vice.

Jonson, by this theme, strikes at a universal human characteristic, as perverse as it is persistent, to believe what flatters our hopes at the expense of denying truth. It is a tendency as timeless and ubiquitous as Oedipus' refusal to believe Tiresias in ancient Thebes, or as Willy Loman's denial of his own truth in contemporary Brooklyn.

We are offered numerous variations on this theme, revealing how all men fall victim to self-deception when they are tempted sufficiently to hope for

[1] "The Double Plot in Volpone" *Modern Philology* LI (1953) 83–92. For an insightful expansion of Professor Barish's interpretation see Judd Arnold's "The Double Plot in *Volpone*" *Seventeenth-Century News* XXIII 4 (Winter 1965) 47–52.

[2] For Jonson's explanation of the "center attractive" see the Induction to *The Magnetic Lady*.

impossible goals. In every case in the play, except for Lady Would-bee, the handmaiden of self-deception is flattery; thus the flattery of others, whether open or subtle, causes each to flatter himself into faith in false hopes. Not only simpletons like the Would-bees succumb, but crafty fortune hunters as well as brilliant manipulators like Volpone and Mosca yield to this deceptive self-flattery.

The knight and his lady are clearly self-deceived in their desire to appear worldly. Volpone's suitors, too, willfully blind themselves to the truth because they want so desperately to win his fortune, although they see clearly enough when they choose. Each has a moment of doubt which is instantly set aside at Mosca's equivocal reassurances. None seriously questions how Volpone could be dying for so long a time, or that Mosca is the exclusive "creature" of each to the exclusion of all the others.

Unlike the would-be's, Volpone and Mosca are neither simple-minded nor merely crafty and blinded by false hope. Their great success lies in their self-knowledge; Volpone glories in being an old fox and Mosca takes pride in being a parasite. Neither is flattered by the professions of love and concern by Volpone's clients. Mosca is clearly never deceived by them; he, further, makes it his business to expose each suitor to his master (except for Lady Would-bee, who, as a result, Volpone later reveals he believes loves him). Yet eventually Volpone and Mosca also deceive themselves, revealing the all-pervasive power of self-deception more emphatically; mocking the blindness of their victims these clever deceivers succumb to that same malady.

From the earliest moments in the play Volpone reveals a predilection for flattery, foreshadowing his ultimate capitulation to it. It is generally assumed that Volpone's downfall begins when he supposedly "overreaches" himself by feigning death, but it really begins in the first scene of the play, when we find him boasting that he earns his gold in "no common way." Mosca slyly converts his master's claim into a moral statement through flattery:

> But your sweet nature doth abhorre these courses;
> You lothe, the widdowes, or the orphans teares
> Should wash your pauements; or their pittious cryes
> Ring in your roofes; and beate the aire, for vengeance. — (I.i.48–51)[8]

The unsuspecting Volpone melts in agreement: "Right MOSCA, I doe lothe it." Shortly each of these claims will be violated: Celia's tears shall wash his

[8] The Herford and Simpson edition (Oxford 1937) has been used for all quotations and references.

floor, and Corvino's betrayal shall make her plight as pitiable as any widow's, while Bonario, financially orphaned by Mosca's plot, shall soon cry out for vengeance.

Mosca goes on to flatter his master's generosity, and Volpone, enchanted with Mosca's vision of him as a generous patron, reciprocates with a gift. In spite of being realistic about his clients Volpone is as malleable as they when he is flattered. It is significant that we see Mosca flatter Volpone *before* he flatters the fortune hunters. Jonson meant us to see the parallel, which differs only in timing; Volpone's descent into self-deception is gradual, while the clients' is an accomplished fact from their first moments on the stage.

Volpone begins to hope for the impossible once he decides to win Celia through Mosca's efforts. Helena Baum considers his passion "heroic," [4] and few commentators have observed that it is misguided and doomed to failure. Yet Volpone's passion is precisely what Jonson derides in him; a successful old fox with clients who cooperate in deceiving themselves, Volpone is out of his depth as a lover. Celia, unlike the clients, is singularly unimpressed by his flattery and has no desire to join him in the sports of love. His refusal to recognize this, after their first few moments alone, makes his lyrical outpourings ridiculous and self-deceptive. And when Celia promises to "report, and thinke" him virtuous if he will only release her, he reveals a new, unrealistic interest in appearances that had not interfered with his dealings with his clients:

> Thinke me cold,
> Frosen, and impotent, and so report me?
> That I had NESTOR'S *hernia*, thou wouldst thinke. (III.vii.260–62)

He has altered his motive: he now wants only to prove his manhood. His sudden degeneration from wooing in Catullus' vein to raping in Tarquin's becomes highly comic. Celia's terror, however, contrapuntally played against this changing mood from lover to rapist, makes the scene one of the high points of satire in the play, for it reveals self-deception in a more serious light. Indeed Volpone's short-lived career as a lover is singularly ill-starred; he is beaten by Corvino, shunned by Celia, and ignominiously discovered by Bonario. It is not accidental, surely, that Volpone dons the costume of a mountebank to play the lover.

Not only does Volpone fail to win Celia, but his seeming victory at court, won at the cost of his being publicly declared impotent, is Pyrrhic for a man who has begun to fancy himself a lover. We see him, indeed, in "dislike"

[4] *The Satiric and the Didactic in Ben Jonson's Comedy* (Chapel Hill 1947) 100.

with his disguise for the first time, and it is his dislike for the price he has to pay, I believe, that leads him to abort his lucrative venture by giving out that he is dead. He has been undone in appearances just as he has begun to believe in them.

Like his master, Mosca also falls victim to flattery, but he is somewhat more realistic. He flatters himself at his great success with Corvino, which leads him to boast that he is superior to all other parasites (III.i.13–22); yet each quality he scorns in ordinary parasites is evident in himself. Mosca also begins to deny reality, as he joins the ranks of the would-be's. Taking pride in being able to assume any shape, he is later deceived into believing that he may don the costume of a grandee and thereby be one in reality. He forgets that he is only a parasite, dependent on his patron, forgets, too, that his most potent weapon with his master is flattery. Once he becomes blunt, Volpone, no longer blinded, exposes their venture — to Mosca's surprise, whose cynical view of mankind has not taken into account the fact that men need not act like animals, although the would-be's of the play do. Mosca thus deceives himself when he overestimates his own ability and underestimates his master's.

The play reveals exceptions, those who do not deceive themselves — because they are never tempted into unrealistic hopes. In the main plot these are Volpone's fools, who tell of their metamorphoses from Apollo in a steady downward process of degeneration [5] but, ironically, never into self-deception. All the would-be's desire to be other than themselves, but the fools willingly remain fools. Their deformities are visible, hence undeniable; appearance and reality are united in their physical deformity, affording ironic contrast to the moral and spiritual deformity of the main characters.

The deformed trio of the main plot are fools by profession and entertain Volpone; in the subplot Peregrine pretends to be a fool with Sir Pol — to entertain himself. At first glance it would seem that Barish's thesis was supported by a certain correspondence here between Volpone and the knight, but in it lies another of the play's ironies. Those who act as fools are only such in appearance; those they serve are the true fools in their self-deception. Volpone in his would-beism is like Sir Pol, but in his disabused exploitation of his clients he remains the counterpart of Peregrine.

Long ago the exchange between Volpone and Mosca in V.ii.18–27 was pointed out, by William Gifford, as the best "defence of the plot of the

[5] For an analysis of the fool interlude see Harry Levin's "Jonson's Metempsychosis" *Philological Quarterly* XXII (1943) 231–239.

Drama." [6] In it Volpone tries to understand his suitors' blindness, and Mosca, the shrewd psychologist, points out:

> True, they will not see't.
> Too much light blinds 'hem, I thinke. Each of 'hem
> Is so possest, and stuft with his owne hopes,
> That any thing, vnto the contrary,
> Neuer so true, or neuer so apparent,
> Neuer so palpable, they will resist it —

Hope blinds each would-be to the truth. And something has prevented the critics who pause to comment on this passage from seeing its wider application, not simply to the fortune hunters, but to all the major characters of both plots, except Peregrine and the fools.[7]

To recognize self-deception as the unifying theme can be to comprehend the importance of the mountebank scene in II.ii, which has often been criticized for its length,[8] or indulgently tolerated for its color. It is a key scene in the play structurally as well as thematically. In it Volpone steps out of his role as fox to take on the role of lover, i.e. to become seriously involved in self-deception.[9] The preceding scenes have been devoted mainly to exposition — introducing the world of gold-worship in I.i, the ironically ideal world of the fools in I.ii, Volpone's suitors in I.iii to I.v, the subplot, the world of folly, in II.i. The mountebank scene opens the action proper. Volpone is smitten by Celia's beauty; Mosca sets out to win her for him; from this scene forward Volpone resigns his role as chief manipulator to Mosca, reclaiming it partially when he decides to revenge himself on his clients by pretending to be dead, but not fully regaining it until his final confession.

Self-deception speaks in the imagery of the scene: Scoto's oil, a metaphor for flattery, makes it possible. The oil is dispensed by Mosca to gull the clients and his patron; by Peregrine to Sir Pol, in the oblique form of feigned innocence, which flatters the knight into a conviction of omnipotence; by Voltore to smooth his way with the Avocatori. In II.vi Mosca cynically tells

[6] "Critical Notes and Biographical Memoir" to *The Works of Ben Jonson* III (London 1875) 286.

[7] Even Celia and Bonario, it may be argued, are flattered into self-deception for a moment by Scoto and Mosca respectively.

[8] Wallace A. Bacon, "The Magnetic Field: The Structure of Jonson's Comedies" *Huntington Library Quarterly* XIX (1956) 138, says, for instance, that the scene "loosens the fabric of the play."

[9] Barish justifiably sees a parallel between the knight and Volpone in the mountebank scene, but the parallel reflects on Volpone, not on the knight, as Barish maintains, for it establishes a kinship between one would-be and another. Volpone plays a dual role here, however; as an ironic commentator he finds his counterpart in Peregrine.

Corvino that Scoto's oil has restored his dying master, which we may take as a way of saying that Volpone has flattered himself into believing that flattery (and gold) may win the love of Celia. As for the powder Scoto offers her, the magic powder of cosmetics is the means whereby women deceive themselves. Later in the play the flattery of the Aesopian raven by the fox is applied to the would-be heirs as Volpone taunts his suitors in his guise as commandadore.[10]

The correspondence between the two plots develops in the play's ensuing action, which is propelled by accusations and counter-accusations which are similar in nature and outcome, although different in regard to veracity.[11] Volpone is accused of attempted rape while Peregrine is accused of attempted seduction of Sir Pol. Both charges are dropped at the Lady's intervention under Mosca's direction, and apologies are thereupon made to those accused: the court apologizes to Volpone and the Lady apologizes to Peregrine. New charges are then made: Celia and Bonario are accused of being a team of prostitute and pander, and Peregrine makes the same charge against the English couple. The difference in seriousness of the charges is in keeping with the worlds of vice and folly which the plots reflect.

The two actions are linked, further, in Sir Pol's imagined plots, which find their counterpart in the real plots of the main action. Whereas he imagines plots exist everywhere, the would-be heirs ignore the real plots which flourish all about them; each is blind to the schemes of the others against him as well as to the Fox's plot against them all. The protagonists of both actions revenge themselves by mortifying their victims through their faith in false plots: Volpone uses the fortune-hunters' faith in his own plot, which is based on the belief that he is a dying man, to pretend that he is dead; Peregrine exploits the knight's faith in intrigues to pretend that he has been accused of intriguing against Venice. Volpone, in disguise as a court officer, humiliates his victims, while Peregrine, in disguise as a merchant, parallels Volpone by making the knight crawl literally. Finally, both protagonists show

[10] Commentators have generally failed to note that V.viii.11–14 is a reference to Aesop's fable of "The Raven and the Fox" (for the most likely version for the period see William Caxton's translation), although Joseph Quincy Adams Jr, in *The Sources of Ben Jonson's "Volpone"* (Chicago 1904) 11, makes a passing reference to the relationship. More recently Brother D.A. Scheve in "Notes and Observations: Jonson's *Volpone* and Traditional Fox Lore" *Review of English Studies* 1 3 (July 1950) 242–244, notes but subsequently rejects this fable for another, which is more in keeping with his theme for the play, legacy-hunting.

[11] The accusations in the subplot occur before those of the main plot, so that we are first seduced into laughter at the first, making the gross miscarriage of justice in the second all the more ironic.

by example that deception need not lead to self-deception, for each strips himself of his own disguise.

Linking both actions is the role of Lady Would-bee, who acts as a catalyst, but does not fully belong to either action. She is a would-be heir, like the other clients, and a would-be sophisticate like her husband, yet she is different from the others in that she affords no pleasure to Volpone or Peregrine, both of whom enjoy "milking" their other victims. Further, while everyone else is named for what he really is, her title indicates only what she *should* be, an English gentlewoman — the role in which everyone in the main action sees her. Her uninhibited freedom in a society which restricts its women shocks Volpone, Mosca, and even Nano, who sits in judgment on no one else in the play. (It is of course ironic that Volpone and Mosca should sanctimoniously deplore her behavior just as they are about to arrange for Celia's seduction.) Peregrine, however, is totally unimpressed by the Lady's title. She is different from all the others, moreover, in being the only character who is chastised in both actions, and the only one of the would-be heirs who is not punished in court. Jonson's purpose in setting her apart from the others would seem to be to make the point that even a fool may become vicious in a vicious environment.

Another of Jonson's purposes in using the Lady to span both actions may be found in examining Mosca's role, which also encompasses both actions, for his hand guides her; he is thus responsible for a tonal change in both through the Lady's intervention. In the main action he is responsible for the most bitingly satiric scenes: Corvino's offering Celia, Volpone's subsequent attempt at seducing her, and the first court scene. In the subplot, too, he is responsible for the farcical tone established by the Lady's accusation of Peregrine. Hence Mosca's intervention on Volpone's behalf from the mountebank scene when he takes the reins, with the Lady as his assistant, may be seen as a third line of action which sits astride and commands the worlds of vice and folly. He is thereby responsible for the sombre tone which has struck the notice of so many commentators.

Through the third line of action Mosca becomes the third protagonist and we find another variation on the theme of self-deception. A clever young Englishman manipulates a would-be sophisticate to entertain himself and the consequences are comic and benign; a Venetian voluptuary manipulates would-be fortune-hunters for gold and the consequences are still comic but less benign, yet not altogether to be condemned; a Machiavel manipulates whomever he can out of contempt for mankind and the consequences may be

deadly and tragic; such consequences are averted only because the Machiavel is himself trapped in self-deception and thereby overreaches himself.

Another link between the worlds of vice and folly may be found in Sir Pol's schemes, which function on two levels; on the surface they are comic, and for this reason have been virtually ignored by commentators. Barish, however, notes that the onion scheme has ironic value as a reminder of the "moral plague prevailing in Venice," [12] and all three schemes indeed serve to mock self-deceivers who are plagued by lies they cannot distinguish from truth. The knight plans to sell red herrings to Venice if his two "mayne" projects fail. From its use in the text the term "red herring" would seem to have meant for Jonson what it is commonly understood to mean today, that is, a false scent, an attempt to divert attention from the issue at hand.[13] Sir Pol offers his schemes at a crucial point in the play, in the first scene of Act IV. Immediately thereafter we are deluged by red herrings in false accusations which carry equal weight with the truth. Thus, if Sir Pol's schemes fail, Venice will stand in need of red herrings, which he will furnish at a profit. The schemes aim at making deception visibly and olfactorily foul to warn those incapable of reason. The tinder box scheme attempts to make arsenals safe from sparks; arsenals are a metaphor for man's potential for vice and folly which may be easily ignited by tinder boxes — Volpone's feigned

[12] Barish, p 89, discusses the onion scheme as a reminder of the moral plague in Venice, but makes no attempt to pinpoint what that plague may be.

[13] In Nicholas Cox's *The Gentleman's Recreation* (London 1686) v (ed 3) 64–65, we are told that red herrings were customarily drawn across a trail as a "trainsent" to break in a new horse. If the horse had not worked up a sufficient sweat in his training period a dead cat or fox or red herring would be dragged for several miles, giving the hounds a scent to follow, thus exercising the horse, which followed the hounds' lead. This is the earliest reference cited by the *OED* for the practice; its earliest record of the metaphoric use of the term is given as 1892. I am indebted to J. C. Maxwell's calling to my attention G. R. Hibbard's *Thomas Nashe: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge Mass 1962) 237, in which he notes an earlier reference to the hunting practice, and at the same time finds what seems to him to be a similar metaphoric use of the term in *Nashes Lenten Stuffe*, printed in 1599, several years before *Volpone* was written. He writes:

> But for the fact that the Oxford English Dictionary can produce no example of the metaphorical use of the term "red herring," in the sense of a false scent, before 1892, I would think that it was this meaning of the word that Nashe had uppermost in his mind . . . for it consists of one red herring after another. And, in spite of the evidence produced by the Dictionary, I am loath to abandon the idea, since Nashe himself knew and mentions the use of the red herring by hunters. In the last part of his pamphlet . . . he writes: "Next, to draw on hounds to a sent, to a redde herring skinne there is nothing comparable" (III.221).

Since Jonson knew Nashe and, indeed, refers to this particular work in *Every Man in His Humour* (I.iv.10 ff.), it would appear probable that the hunting practice was also known to Jonson. From the coincidence that both men seem to be making use of the term in a metaphoric sense, it seems reasonable to assume that the general public also knew of the practice and that the phrase was given currency during this period.

illness and Peregrine's feigned *naïveté*. Onions, in the second scheme, are to make victims of the plague (perpetrators of deception) visibly recognizable. It is of course quintessentially ironic that the greatest fool of the play should be the only one to attempt to cure the moral plague of Venice. It is his myopic attempt, moreover, which informs the play's denouement.

If the theme of self-deception is actually the key to the play, as I have suggested, it should be supported in the play's denouement, and so it is, but in a perverse way that is peculiarly Jonson's own. Jonson puts a "snaffle" in the mouths of his critics, showing why vice *cannot* be punished in his "interludes" — it would not truly "instruct to life" as he in the "office of a comic poet" is obliged to do.[14] Self-deception is wilful blindness; it can only be cured by the victim himself. In V.iii Mosca exposes each of the clients in unequivocal terms. Volpone subsequently rubs salt in their wounds, mocking them for having been so easily deceived. Voltore, indeed, confesses to the court once he thinks all is lost. Yet the moment when they learn Volpone still lives they are ready to deceive themselves all over again. In Sir Pol's method, then, lies the only solution: rotten eggs and stinking fish must be thrown at deceivers (V.xii.139–42) and preventative methods must be used to protect men's arsenals. Each of the clients (who served as tinder to the court) is stripped of the role in which he deceived the court. Mosca is to be prevented from deceiving in "the habit of a gentleman of Venice" (V.xii.110–112), and Volpone shall never again feign illness, for he will be *made* ill and infirm in prison. None is punished for his crime: if men's arsenals of evil and folly are in danger of ignition then tinder boxes must be carefully watched.

Through the theme of self-deception we can see that Ben Jonson blotted his lines in *Volpone* most carefully. The play is admirably complex and it seems miraculous that he wrote it in but five weeks. Much injustice has been done him by those who were too quick to condemn what they did not fully understand. However, whether in a reading or in performance few have failed to recognize that the play is a masterpiece. If the theme of self-deception as applied here is new in critical terms, it has always been implicitly understood by audiences. They laugh at the clients' attempts to outwit the fox, the knight's attempts at *savoir-faire*, the mountebank's attempt to be a lover, recognizing that self-deception is the height of human folly.

[14] Dedication to the 1607 edition of *Volpone*.

New in the Berg Collection: 1962-1964

By LOLA L. SZLADITS
Berg Collection

FROM 1957 to 1961 highlights of our purchases have been periodically placed on display for the benefit of our visitors. The present selection represents acquisitions during the years 1962 to 1964. Our late curator, John D. Gordan, prepared the initial plan for the exhibition and before his death had completed the descriptions for Lord Byron, James Russell Lowell, Leslie Stephen, and Thomas Hardy.

We are grateful to Leonard Woolf and Senator Michael Yeats for permission to reproduce the illustrations used as plates and to Mrs T. S. Eliot for the quotation from T. S. Eliot's unpublished letter to Mrs Woolf on p 239 below.

WILLIAM GODWIN
(1756–1836)

What started out as an innocent anonymous hoax in the eighteenth century ended as a bibliographical rarity in the twentieth. William Godwin, anarchist, social reformer, and political philosopher, published in his youth the pastoral romance *Imogen* under the guise of a translation from the Welsh. Ascribing the original to two forgotten poets, Godwin pays tribute to Milton whose *Comus*, he maintained, served as a model for the plot. It bears the stamp of the future Utopian: Godwin's pastoral society is an ideal society, located in "the extensive valley of Clwyd . . . distinguished for primeval innocence and pastoral simplicity. In this valley all was rectitude and guileless truth."

One of four known copies, the Berg copy lacks two leaves in the second volume. A complete copy in the Salisbury Library of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire is recorded in the *Bulletin of The New York Public Library* for January 1963.

Imogen: A Pastoral Romance in Two Volumes from the Ancient British (London: For W. Lane 1784).

EDITOR'S NOTE: the Library's separate publication of the complete *Imogen* is still in print (paper, $3) and available from our Sales Office.

WASHINGTON IRVING
(1783–1859)

A Tour on the Prairie, the "simple narrative of everyday occurrences," as the author described his adventures in the Indian territories of the Midwestern frontier, has become a classic among the narratives of travel in the early West. From October to November 1832, Washington Irving traveled through the present state of Oklahoma, living among the frontiersmen and in camps and buffalo-hunting grounds of the Pawnee, Osage, and Creek tribes. Romanticized in Irving's char-

acteristic manner, this narrative (according to his own evaluation) fell below the quality of many of his other works. The manuscript, from which type was set, was discovered in 1964 during the clearing out of an old house in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.

Manuscript of *A Tour on the Prairies*; 371 p.

LORD BYRON
(1788–1824)

The only child of a mismated marriage, George Gordon Byron was already the sixth baron Byron before he entered Harrow School in 1801 — and the author of three volumes of poetry (two privately printed) before he left Cambridge University in 1808. His first published volume was *Hours of Idleness, A Series of Poems, Original and Translated* (Newark 1807), identified as "by George Gordon, Lord Byron, a minor." Among the translations was "Episode of Nisus and Euryalus. A Paraphrase from the Aeneid, Lib. 9," of which the manuscript is displayed. It is heavily corrected. In Vergil's poem Nisus and Euryalus were ardent friends and companions of Aeneas on his flight from Troy. The episode describes their deaths, heroic in Nisus' vengeance for the slaughter of Euryalus during a sortie from the Trojan camp in Italy. Their mutual devotion appealed strongly to Byron, to whom in his school and college days his "friendships were . . . passions."

The manuscript was once the property of Elizabeth Pigot and the first leaf carries an identifying note in her hand: "I gave the first part away — afterwards he made many alterations towards the end when he corrected the Press [?]." Only the first eighteen lines are actually missing. Byron made a friend of Elizabeth Pigot, who was several years his senior, during his Harrow period when they both lived in Southwell near Newstead Abbey, his ancestral home. Their relationship endured — a half friendship, half love affair characteristic of a boy of boarding-school age for a girl who is marriageable. She was also his confidante in the paramount romantic attachment of his Cambridge years, to John Edleston.

Edleston was a choirboy at Trinity Chapel, Byron's college, and two years the poet's junior. "His *voice* first attracted my attention," Byron wrote Elizabeth Pigot in July 1807, some two years after meeting Edleston, "his *countenance* fixed it, and his manners attached me to him forever. . . . I certainly love him more than any human being. . . . In short, we shall put . . . *Pylades* and *Orestes* out of countenance, and want nothing but a catastrophe like *Nisus* and *Euryalus*, to give *Jonathan* and *David* the 'go by.'" In 1821, ten years after Edleston's death, he described their relationship as "violent, though *pure* love and passion." Edleston, who had found work in a "mercantile house" in London — Lord Byron could never forget his rank even with his loves — where he got into trouble involving charges of "indecency," died of tuberculosis in May 1811, at the age of twenty-one.

Perhaps Elizabeth Pigot was the recipient of the manuscript on display because she had been the recipient of the poet's confidences.

Manuscript of the "Episode of Nisus and Euryalus"; 32 p.

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER
(1789–1851)

Set in the region of New York City, at the close of the seventeenth century, *The Water Witch* is a story concerned with the admirable brigantine of that name and

her pirate captain known as "The Skimmer of the Seas." The abduction of a French heiress and the pursuit by an English sloop of war make it an international story. Its creation was even more international. In Sorrento, in a villa reputed to have been Tasso's birthplace, Cooper began to write his story during the autumn of 1829. He finished the book that winter in Rome. As was his habit, the author prepared a small issue for distribution to his publishers in England and America. By mid-September 1830, a printer in Dresden had a few copies ready, and a month later the London edition was announced. After *The Water Witch* Cooper abandoned the sea as a subject for eight years and left for a time fiction dealing with American life and manners. The story also marks the close of the first and by far the most fortunate decade of Cooper's literary life.

The Dresden *Water Witch* is of the utmost rarity. The Berg Collection has a record of six known copies, of which one is on exhibit. It is the former Clifton Waller Barrett copy, with his bookplate.

The Water Witch or the Skimmer of the Seas; A Tale by the Author of Pilot, Red Rover, etc. In Three Volumes (Dresden: For Walther 1830).

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL
(1819–1891)

James Russell Lowell knew great success in the great world as poet, critic, teacher, and ambassador, but it was not so much the admiration and friendship of men as of women from which he drew deep sustenance. He was twice married and twice bereaved. His first wife was Maria White, an ardent abolitionist like Lowell himself, whom he married in 1844. Two years after her death from tuberculosis in 1853 he married Frances Dunlap, who died in 1887. In his loneliness Lowell relied heavily upon his friends.

His friendship with Leslie Stephen, the philosopher and historian, was of long duration. They had met when the Englishman, a strong adherent of the Northern cause, had visited the United States in 1863 during the Civil War and they instantaneously liked each other. In 1868 Stephen visited Lowell with his first wife, Harriet Marian, daughter of William Makepeace Thackeray, whom he married in 1867. Three years after her sudden death in 1875 Stephen married Julia Jackson Duckworth, a widow. She was a woman of such beauty that Burne-Jones used her as a model and Holman Hunt the painter and Thomas Woolner the sculptor both wanted to marry her. The American poet and diplomat joined the long line of men who knew her but to love her, with the tenderness and restraint of a gentle and moral man of Puritan inheritance.

The earliest of the 124 extant letters from Lowell to Julia Stephen was written on March 2 1881, when he was serving as minister to the Court of St James's. It established a tone of teasing gallantry that covered a deep affection: he informed her that he had been told that she was "handsome. I did not know it — having always more admired in you those beauties of the mind on which women like better to be complimented." The Stephens returned his affection by making him godfather to their daughter Virginia, born in 1882. On display is a letter of August 22 1888 to the future novelist Virginia Woolf, in which he complimented her in courtly style on her prettiness.

The last letter to Mrs Stephen was written from Cambridge, Massachusetts, almost exactly three months before his death on August 12 1891. Lowell begged

her to come to the United States and complained of his "abominable dyspepsia" and of feeling "as weak as an average sermon" and "wellnigh desperate." He concluded, "I am not quite in condition to write a cheerful letter but I love you all the same."

Two letters to Mrs Leslie Stephen, March 2 1881 and May 10 1891.
Letter to Virginia Stephen (later Woolf), August 22 1888.

SIR LESLIE STEPHEN

(1832–1904)

Sir Leslie Stephen, who belonged to the wide-flung English aristocracy of intellect, had a conventional education at Eton College, King's College, London, and Cambridge University. To stay within the University circle he took holy orders and remained a priest until 1875. The growing unorthodoxy of his religious beliefs, which disturbed him as well as the University authorities, reached a climax with the death of his first wife. He left Cambridge and went exclusively into editorial work (he had helped found the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1865). From 1866 on he had written for the *Saturday Review*, the *Nation*, and the *Cornhill Magazine*, of which he was editor from 1871 to 1882. After his resignation he undertook from 1882 to 1891 the editorship of the great *Dictionary of National Biography*, to which he continued to contribute during the last decade of his life.

In 1876 Stephen began putting into written form the evolutionary ethics that had gradually taken the place of established religious principles in his thinking. Between 1876 and 1882 he developed his beliefs in *The Science of Ethics*, which was published in 1882. Stephen was what has been called a social Darwinist because he attempted to apply scientific hypotheses to ethical problems. He elaborated a theory of evolutionary ethics based upon the institution of the family and he advanced social sciences as a substitute for religion. Later commentators have pronounced his theory of the evolution of morality a fallacy. It is, however, a monument to the ferment of thought, the search for impregnable codes, that followed upon Darwin.

Though the manuscript is the one used by the printers, it is copiously corrected.

Manuscript of *The Science of Ethics*; 2 vols.

THOMAS HARDY

(1840–1928)

Thomas Hardy of Dorset stock was born and lived most of his life and died, in Dorset. The years of exile were mostly spent in London, where he attempted to make a career as an architect, his specialty being the restoration of old churches. Simultaneously he was trying his hand at fiction. The success of *A Pair of Blue Eyes* in 1873 and *Far from the Madding Crowd* the next year encouraged him to devote all his time to writing. On September 14 1874, he married Emma Lavinia Gifford, sister-in-law of the rector of St Juliot, North Cornwall.

St Juliot, where Hardy carried out his last big ecclesiastical restoration, was in those days sixteen miles from the railway. The countryside was remote and romantic. The rector's sister-in-law had a good figure, a beautiful complexion, eyes that

were more gray than blue, and luxuriant corn-colored hair. She was spirited, a fine horsewoman, and accomplished with her pen and brush. The courtship lasted more than four years; the marriage nearly forty — until her death in 1912. Though their marriage was not happy, Hardy cherished many souvenirs of the beginning of their relationship.

For *A Pair of Blue Eyes* Hardy used the general atmosphere of the countryside and the seacoast around St Juliot and the general circumstances under which he and Emma Lavinia Gifford met. He gave his profession of architect to Stephen Smith but most of his character to Henry Knight, according to some judges. The novelist would have called the story "Elfride of Lyonnesse" — the ancient name for Cornwall — had he not deplored calling attention to the young lady with initials E. L.

Another manuscript, entitled "Wessex Folk," bears an inscription by Hardy: "First Rough Draft of some of the tales afterwards called 'A Group of Noble Dames.'" However, in a letter of July 18 1913 bound in with this draft, Hardy wrote to Edmund Gosse, to whom he had sent the stories:

> You think too much of those MSS. The "Wessex Folk" one is a rough draft merely — all I had. I will find out when it was written.
>
> What a stupid thing I did when sending it. In my hurry I put on it that it was afterwards published as "A Group of Noble Dames" when I meant "A Few Crusted Characters." Please make the correction. . . .

The story was published with *Life's Little Ironies* in 1894. A copy of the first edition is exhibited with the manuscript.

Photograph of St Juliot before restoration, with Thomas Hardy's manuscript caption, 1870.

Watercolor of St Juliot by Mrs Hardy.

Miniature portrait of Mrs Hardy.

Manuscript of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*; 177 p.

Tinsley's Magazine, vols 11 and 12, September 1872 to July 1873, in which *A Pair of Blue Eyes* was first published, anonymously.

Mrs Hardy's copy of the London 1877 edition of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, with Hardy identified as the author. Mrs Hardy's autograph is on the title page.

Manuscript of ["A Few Crusted Characters"] entitled "Wessex Folk"; 36 p.

Life's Little Ironies (London 1894).

Manuscript of "A Committee-Man of 'The Terror'"; 19 p. This short story was first published in the *Illustrated London News*, Christmas Number 1896. It was reprinted in *A Changed Man* (1913).

Manuscript of "A Changed Man"; 27 p. This short story was first published in *Sphere*, April 20 1900. The pencilled annotation on the first page, "Copy to be returned to Mr. Shorter," refers to Clement Shorter, the editor. The story was reprinted in *A Changed Man* (1913).

LAFCADIO HEARN

(1850–1904)

Before sailing for Japan in May 1890, Lafcadio Hearn spent his last evening in New York in the company of a dear friend, Ellwood Hendrick. He was never to

return. The friendship with this colorful New Yorker, eleven years Hearn's junior, continued in correspondence. Hendrick, chemist, author of scientific works, broker, and finally curator of the chemistry museum of Columbia University, was interested as well in literature and the arts. Hearn wrote him long and frequent letters. The letters exhibited supplement a sizable number in the Library's Manuscript Division.

The volume of letters on exhibit is opened to a fragment giving a description of Japanese paintings and listing prices at which they could possibly be acquired: "I ought to be able to get you a good *Kakemono* (modern) for $10 to $20."

Thirty letters to Ellwood Hendrick, 1891–1898.

SIR ARTHUR WING PINERO

(1855–1934)

The English theatre, after a long period of stagnation, was revived at the end of the nineteenth century by a series of converging efforts; chief among these was the work of Bernard Shaw. Already mature writers, including Pinero, were trying out more modern techniques, experimenting with social criticism, and testing the acceptance of their work by the public. *Trelawny of the 'Wells,'* with its portrayal of the actress Rose Trelawny, "the stuff of which great actresses are made," deals with the clash of generations and classes, and the rejection of actors as respectable people. It is considered one of the playwright's greatest contributions to the theatre. Produced by the Court Theatre, beginning on January 20 1898, and revived with great success in 1910 and in 1935, it still remains a strong plea for the actor, "the gipsy of the new school."

The manuscript contains descriptions of scenes in an unidentified hand and is accompanied by three pages of typescript from the first prompt book dated September 1897.

Manuscript of *Trelawny of the 'Wells,'* 138 p; and 3 p of typescript from the first prompt book.

BERNARD SHAW

(1856–1950)

Additions to the Berg Collection's large Bernard Shaw archive, both in printed and manuscript form, include the purchase of an entire private library. An important item, Shaw's own copy of *The Doctor's Dilemma, Getting Married, & The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet*, in the first edition (London 1911) bears Shaw's manuscript corrections in preparation for the second edition. The volume is opened to show a line at the end of *The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet*, "same as you swore a lie to save me," which became in the standard edition "same as you swore a lie to save my neck."

The play was first produced in Dublin by the Abbey Theatre on August 15 1909, after the Censor in London refused a license. Rehearsal copies were sent to Ireland, and two of these are on display: the copy inscribed to Lady Gregory is from the first printing of twenty-four copies; the copy inscribed to James Hannay, Irish novelist and playwright, is probably from the second printing of twenty copies.

The directors of the Abbey Theatre risked losing their patent when, in spite of a warning issued by the Lord Lieutenant's office (on exhibit), they insisted that the play be performed as announced. The production was a great dramatic and political success, generating heat and light and an endless flow of written words.

The Doctor's Dilemma, Getting Married, & The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet (London 1911). Shaw's copy, with his manuscript corrections.

The Shewing up of Blanco Posnet ([Edinburgh] 1909). Rehearsal copy in gray wrappers, inscribed to Lady Gregory.

The Shewing up of Blanco Posnet ([Edinburgh] 1909). Rehearsal copy in pink wrappers, inscribed to James Hannay.

Letter from the Lord Lieutenant's office, Dublin Castle, to Lady Gregory, August 1909.

Letter from Bernard Shaw to W. B. Yeats, August 22 1909.

The Arrow, vol 1, no 5, August 25 1909, with Shaw's and the Abbey directors' statements on *The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet*.

Bernard Shaw's manuscript statement (relating to the Abbey production of *The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet*), August 27 1909; 5 p.

Photograph of Bernard Shaw by L. Docq, signed by Shaw on his ninetieth birthday, July 26 1946.

JOSEPH CONRAD

(1857–1924)

"The Return" is the fourth story in *Tales of Unrest* (1898). The manuscript of the story is dated September 24 1897. On July 19 of that year Conrad wrote E. L. Sanderson:

> Alas! — I've been ten weeks trying to write a story of about 20 pages of print. I haven't finished yet! and what I've written seems to me too contemptible for words. Not in conception perhaps, — but in execution. This state of affairs spells Ruin — and I can't help it, — I can't.

When submitted to Chapman and Hall for publication in October, it was rejected.

First titled "The Son," "To-morrow" is the fourth story in *Typhoon*. It originally appeared in the *Pall Mall Magazine* for August 1902, was dramatized by Conrad himself, and was a great success when performed by the Stage Society. Postmarked May 24 1912, a portion of the wrapping paper in which Conrad mailed this story to John Quinn accompanies the manuscript.

Written between October 1921 and July 1922, the story of Old Peyrol, the Revolutionary "rover of the outer seas," was published as *The Rover* shortly before Conrad's death on August 3 1924. He described to Arnold Bennett his feeling that "twilight lies already on these pages." Critics hailed it as the most finished of his works, and in a prophetic way it rounded out the life of the master: *The Rover's* epigraph from Spenser is engraved on the stone which marks Conrad's grave:

> Sleep after toyle, port after stormie seas,
> Ease after warre, death after life, does greatly please.

After her husband's death, Mrs Conrad wrote:

> I have in my possession a wonderful little sketch he made on an old envelope unearthed from his writing-table. It is only a face — the face of an old French shell-back, as he would affectionately have called him — his own conception of "Old Peyrol."

On exhibition is a photostat of this drawing, sent by Mrs Conrad to W. T. H. Howe, whose collection now forms part of ours.

Manuscript of "The Return"; 113 p.
Manuscript of "To-morrow"; 81 p.
Typescript, with the author's corrections, of *The Rover*; 389 p.
Photostat of the sketch of "Old Peyrol."

EDITH SOMERVILLE *and* MARTIN ROSS

(1858–1949) (1865–1915)

The joint name of this well-known authorship hides the collaboration of two Irish women from County Cork, Edith Somerville of Drishane and Violet Martin of Ross. They were cousins, collaborators, and friends of unusual devotion. The former started out as an artist, but soon discovered that her strength lay in story-telling. The latter may have been the better stylist. J. B. Pinker, their literary agent and mentor, advised them to write hunting stories, which were in some demand. In 1898 the first story of *Some Experiences of an Irish R. M.* was published. An R. M., or Resident Magistrate, is a post which survives only in Northern Ireland. A sort of ombudsman, an R. M. has the unsalaried duty of visiting honorary Benches and advising unpaid justices of the peace. The character created by the writers was a most enjoyable one, although only distantly related to hunting, and the first volume of stories centering on him secured the authors a lasting success.

The Berg Collection has an excellent assemblage of hunting stories and essays relating to Irish life by these authors. Two are on exhibit. The essay "Beginning of the Irish R. M." was collected in *Happy Days* (1946) and the story "An Irish Problem" appeared in print in the volume entitled *All on the Irish Shore* (1903).

Manuscript of "Beginning of the Irish R. M."; 13 p.
Manuscript of "An Irish Problem"; 20 p.

SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE

(1859–1930)

The character of Dr Watson in the Sherlock Holmes stories was not pure fiction, as the Baker Street Irregulars well know. After qualifying as a doctor, Conan Doyle served as an apprentice to Reginald Ratcliffe Hoare in Birmingham. Dr Hoare's practice was enormous and the assistants, who usually lived with the family and received £1 a week, were busy in activities which ranged from writing out prescriptions to making their own rounds. Conan Doyle kept up a correspondence from 1881 to 1895 with Amy and Reg, as he addressed the Hoares, or "Dearest Mam" and "Dear old man." The volume of letters is opened to one which contains a description of Dr Conan Doyle's trials and tribulations in the attempt to establish himself in independent medical practice.

Twenty-two letters to Dr Reginald Hoare; 1881–1895.

NORMAN DOUGLAS

(1868–1952)

Looking Back (1933) is this unusual Italianate Englishman's "autobiographical excursion." Working his way through calling-cards left in "a bronze vessel of

Japanese workmanship" he recalls and describes their owners, often identifying them properly, often disguising them, but always writing in his habitually lively manner. The manuscript on view, which Douglas authenticated as the only existing one, shows a facility of composition and ease in writing.

Side by side we exhibit the corresponding page in the single volume edition of 1934. This unique volume carries further autobiographical notes in the hands of the author and of the previous owner, William King, formerly of the Department of Printed Books at the British Museum. The two were close friends and William King's wide knowledge and meticulous care made him an ideal reader of proofs. In the margins, lightly and usually in pencil, he made corrections and added remarks. When Norman Douglas was in England, the two met and discussed the passages upon which King had commented. In this manner some of the characters were identified and allusions to past work clarified.

The Berg Collection also has the corrected page proofs of the two-volume edition (London 1933).

Manuscript of *Looking Back*, 3 vols, with William King's copy of the London 1934 edition. Corrected page proofs of *Looking Back* (London 1933, 2 vols).

MAX BEERBOHM

(1872–1956)

In letters which opened with "Dear Mr. Arnold Bennett" in 1909 and came by 1915 to the salutation "Dear Arnold," Max Beerbohm complimented Bennett on *The Old Wives' Tale*, acknowledged compliments in return, invited Bennett to sit for a caricature during lunch, and explained finally why he could not draw war cartoons: "My drawing is too *funny*. A tremendous grimness seems to me the only way; and *I* can't be grim or tremendous."

"It was in the winter of 1917 that Max, re-creating a vanished milieu that he had never known first-hand, drew the caricatures for *Rossetti and His Circle*, while staying in a rented cottage at Far Oakridge, in Gloucestershire, near the home of William Rothenstein," writes S. N. Behrman in his *Portrait of Max*. The drawings were collected and published with an introduction in 1922. A study for one, representing Dante Gabriel and Christina Rossetti, together with the much revised draft of the "Introduction," is on exhibition.

In 1920 Sir Edwin Lutyens interrupted more important assignments to draw the plans for what became the Queen's Dolls' House, a model of a perfect modern residence to be presented to Queen Mary. It contained, naturally, a library. At the request of the Princess Marie Louise English men of letters contributed their work. "The dolls . . . can be . . . fanciful with Mr. Max Beerbohm," says the preface to *The Book of the Queen's Dolls' House*, edited by E. V. Lucas, and published in 1924. "Meditations of a Refugee," the contribution made by one who was notoriously small, opens with a typical statement: "For as long as I can remember, I had wished to be very small. I began by actually being so, of course; but I have no memory of that good time." The original typescript submitted to the printer, together with a heavily corrected galley proof, is on view.

A manuscript copy of Max Beerbohm's last will, dated November 4 1939 and witnessed by two Surrey residents, is a legally valid document. In it Henry Maximilian Beerbohm, "at present residing at Abinger Manor Cottage, Abinger Com-

mon, near Dorking," bequeaths everything to his wife Florence, and appoints her sole executrix.

When the editor of *The Carthusian*, the journal of Beerbohm's old school, Charterhouse, approached the octogenarian celebrities Max Beerbohm and Ralph Vaughan Williams for written contributions to his paper, he was turned down by Beerbohm. The writer in all modesty recognized the musician as the superior artist and "declined to be coupled with him."

Two letters to Arnold Bennett, May 9 1909 and December 1 1915.

Pencil and watercolor study for a caricature of Dante Gabriel and Christina Rossetti.

Manuscript of the introduction to *Rossetti and His Circle*; 6 p.

Typescript, 4 p, and galley proof of "Meditations of a Refugee."

Manuscript will, dated November 4 1939.

Draft of a letter to A. H. Raeburn, editor of *The Carthusian*, September [1952]

FORD MADOX FORD *and* VIOLET HUNT

(1873–1939) (1866–1942)

When these two writers, both with Pre-Raphaelite ancestry, combined their private and professional lives, their collaboration resulted in the *English Review*. Hueffer, as he still was called in 1908 when he founded this periodical of remarkably high literary standard, was in touch with such notable authors as Conrad, Forster, Kipling, Wells. Financial difficulties forced him to sell the *Review* at the end of a year, but his association with it continued, as witnessed by the correspondence and checks on exhibit.

Violet Hunt, who after 1910 was known as Mrs Hueffer, acted as reader for the *Review* and she has described in print how she had a hand in the discovery of D. H. Lawrence by recommending the publication of his poems.

Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Letter to Ford Madox Brown [1874?] mentioning Francis Hueffer, Ford Madox Ford's father. "Will you give him my love when you see him & say how certain I feel that the baby is to prove a glory to whichever of his two countries he may choose to adopt. . . ."

Christina Rossetti. Letter to Catherine Brown Hueffer [1872] enclosing a wedding present.

Philip Burne-Jones. Note to Violet Hunt, with marginal pen-and-ink caricature, and dance program with his drawings.

William Morris. Letter to Francis Hueffer, July 23 1885.

Joseph Conrad. Letter to Ford Madox Ford, undated. "The number of the E. R. received today strikes so far the highest note both as to Letters and *Ideas*."

E. M. Forster. Letter to Ford Madox Ford, December 13 1908. "I do not know whether you will remember me — I had the pleasure of meeting you at lunch once, with Garnett. . . ."

Rudyard Kipling. Letter to Ford Madox Ford, September 19 1908.

H. G. Wells. Letter to Ford Madox Ford, undated. "Will you please tell me (1) whether you propose to issue a fourth number of the English Review. . . ."

D. H. Lawrence. Letter to Violet Hunt, December 13 1911. "Thanks for appreciating the play. Mr. Hueffer accuses me of Dostoieffskyism — it is an accusation, for all the dear cranky Russian stuff is as insane as it can be. . . ."

Checks from the *English Review* made out to Hilaire Belloc, Thomas Hardy, and Wyndham Lewis.

E. M. FORSTER

(1879–)

So much of what is called Bloomsbury rests on the close friendships of a handful of people formed in Cambridge University at the turn of the century. The friendship of Leonard and Virginia Woolf and E. M. Forster, now a nonagenarian, dates back to those days. Forster's collection of critical essays, appropriately called *Abinger Harvest* after his place of residence, includes an important discussion of "The Early Novels of Virginia Woolf," an appraisal of *The Voyage Out, Night and Day, Jacob's Room,* and *Mrs. Dalloway.* In 1925, when this article first appeared, *To the Lighthouse,* Forster's favorite, had not yet been written. "I like *Jacob's Room* and am sure it is good," he wrote the author on October 24 1922, but five years later he was more emphatic about *To the Lighthouse*:

> The uneasiness of life seems to well up between all the words, the excitement of life on the other hand to be observed, stated. This I believe to be right: excitement would dry up those little winds. I must now read it again — am inclined to think it your best work. . . .

When Virginia Woolf died in the spring of 1941, E. M. Forster was asked to deliver the Rede Lecture on the work of his friend. Then too he reaffirmed the earlier statement: "[*The Waves*] is her greatest book, though *To the Lighthouse* is my favourite."

Abinger Harvest (London 1936).
Manuscript of "The Early Novels of Virginia Woolf"; 19 p.
Letters to Virginia Woolf, October 24 1922 and June 5 1927.
Virginia Woolf [Rede Lecture] (New York 1936).

VIRGINIA WOOLF

(1882–1941)

Virginia Woolf's early novels, *The Voyage Out* (1915) and *Night and Day* (1919) reflect the young Virginia Stephen, who was then keeping her father's house at Hyde Park Gate. We have been fortunate in adding fragments of the first and a working draft of the second to the large collection of the manuscripts of her novels.

Seven volumes of the writer's diary, covering the years 1899 to 1919, record her early reading and writing habits, give an account of her daily life, and reveal some of the anxiety that was never to leave her. The last copybook in this series is opened to a page confiding the suspense with which she awaited word from Macmillan in New York about the American edition of *Night and Day.* "If that is pronounced a failure, I dont see why I should continue writing novels. These are the usual writers melancholies." The first volume, labeled "Warboys. Summer holidays 1899" was made up by the seventeen-year-old young lady between the covers of Isaac Watts's *Logick* (1786), which had been bought from a country bookseller, "favourable hunting ground for an active bookworm." She pasted blank sheets of paper over the printed pages and produced the strangest-looking diary.

Manuscript fragment of *The Voyage Out,* Chapters 15, 20, 23, 26, and 27; 34 p.
Manuscript draft of *Night and Day,* Chapters 11–17; 121 p.
Manuscript diaries, August 4 1899 – October 1 1919; 7 vols.

A selection has been made from the many stories and essays recently added to the Woolf archive. The story which was to become part of *Mrs. Dalloway*, entitled "The Prime Minister," is exhibited in a typescript which corresponds to the manuscript already in the Collection. An early unpublished story reflects Virginia Woolf's fascination with English history.

Typescript of story "The New Dress," with the author's manuscript corrections; 12 p. Published in *A Haunted House* (1941).

Typescript of story "The Prime Minister," with the author's manuscript corrections; 12 p. Used in *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925).

Manuscript of untitled early story; 44 p.

Manuscript of essay "How Should One Read a Book"; 18 p. Published in *The Common Reader; Second Series* (1932).

Typescript of essay "Middlebrow," with the author's manuscript corrections; 15 p. Published in *The Death of the Moth* (1942).

Typescript of essay "American Fiction"; 17 p. Published in *The Moment and Other Essays* (1947).

Virginia Woolf was one of the great letter-writers of the twentieth century. Her letters to intimate friends often take the form of a diary, as in the correspondence with Violet Dickinson, great-niece of the Victorian letter-writer and novelist Emily Eden. A handful of letters have been selected for exhibition from more than four hundred written over the course of most of Virginia Woolf's adult life.

Seven letters to Violet Dickinson:

22 Hyde Park Gate, London. March 8 1904. On February 22 1904, Virginia Woolf's father, Sir Leslie Stephen, died. In this letter Virginia asks her friend to buy material for two black blouses. "Nessa & Thoby & I get on very well together. It is so odd being alone, for the first time in our lives."

46 Gordon Square, Bloomsbury, London. Undated. With her brother Adrian and sister Vanessa, Virginia Stephen moved to Bloomsbury. She was by this time contributing reviews to the *Times Literary Supplement*: "A novel comes in from the Times: otherwise I haven't any work, & I have spent the last fortnight reading Greek — lots of Greek, so I deserve a treat."

Trevose View, Carbis Bay, Cornwall. October 1 [1905] Many of Virginia Stephen's early memories went back to Cornwall. This affection, distilled and essentialized, figures importantly in her public and private writing. "Is there any place in the world . . . like Cornwall? All this morning I have tried to spin out words about it; so that the fine cream has been taken off my brain already. . . . Do you think I shall ever write a really good book?"

Lane End, Bank. Friday [1906] Constantly reading and writing, but ever anxious about adverse criticism, the young Virginia Stephen poured out her uncertainties to her friend. "Really I think I shall give up writing, or at any rate showing my thing to other people: I only get criticism & abuse, & no one thinks it necessary to be grateful. After all I didnt ask Haldane to criticise me. . . ."

38 Brunswick Square, London. May 22 [1912]

Hogarth House, London. [1917?] In 1911 Virginia Stephen moved to Brunswick Square. In 1912 she married Leonard Woolf and together they founded the Hogarth Press in 1917. In the thirties, living partly in London at 52 Tavistock Square and partly in Rodmell in Sussex, Virginia Woolf achieved the literary stature for which she is still admired.

52 Tavistock Square, London. December 6 [1936] This is the last letter from Virginia Woolf to Violet Dickinson in the Berg Collection. It is full of memories, gentle in tone, and a little sad. She speaks of Angelica, Angelica Bell, daughter of Virginia's sister Vanessa and Clive Bell; and of George, Virginia's half-brother, George Duckworth.

"I am more terrified of writing to Mrs. Woolf than to anybody, because her standard of letter-writing is so high . . . ," wrote T. S. Eliot to Virginia Woolf on January 9 1935. Their friendship dated back to 1923, the year the Hogarth Press published *The Waste Land*. A letter thanking her for a copy of this printing (which he liked far better than the American edition) is chronologically the first selected from more than fifty letters. Two letters from America, March 5 and April 25 1933, recall Eliot's sense of humor; another of January 6 1935 and an undated bread-and-butter letter remind one that the classic form of epistles is verse.

Letters from T. S. Eliot to Virginia Woolf:
9, Clarence Gate Gardens, London. [1923]
B-11 Eliot House, Cambridge, Massachusetts. March 5 1933.
B-11 Eliot House, Cambridge, Massachusetts. April 25 1933.
Faber and Faber, 24 Russell Square, London. [January 6] 1935.
Faber and Faber, 24 Russell Square, London. January 9 1935.
Undated.

In answer to queries connected with her proposed biography of Roger Fry, Virginia Woolf received from Bernard Shaw the letter dated May 10 1940. While describing in his typical fashion an incident between Sir Edward Elgar, the composer, and Roger Fry, the artist, Bernard Shaw admits, again in typical fashion, that twenty years before he had fallen in love with Virginia Woolf on first sight. "There is a play of mine called Heartbreak House which I always connect with you because I conceived it in that house somewhere in Sussex where I first met you and, of course, fell in love with you. I suppose every man did."

Letter from Bernard Shaw to Virginia Woolf:
4 Whitehall Court, London. May 10 1940.

RONALD FIRBANK

(1886–1926)

This almost-forgotten writer is being rediscovered by a generation accustomed to pop art, its essence fantasy and the artificial flower. *Concerning the Eccentricities of Cardinal Pirelli*, published several months after the author's death on May 21 1926, is a perfect example of his method of composition and the more seriously sardonic vein of his later writing. Outwardly profane but inwardly serious, as Neville Braybrooke remarks in a recent issue of *Encounter*, "there remains the paradox that the last book which in a true Renaissance style was the most bawdy remains in a religious sense the most profound." Firbank composed his novels from phrases, sentences and elliptical dots, written often in mauve ink on scraps of cards and in notebooks. His last work is in four notebooks, acquired together with a notebook for *Santal* (1921), which is also on view.

Notebook for *Santal*; 80 p.
Manuscript of *Concerning the Eccentricities of Cardinal Pirelli*; 4 vols.

V. SACKVILLE-WEST

(1892–1962)

Knole House, Kent, the 365-room castle of the Sackville family, was not merely the place of birth, but also a lifelong passion and concern of Vita Sackville-West.

Knole and the Sackvilles (1922), the history of her home and family, includes accounts of her more colorful ancestors, from Herbrand de Sackville, who came to England with William the Conqueror, through Lionel Sackville-West, British Minister to the United States in the 1880s. Original documents, which she had selected for typing, accompany the pages of her manuscript. The published book, which ran through many editions, is also exhibited, in the 1947 edition, in a copy which links two great English families: it is inscribed as a Christmas gift from the author to Dorothy Wellesley, Duchess of Wellington.

The Berg Collection owns the manuscripts of ten Vita Sackville-West works. The biography of her grandmother, the Spanish dancer Pepita, is opened to the summary of the book.

Manuscript of *Knole and the Sackvilles*; 293 p.
Manuscript of *Pepita*; 255 p.
Knole and the Sackvilles (London 1947).

ALDOUS HUXLEY
(1894–1963)

When Aldous Huxley died, on November 22 1963, the news was powerfully overshadowed by the death of the President of the United States. Those whose minds were shaped by Huxley's, who were stimulated by the flow of novels brilliantly combining what is presently known as "the two cultures," and by his essays, probably among the finest in the language, mourned the loss of this true humanist.

In attempting to extend the potential of the human mind beyond its known limits, Huxley experimented with the effects of mescalin and other hallucinogens and described their effects in *The Doors of Perception* (1954). His search for truth knew no limitations and he was equally at home in the world of Darwin and that of Krishnamurti.

Early in 1961 Huxley's new home, together with his manuscripts and library, was destroyed in a fire. In the summer of that year, already past the first symptoms of the cancer which was to kill him, he traveled widely in Europe, attending meetings which ranged from the conference of the Parapsychology Foundation of New York to conversations on acupuncture and psychedelics. In his "Notes on a Mental Journey" Huxley renders an account of this trip.

In 1958 an announcement in the New York *Herald Tribune* prepared the theatre audience for a Broadway production of Huxley's 1939 novel, *After Many a Summer*. The typescript of the dramatization, a collaboration with Ralph Rose, is on exhibition. Production plans failed to materialize.

When Myrick Land, book editor of *Look* magazine, began to assemble materials for an account of literary feuds, he frequently turned to the obvious sources, the contemporary eyewitnesses. One such was Aldous Huxley, who had observed the devoted friendship of D. H. Lawrence and J. Middleton Murry turn into bitter hatred. Myrick Land quotes Huxley's letter of March 1 1962, describing the two personalities, in his *The Fine Art of Literary Mayhem* (1963). The original letter is an exhibit.

Typescript, with the author's corrections, of "Notes on a Mental Journey"; 16 p.
Typescript, with the author's and his collaborator's corrections, of the dramatization of *After Many a Summer*; 139 p.
Letter to Myrick Land, March 1 1962. (Gift of Mr Land)

F. R. LEAVIS

(1895–)

Cambridge critic and Fellow of Downing College, F. R. Leavis fought against literary dilettantism in his quarterly *Scrutiny* (1932–1953) and championed the cause of D. H. Lawrence; and he has been the focal point of literary controversies. When exercising judgment on so great a critic as T. S. Eliot, Leavis is analytical, critical in pointing out Eliot's "conventionality," and firm in setting standards: "I myself am firmly convinced that literature must be judged as literature & not as another thing. Only when it is so judged can sociology & psychology learn from it what they have to learn. . . ." The article is written on the versos of students' papers submitted at Cambridge. It was published in *Commentary* in November 1958.

Manuscript of "T. S. Eliot as Critic"; 39 p.

WILLIAM PLOMER

(1903–)

William Plomer's South African background is reflected in his short stories and in his biography of Cecil Rhodes; two years spent in Japan, in his novel *Sado*; his international travels and outlook, in everything he writes. He has been compared to E. M. Forster, whose entry in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Plomer wrote in 1961. The original manuscript draft is on exhibit.

Plomer's interest in contemporary music led to his providing the libretto for Benjamin Britten's opera *Gloriana*, which was performed during the coronation celebration of Queen Elizabeth II. When Britten's *War Requiem* was recorded in 1963, Plomer supplied a preface. The manuscript and corrected typescript, together with a printed copy, are on exhibit.

The manuscript of a "Lecture on Autobiography," given at the Aldeburgh Festival in 1961, is accompanied by a rough draft of a radio talk, "Conversation with My Younger Self," broadcast by the BBC in December 1962.

Finally, to note the friendship with Leonard and Virginia Woolf, who as owners of the Hogarth Press acted as Plomer's publishers, there are three letters to Virginia Woolf on exhibit, dating from June through September 1937.

Manuscript of "Forster, Edward Morgan (1879–)"; 6 p.

Manuscript, 10 p, and corrected typescript, 5 p, of the preface to the text insert for the recording of Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem*.

Printed text insert (1963) for the recording of Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem*, with William Plomer's manuscript correction and autograph.

Manuscript of "Lecture on Autobiography"; 51 p.

Manuscript draft of "Conversation with My Younger Self"; 57 p.

Letters to Virginia Woolf, June 14 and 19 and September 18 1937.

C. DAY-LEWIS

(1904–)

In *A Hope for Poetry* (1934), the present Poet Laureate examined critically the poetry of his generation. He linked himself with W. H. Auden and Stephen Spender, and claimed "Hopkins, Owen, and Eliot as [their] immediate ancestors."

While Eliot looked into the past, these young men looked into the future: through social revolution they hoped to create a better world for which in turn they were to create new poetry, This hope faded with the rise of Fascism and the outbreak of the Second World War.

The poet's working notebook, containing the draft of *A Hope for Poetry*, is opened to the above quotation. The page facing it contains the outline of a talk on his poetry.

The Berg Collection is fortunate in possessing notebooks of C. Day-Lewis' work in varied forms: *A Time to Dance* and *Magnetic Mountain* in poetry; *Noah and the Waters* in drama; much occasional criticism and two novels, one of which is inscribed: "These two volumes are all that remain of the original mss., the third volume having been thrown into the dust bin." It is his first published novel; originally entitled "Renowned for Love," it appeared in 1936 under the title *The Friendly Tree.*

The poet is a writer of detective fiction under the pseudonym Nicholas Blake. Two of his whodunits are among the notebooks, of which *There's Trouble Brewing* is shown.

Manuscript notebook, dated September 1934, containing draft of *A Hope for Poetry*; 88 p.

Manuscript notebook containing drafts of poems for *A Time to Dance* and *Magnetic Mountain*; 119 p.

Manuscript notebook for "Renowned for Love" [*The Friendly Tree*]; 2 vols.

Manuscript notebook for *There's Trouble Brewing*; 2 vols.

LOUIS MACNEICE

(1907–1963)

In the thirties, when he first emerged as a poet, Louis MacNeice's name was often linked with the triumvirate of W. H. Auden, C. Day-Lewis, and Stephen Spender. Unlike these contemporaries, however, he was never deeply committed politically or philosophically, but was from the start a broadly liberal humanist. While combining the dourness and diffidence of the Scot, he had the loquacity of the Irishman and the diplomacy and sharpness of both. Never seeking an easy road to mass audience, he gained it by becoming feature writer and producer for the BBC in 1940. The largest circulation his work ever enjoyed came with a 1943 Stationery Office pamphlet called "Meet the U. S. Army," which was sent to every school in Britain and explained American eccentricities with light sympathy.

From a massive collection of working manuscripts and mimeographed radio plays, some highlights have been selected for display.

The manuscript of an untitled piece is inscribed by the poet "Kind of prose poem, c. 1925"; 10 p. A strong interest in the classics is already apparent in this work of the eighteen-year-old MacNeice. After graduating from Oxford he translated the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus and lectured in classics at Birmingham University and Bedford College, London.

The Dark Tower was MacNeice's outstanding work for broadcasting; it was produced with a score composed by his friend Benjamin Britten. Inspired by the War, works such as these were brilliantly effective in clarifying the moral issues of the conflict. The mimeographed copy on exhibit, 45 p, is for a 1956 BBC production; the piece was originally broadcast in 1946.

Solstices (1961), the last of the poet's books published in his lifetime, contains poems of disillusion. A working draft of the poem "Notes for a Biography," 5 p, is on display.

A posthumous volume of poetry was published in 1963 under the title *The Burning Perch*. The poet's working notebook, 57 p, opened to a draft of "Star-Gazer," is accompanied by an uncorrected proof copy of the Faber and Faber edition. In 1948 *Holes in the Sky* began with a verse featuring the same star-gazer. The poems in *The Burning Perch* have the sound of a final farewell.

ROBERT LOWELL

(1917–)

The only child of Commander R. T. S. Lowell, U.S.N., and Charlotte Winslow, both of whom were descendants of early New England colonists, Robert Lowell sounded a new note in combining memories of a Bostonian with the horrors experienced by an American living in the twentieth century. The complexity of his poetry can hardly be summarized briefly; a critic observed that "Lowell is at times partly paralyzed in the confrontation of Self, or more largely in the confrontation of Self in relation to everything environmental that contributes to its shaping."

On exhibit are corrected typescripts of two poems. "Memories of West Street and Lepke," published in *Life Studies* (1959), reflects the agony of the "tranquillized 'Fifties." "To the Reader. After Baudelaire" is on view in several drafts and was published in *Imitations* (1961).

Typescript of "Memories of West Street and Lepke"; 1 p.
Three typescript drafts of "To the Reader. After Baudelaire"; 1 p each.

DOM MORAES

(1938–)

Dom Moraes was producing "half a dozen poems a day" at the age of 13. Long ago in Bombay he told Stephen Spender that he wanted to be a poet and this he achieved in London, where his first book of poems, *A Beginning* (1957), won him the Hawthornden Prize.

A notebook containing drafts of poems published in 1965 in his third volume of poetry, *John Nobody*, is opened to the first draft of "Hound Notes." An Indian at home in London, Moraes soon found that his poetry brought him into contact with fellow poets in England. George Barker, who plays a role both in Moraes' poetry and prose, is introduced in the opening lines of the essay "Portrait of Ludlow": "I first went to Ludlow in a silver Mercedes propelled, expertly and very fast, by a famous poet. The poet wore a fur coat, a canvas cap, and a gold chain round his neck. . . ."

Manuscript notebook of poems; 107 p.
Manuscript notebook containing "Portrait of Ludlow"; 72 p.

LADY GREGORY *and* WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS

(1852–1932) (1865–1939)

Among the "indomitable Irishry" no one was more indomitable in literary activities than Lady Gregory. As dramatist and translator of Molière, patent-holder of the Abbey Theatre and its manager and director, she was the focal figure in the Irish Dramatic Movement. Widowed at forty after twelve years of marriage, she

embarked on a career as folklorist, walking the Irish countryside and collecting those stories of Gaelic mythology and Irish peasantry which became the heart of modern Irish literature.

A champion equal to those in the myths she preserved, she fought for many causes during her long life: from that of Arabi Bey, who had created a nationalist movement in Egypt and was regarded with suspicion by the English, to the final battle of her life, which outlasted even her, the attempt to reclaim for Dublin from the National Gallery in London the collection of paintings formed by her nephew, Sir Hugh Lane, who had died in the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

She met and corresponded with everybody who was anybody in the literary, political, and artistic life of both Ireland and England. The theatre and her own lecture tours in the United States involved her with those who counted on this side of the Atlantic.

In her archive, which contains thousands of pages of her own records, diaries, journals, and memoirs, manuscripts of her works and books from her beloved library at Coole, correspondence with her and her own letters to others (which she either drafted, copied, or reclaimed), the Berg Collection owns a unique source for the history of the Irish Literary Renaissance.

William Butler Yeats and Lady Gregory, the prime movers of that Renaissance, met briefly in London in 1896. Thus began the unique relationship between the two, the recently widowed middle-aged woman and the intense young poet, thirteen years her junior. That first meeting led to Yeats's initial visit to Coole, in the summer of 1897, and it is from that visit that the founding of the Irish National Theatre is usually dated. The walk with his host Edward Martyn, from Tullyra Castle to Coole, marked the beginning of a series of summers spent in the house that was virtually to become Yeats's second home.

A manuscript page from Lady Gregory's unpublished "Memoirs" describes the first visit; a page from her typescript tells of the poet's first stay.

Photograph of Lady Gregory by Katherine E. McClellan, 1911.
John Butler Yeats. Pencil portrait of his son, William Butler Yeats.
Manuscript and typescript pages from Lady Gregory's "Memoirs."

"Irish intellect has always been preoccupied with the weak and with the poor, and now it has begun to collect and describe their music and stories, and to utter anew the beliefs and hopes which they alone remember." Yeats first published these lines in an article contributed to the *North American Review* in December 1899. With additional contributions by "AE", D. P. Moran, George Moore, Douglas Hyde and Standish O'Grady, Lady Gregory published it again in 1901 in her volume *Ideals in Ireland*. In her introduction she wrote: "My object in collecting them [i.e. the articles] is to show to those who look beyond politics and horses, in what direction thought is moving in Ireland."

Yeats's original typescript, with his manuscript corrections and additions, and tear sheets of the article, which also contain an addition by Lady Gregory, accompany Lady Gregory's copy of her book.

W. B. Yeats. Typescript of "The Literary Movement in Ireland," with the author's corrections, 19 p.

Lady Gregory, ed. Typescript of *Ideals in Ireland*, 57 p, with tear sheets from the *North American Review* of Yeats's contribution.

Lady Gregory, ed. *Ideals in Ireland* (London 1901).

At times it is difficult to tell who influenced whom. Lady Gregory's typewriter at Coole often served two masters. "Away," a contribution Yeats planned to make to "a big book about the commonwealth of faery," which dates from approximately 1902, was preserved by Lady Gregory in manuscript. The well-known typewriter contributed paste-overs to most of the pages. The material became later, and in modified form, part of Lady Gregory's collection, *Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland* (1920). The typescript, which carries her manuscript corrections, is inscribed by her: "WBY's copy."

In 1902 Yeats also contributed a preface to Lady Gregory's *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*, "the story of the men of the red branch of Ulster." The typescript bears his corrections and, because of her knowledge of Gaelic, her revisions of his spelling of Irish personal names.

W. B. Yeats. Manuscript of "Away"; 31 p.

Lady Gregory. Typescript of *Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland; First Series*, with the author's manuscript corrections; 244 p.

W. B. Yeats. Typescript of the "Preface" to *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* by Lady Gregory, with the author's and Lady Gregory's manuscript corrections; 12 p.

Lady Gregory had aroused Yeats's interest in folklore; his fascination with the drama in turn stimulated her enthusiasm for starting a theatre. The aim was to present Irish plays on Irish subjects by Irish actors. The Irish Literary Theatre was formed in 1898. As there was no company of Irish actors, an English cast was brought over: Yeats's first play, *The Countess Cathleen*, was produced in Dublin on May 8 and 9 1899. For lack of money the performance took place in the Antient Concert Rooms. It was not until 1904 that the original dream was realized when, with the help of an Englishwoman, Miss A. E. F. Horniman, the company founded the Abbey Theatre.

The initial version of *The Countess Cathleen* took shape in 1892, soon after Yeats's first meeting with Maud Gonne. The story of the Countess who sold her soul to the demons to rescue her people from starvation had been included in his folk-tale anthology the previous year.

On exhibit is a carbon typescript of the play paying tribute to Lady Gregory's habit of assiduously preserving all documents. Yeats, in June 1926, inscribed it: "To Lady Gregory this old prompt copy which she has preserved for so many years."

W. B. Yeats. Carbon typescript of *The Countess Cathleen*; 65 p.

Maud Gonne and Coole inspired some of the most beautiful of Yeats's poems. "I made the greater number of these poems walking about among the Seven Woods . . . ," he wrote on the verso of Lady Gregory's notes, torn from one of her copybooks. It appeared in print in his volume of poems "chiefly of the Irish heroic age," *In the Seven Woods* (1903), to separate the poems from his play, *On Baile's Strand*, which was to be performed for the first time on December 27 1904, at the opening of the Abbey Theatre.

Many of the poems were drafted on note paper stamped "Coole Park, Gort, Co. Galway." Some, like the typescript of "Adam's Curse," (on exhibit), reflect Lady Gregory's thoughts as well as Yeats's. She wrote out, perhaps for Yeats, but in the first person, a note on the central idea of his play *On Baile's Strand*. What seems to be the first draft of the latter is also exhibited.

In the Seven Woods was the first book printed at the Dun Emer Press in Dundrum, the publishing venture of Elizabeth Corbet Yeats. The earliest prospectus bears her brother's, W. B. Yeats's, manuscript corrections. A set of page proofs, with manuscript additions by Yeats and a presentation inscription to Lady Gregory, was bound in vellum for her. It also has her bookplate with the play on her maiden name, Persse – Per * Se.

W. B. Yeats. Manuscript note used in *In the Seven Woods*; 1 p.

W. B. Yeats. Manuscript fragments of the poem "Adam's Curse"; 4 p.

W. B. Yeats. Typescript of "Adam's Curse," with Lady Gregory's manuscript corrections; 2 p.

W. B. Yeats. Manuscript draft of the poem "In the Seven Woods," with a draft of the poem "The Arrow"; 1 p.

W. B. Yeats. Typescript of "In the Seven Woods," with the author's manuscript corrections; 1 p.

W. B. Yeats. Manuscript draft of the poem "The Old Men Admiring Themselves in the Water"; 1 p.

Lady Gregory. Manuscript statement on the central idea in Yeats's play *On Baile's Strand*; 4 p.

W. B. Yeats. Manuscript draft of the play *On Baile's Strand*; 56 p.

Earliest prospectus for W. B. Yeats's *In the Seven Woods*, with the poet's manuscript corrections.

W. B. Yeats. Set of page proofs of *In the Seven Woods* (Dundrum 1903), with the poet's manuscript additions, bound in vellum and presented to Lady Gregory.

Lady Gregory's bookplate.

On January 14 1904, Yeats's play *The Shadowy Waters* was produced for the first time in the Molesworth Hall, where the National Irish Theatre Society played prior to its move to the Abbey Theatre. It is the least successful of Yeats's verse plays. It bears memories of the woods of Coole and its published version is dedicated to Lady Gregory. The dedication copy (New York 1901) is on exhibition, opened to the poem "I Walked Among the Seven Woods of Coole."

The composition of this play took Yeats longer than any other. Hundreds of fragmentary lines have been preserved, many on Coole Park note paper. The typescripts bear corrections by the author and Lady Gregory.

Yeats summed up his poetic drama in a note which must have accompanied one of the stage productions. He wrote:

> "The Shadowy Waters" though there is much incidental Irish legend here or there is not founded on any particular story and should explain itself to any auditor who can understand let us say the love poetry of Shelley. "Forgael" dissatisfied with an earthly love seeks, together with the woman chance or destiny has cast before him, unearthly love beyond what seem to be the limits of the world. By his magic harp he plunges her into the illusions of love, which become real and they pass away from what seems real. The scenery is the work of Mr. Robert Gregory.

Robert Gregory, the artist, was Lady Gregory's only son.

W. B. Yeats. *The Shadowy Waters* (New York 1901). Dedication copy.

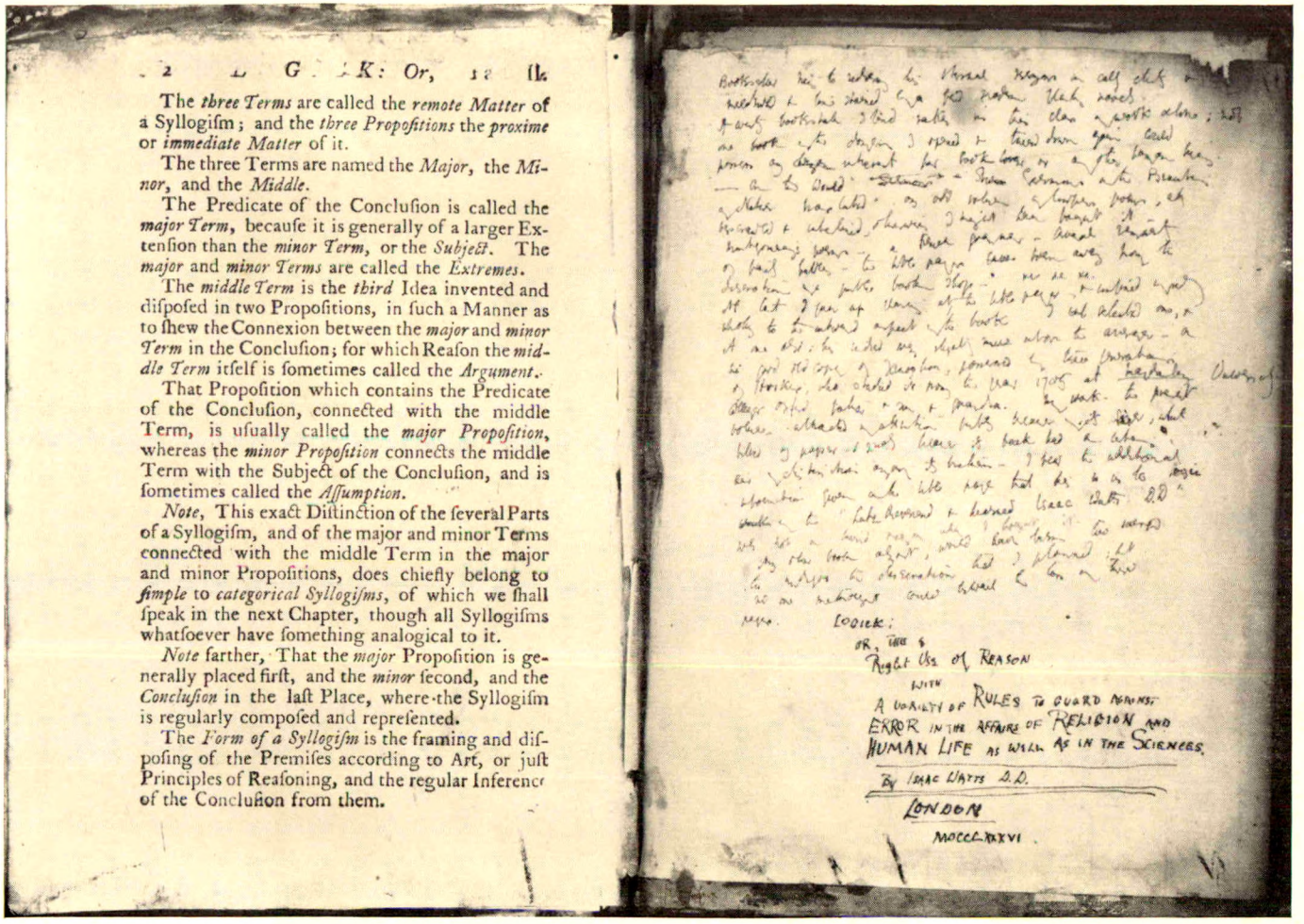
W. B. Yeats. Manuscript fragments of *The Shadowy Waters*.

W. B. Yeats. Three typescripts of *The Shadowy Waters*, 21 p, 22 p, 22 p, with corrections by the author and Lady Gregory.

W. B. Yeats. Two typewritten prompt copies of *The Shadowy Waters*.
Miss Horniman's copy, with manuscript additions in her hand; 38 p + 5 manuscript p.
Florence Farr's copy, with manuscript additions in Yeats's hand; 38 p.

W. B. Yeats. Manuscript note to *The Shadowy Waters*; 1 p.

A sketch of Lady Gregory pencilled in a copy of the December 1904 *Samhain*, unsigned but by John Butler Yeats.



The *three Terms* are called the *remote Matter* of a Syllogiſm; and the *three Propoſitions* the *proxime* or *immediate Matter* of it.

The three Terms are named the *Major*, the *Minor*, and the *Middle*.

The Predicate of the Concluſion is called the *major Term*, becauſe it is generally of a larger Extenſion than the *minor Term*, or the *Subject*. The *major* and *minor Terms* are called the *Extremes*.

The *middle Term* is the *third* Idea invented and diſpoſed in two Propoſitions, in ſuch a Manner as to ſhew the Connexion between the *major* and *minor Term* in the Concluſion; for which Reaſon the *middle Term* itſelf is ſometimes called the *Argument*.

That Propoſition which contains the Predicate of the Concluſion, connected with the middle Term, is uſually called the *major Propoſition*, whereas the *minor Propoſition* connects the middle Term with the Subject of the Concluſion, and is ſometimes called the *Aſſumption*.

Note, This exact Diſtinction of the ſeveral Parts of a Syllogiſm, and of the major and minor Terms connected with the middle Term in the major and minor Propoſitions, does chiefly belong to *ſimple* to *categorical Syllogiſms*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in the next Chapter, though all Syllogiſms whatſoever have ſomething analogical to it.

Note farther, That the *major* Propoſition is generally placed firſt, and the *minor* ſecond, and the *Concluſion* in the laſt Place, where the Syllogiſm is regularly compoſed and repreſented.

The *Form of a Syllogiſm* is the framing and diſpoſing of the Premiſes according to Art, or juſt Principles of Reaſoning, and the regular Inference of the Concluſion from them.

LOGICK:
OR, THE
Right Uſe of REASON
WITH
A VARIETY OF RULES TO GUARD AGAINST
ERROR IN THE AFFAIRS OF RELIGION AND
HUMAN LIFE AS WELL AS IN THE SCIENCES.
By ISAAC WATTS D.D.
LONDON
MDCC.XXVI

A page from Virginia Woolf's unusual early diary (Summer 1899) made up by pasting pages to a copy of Isaac Watts's *Logick* (1786) — see p 237.

Robert Gregory also contributed the vignette to the second Yeats publication in the Dun Emer Press series. This book too belonged to Lady Gregory in the truest sense of the word. Six stories, collected under the title *Stories of Red Hanrahan*, were reprinted in 1904 in an edition limited to 500 copies. They had all been published before, one as early as 1892. Two sets of page proofs, one early and one later proof, were bound in vellum and presented to Lady Gregory. Bearing witness to her contribution, they contain corrections in the hand of Lady Gregory, besides those of the author, and marginal comments by the publisher, Elizabeth Corbet Yeats.

Miss Yeats's presentation copy to the artist, Robert Gregory, is opened to the page bearing "Red Hanrahan's Song About Ireland." An early draft in the hand of the poet is shown with it.

W. B. Yeats. *Stories of Red Hanrahan* (Dundrum 1904)

W. B. Yeats. Two sets of page proofs of *Stories of Red Hanrahan* (Dundrum 1904), with corrections by Yeats and Lady Gregory and marginal comments by Elizabeth C. Yeats, bound in vellum and presented to Lady Gregory.

W. B. Yeats. *Stories of Red Hanrahan* (Dundrum 1904). Presentation copy from Elizabeth C. Yeats to Robert Gregory.

W. B. Yeats. Manuscript draft of "Red Hanrahan's Song about Ireland"; 1 p.

Lady Gregory in *Our Irish Theatre* (1913) retold the story of her collaboration with Yeats in play-writing. *The Unicorn from the Stars*, first published in 1908, is the play most nearly her own. In a note added to the text Yeats wrote: "Some years ago I wrote in a fortnight with the help of Lady Gregory and another friend [George Moore] a five act tragedy called *Where there is Nothing*." This play, first published in 1902, reworked by Lady Gregory and under its new title *The Unicorn from the Stars*, became "almost wholly hers in handiwork." The typewritten outline, her manuscript of the play, and the corrected typescript are on view.

The uniform binding of Macmillan's collected edition of Yeats's works carries in black on the inside front and back covers Charles Ricketts' design of the unicorn. The copy of *Plays in Prose and Verse*, inscribed to Lady Gregory by the poet, is opened to this design. The sub-title of the volume reads: "written for an Irish theatre, and generally with the help of a friend."

The dedication copy of *Where There is Nothing* (New York 1902), with its habitual, formal inscription, "Lady Gregory from W. B. Yeats," is shown side by side with the original typescript of the dedication page. The latter has both Yeats's and Lady Gregory's manuscript corrections.

In subsequent editions the dedication reads differently. In 1903 it became volume one of *Plays for an Irish Theatre*. One of 100 copies printed in New York on Japanese vellum, with Yeats's autograph, John Quinn's initials, and Lady Gregory's bookplate, is opened to the end of a famous dedicatory epistle, beginning: "I dedicate to you two volumes of plays that are in part your own. When I was a boy I used to wander about at Rosses Point and Ballisodare listening to old songs and stories. I wrote down what I heard and made poems out of the stories. . . ."

W. B. Yeats and Lady Gregory. Typescript of outline for *The Unicorn from the Stars*, with Lady Gregory's manuscript corrections; 10 p.

W. B. Yeats and Lady Gregory. Typewritten note "*The Unicorn from the Stars* is founded on *Where there is Nothing* . . . ," with the authors' manuscript corrections; 1 p.

W. B. Yeats and Lady Gregory. Manuscript of *The Unicorn from the Stars*, in Lady Gregory's hand; 3 vols.

W. B. Yeats and Lady Gregory. Typescript of *The Unicorn from the Stars*, with Lady Gregory's manuscript corrections; 62 p.

Charles Ricketts' design of the unicorn. Inside back cover of W. B. Yeats's *Plays in Prose and Verse* (London 1922), inscribed by Yeats to Lady Gregory.

W. B. Yeats. *Where There is Nothing* (New York 1902). Dedication copy.

W. B. Yeats. Typescript of dedication page for *Where There is Nothing*, with the author's and Lady Gregory's manuscript corrections; 1 p.

W. B. Yeats. *Where There is Nothing; Being Volume One of Plays for an Irish Theatre* (New York 1903). Number 1 of 100 copies printed on Japanese vellum for John Quinn. Lady Gregory's copy.

By the time of the founding of the Abbey Theatre in 1904 Lady Gregory and Yeats had been joined in their efforts to create an Irish theatre by John Millington Synge.

> John Synge, I and Lady Gregory, thought
> All that we did, all that we said or sang
> Must come from contact with the soil, from that
> Contact everything Antaeus-like grew strong.

The early years of the Abbey had notable successes and crises and Synge's *The Playboy of the Western World* was the occasion for both. In 1907, on the first night, some of the audience began to demonstrate, their modesty outraged by the use of the word "shift." Yeats and Lady Gregory fought the play's case against a hostile audience and defended the right of genius to express itself. To both of them Synge's early death in 1909 was a personal blow. Years later, when accepting the Nobel Prize in 1923, Yeats said: "When your King gave me medal and diploma two should have stood, one at either side of me, an old woman sinking into the infirmity of age, and a young man's ghost. I think when Lady Gregory's name and John Synge's name are spoken by future generations, my name if remembered will come up in the talk, and that if my name is spoken first their names will take their turn because of the years we worked together."

Pen-and-ink emblems designed for the Irish Literary Theatre.

Guarantee form for 1900 pledging contributions to the Irish Literary Theatre.

List of contributors in Lady Gregory's hand for the year 1900.

Stencil of portrait of John Millington Synge; artist unknown.

Letter from Lady Gregory to W. B. Yeats announcing J. M. Synge's death, [March 25, 1909] "What a quiet end this was! No struggle or disturbance. . . "

Clipping from *The New York Dramatic Mirror*, November 29 1911, describing the *Playboy* riot in New York.

If the controversy over *The Playboy* combined their efforts, the fight and extended bitterness over the Lane pictures united Lady Gregory and Yeats in a singleness of purpose. Hugh Lane, Lady Gregory's nephew, had formed a collection of modern French paintings which he intended to be part of a Modern Art Gallery founded in Dublin in 1905. When the building of a new wing was delayed, the donor in his will of 1913 bequeathed his paintings to the London National Gallery. In bitterness and despair Yeats wrote his *Poems Written in Discouragement*, published in 1913. "To a Wealthy Man . . ." was a reproof to Lord Ardilaun's argument that money should not be given unless there was a demand for pictures. "September 1913" is a more heated piece of writing.

Before sailing for America in 1915 Hugh Lane revised his intention and in a codicil to his will bequeathed his collection to Dublin. On his return journey to Ireland, Lane lost his life in the sinking of the *Lusitania*. In the unwitnessed codicil he appointed his aunt Lady Gregory sole trustee. She fought for the pictures and Dublin's right to them until her last day. She wrote, spoke, and corresponded in the matter with all and sundry. Her journals from this time on often contain nothing else and are enlivened by scattered newspaper clippings relating to the Lane pictures.

Yeats used all the influence he had. As mystic and Senator, pamphleteer and Lady Gregory's friend he, just as she, left no avenue unexplored in attempting to convince the National Gallery and the British government that they had no right to the pictures. Not until November 12 1959 was a compromise solution reached.

W. B. Yeats. Typescript of the poem "To a Wealthy Man Who Promised a Second Subscription to the Dublin Municipal Gallery if It Were Proved the People Wanted Pictures," with the author's manuscript corrections; 1 p.

W. B. Yeats. Typescript of the poem "September 1913," with the author's manuscript corrections; 1 p.

W. B. Yeats. Typescript of the prose account, "Clairvoyant Search for Will," with the author's manuscript corrections; 13 p.

Lady Gregory. Volume of her manuscript "Journal," with clipping, "Senator Yeats's Views," on the Lane pictures.

W. B. Yeats. Typescript of motion introduced in the Irish Senate concerning the opening of the Duveen Gallery in the Tate Gallery, June 26 1926. Copy made by Lady Gregory; 1 p.

Lady Gregory. Typescript of *Case for the Return of Sir Hugh Lane's Pictures to Dublin*, with the author's and W. B. Yeats's manuscript corrections; 16 p.

Lady Gregory. *Case for the Return of Sir Hugh Lane's Pictures to Dublin* (Dublin 1926).

Lady Gregory. Volume of her manuscript "Journal," with clipping, an article from *The People*, January 25 1931, describing the Lane case.

Lady Gregory had lived long enough to know the grief caused by parting from those who are young. Nephews, grand-nephews died through illness or the War, and the final blow came when on January 23 1918, her only son, Robert, was killed in action at the age of thirty-seven. By August of that year she recorded in her unpublished "Memoirs" how she received the news and had to convey it to her daughter-in-law, Margaret, in Galway. On February 17 Yeats had "A Note of Appreciation" printed in the *Observer*, but this Irish Airman will continue to live in Yeats's poems. "In Memory of Major Robert Gregory" is on exhibit in a typescript dated May 24 1918. Another, "To Major Robert Gregory, Airman," was sent to Lady Gregory on November 26 1920, but at her request it remained unpublished until 1923. She wrote on the envelope: "I did not like this and asked not to have it published."

Lady Gregory. Typescript of chapter headed "My Grief" from her unpublished "Memoirs"; 11 p.

W. B. Yeats. Clipping from the London *Observer*, February 17 1918, "Major Robert Gregory. A Note of Appreciation."

W. B. Yeats. Typescript of the poem "In Memory of Major Robert Gregory," with the author's manuscript corrections; 4 p.

W. B. Yeats. Typescript, 1 p, of poem "To Major Robert Gregory, Airman," with the author's manuscript corrections, and his covering letter to Lady Gregory, November 26 [1920]

Coole, the seat of the Gregorys since the late eighteenth century, became Lady Gregory's favorite concern after her marriage in 1880. She was mistress of what came to be the most famous country house in Ireland, though it was never legally hers. As the grandchildren grew up and expressed no wish to settle there, the family decided to sell it to the Forestry Department of the Irish Land Commission. Lady Gregory continued to occupy it at a low rent. She had the family vault bricked up and she herself is buried in a Persse lot in the new cemetery in Galway. A simple inscription, "She shall be remembered for ever," marks her resting place.

Coole, the house, was demolished. Some mementos, like the brass door-knob at Shaw's Corner in Ayot St Lawrence, survive. Coole Park preserves in its famous Autograph Tree the memory of its last dedicated gardener and that of Irish men of letters who "like swallows went."

On May 3 1936 Yeats wrote in a letter to Dorothy Wellesley the comment that might serve as Lady Gregory's epitaph: "I long for quiet, long ago I used to find it at Coole. It was part of the genius of that house. Lady Gregory never rebelled like other Irish women I have known who consumed themselves and their friends."

Coole, Lady Gregory's last published writing, preserves in print the description of the library and the furnishings of the house, the woods, the fauna, and the beloved lake. Her corrected typescript is dated September 3 1928, but it was not published until 1931, the year before her death.

It is fitting that Yeats, whose second home Coole was, should have contributed a poem also to this volume. The typescript of "Coole Park" dated September 7 1929, and that of Yeats's last poem on the subject, "Coole and Ballylee, 1931," were laid into the final volume of Lady Gregory's holograph "Journal."

Lady Gregory. Incomplete typescript of *Coole*, with the author's manuscript corrections; 31 p.

Lady Gregory. *Coole* (Dublin 1931).

W. B. Yeats. Carbon typescript of the poem "Coole Park," with the author's manuscript corrections; 2 p.

W. B. Yeats. Typescript of the poem "Coole and Ballylee, 1931," with the author's manuscript corrections; 2 p.

Letters to Lady Gregory

> Should ever my memory come up for judgment I think that against whatever faults and failings may be in the writ my advocate may ask countenance for me through the worthiness of my friends.
>
> From Lady Gregory's "Memoirs"

From a voluminous correspondence a few letters from a few of her friends have been selected:

from HENRY JAMES

One of the most penetrating chapters in Lady Gregory's unpublished "Memoirs," although headed "Meditations and Memories," is about Henry James. It is dated November 20 1920, many years after their first meeting in Rome which she so vividly recalls. Their acquaintance was renewed in London when they both lived there. A dozen letters from Henry James have been preserved in her archive. They date from 1890 to 1897 and are primarily social notes. However, both writers took an interest in Paul Harvey, the "P. H." in James's letters, who was also Robert Gregory's youthful friend.

Lady Gregory. Carbon typescript of "Meditations and Memories" from her "Memoirs," with the author's manuscript corrections; 6 p.

Seven letters from Henry James, June 13 [1890] to February 26 1897.

Four letters and a card from Henry James, undated.

from BERNARD SHAW

The correspondence with Shaw is a highly professional one: from one author to another, from one director to another. The year 1909 marked Shaw's victory over censorship with the Abbey production of *The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet*, and another of the Abbey's storms in a teacup. Shaw's opinion was asked by a furious Lady Gregory when Miss Horniman threatened to end her subsidy of the Abbey because of an appearance Miss Allgood made on behalf of a nationalist cause. Mrs Lyttelton was hostess on the occasion. Shaw's characteristic reply came with a covering note, encouraging Lady Gregory to show his letter to Miss Horniman: "She always quarrels with the last person so violently that she forgets the last but one. . . ." His letter of September 23 1915 refers to his play *O'Flaherty*, and his card of May 25 1930 refers to *Samhain*, "or something like that, probably pronounced O'Shaughnessy."

Letter from Bernard Shaw, July 9 1909, with his covering note.

Letter from Edith Lyttelton, July 14 1909, with a copy in Miss Horniman's hand of a letter to her from Mrs Lyttelton, July 7 1909.

Letter from Bernard Shaw, September 23 1915.

Card from Bernard Shaw, May 25 1930.

from THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Lady Gregory received her first letter from the White House after she sent the President a copy of her *Poets and Dreamers* (1903). He was already acquainted with her writing. They met personally in the summer of 1910 in London. The first invitation for lunch which the President extended to Lady Gregory and Yeats was cancelled because he had been "summoned to meet the King." But they met in London, and again in 1911 at Oyster Bay at the time of the Abbey's American tour. Roosevelt was an ardent supporter of the Irish theatre and said so in print in 1912. Lady Gregory's final visit with the President took place on her last day in America in 1915. "I, like his doctor, found the sound of his voice, the touch of his hand, seemed to give me new strength and energy, and I wanted to take this back to Ireland."

Lady Gregory. Typescript of "Roosevelt" from her "Memoirs," with the author's manuscript corrections; 20 p.

Two letters from Theodore Roosevelt, June 8 1903 and October 23 1911.

Theodore Roosevelt. Page proofs of *A Note on the Irish Theatre by Theodore Roosevelt and an 'Interview' on the Irish Players in America by George Bernard Shaw* (New York 1912).

from "AE"

In the scheme of her "Memoirs" Lady Gregory devoted an entire chapter to George Russell. "George Russell is well known now, there is no need to give any record of his work," she began. He was one of her most faithful correspondents; she preserved more than one hundred and thirty letters from him, spanning thirty-four years. The letters ceased only shortly before her death, having come with great regularity over the years. They are almost family letters giving much news of such shared friends as the Yeatses; in fact, the first in the series reports on the progress of a Jack B. Yeats exhibition. The poet occasionally copied out a poem — ". . . really half of W. B. Y.'s construction . . ." — ; drew a picture, as in his last letter to her; commented frequently on W. B. Yeats — "Perhaps his story will really be written sometime" — ; and wrote at length about Joyce, "a young boy aged 21 whom we shall I think hear of later."

Lady Gregory. Typescript of "Letters from AE" from her "Memoirs," with the author's manuscript corrections; 33 p.

Five letters from George Russell, February 21 and July 20 1898, [August and November 25 1902] and [October 23 1931]

from JOHN MILLINGTON SYNGE

In May 1898 Synge paid his first visit to the Aran Islands; it seems fitting that his first letter to Lady Gregory, dated July 1 1898, should refer to this and describe his meeting with a wanderer who sang from a "winged heart." In 1903, returning from Paris, he reports on having met Joyce: "He seems to be pretty badly off, and is wandering about Paris rather unbrushed and rather indolent. . . ." By the winter of 1902–1903 Synge had written two plays founded on stories heard in Aran. *The Tinker's Wedding*, his first drama, is the play he writes of in his letter of December 16 1903. There followed his close collaboration with Lady Gregory and Yeats as one of the first directors of the Abbey. Synge's last letter to Lady Gregory, written two months before his death, complains about his health, but reports his progress with *Deirdre of the Sorrows*, the play which he was to leave unfinished.

Five letters from John Millington Synge, July 1 1898, February 22, [March 26] and December 16 1903, and January 3 1909.

An unsigned pen-and-ink emblem designed for the Irish Literary Theatre.

W. S. Gilbert's Contributions to *Fun*, 1865-1874

By John Bush Jones
University of Kansas

THE YEAR 1969 marks the 100th anniversary of the publication of *The "Bab" Ballads*, the first of several volumes of W. S. Gilbert's collected verse brought out by the author during his lifetime. Gilbert, disgruntled by a breach in the financial and printing arrangements made with his original publisher, John Camden Hotten, shortly thereafter transferred the rights to Routledge who subsequently published *More "Bab" Ballads* (1872) and all later English editions of Gilbert's poems up to 1904, when Macmillan bought the property and continued to reprint the poems until the copyright expired in 1961.

Most readers even casually acquainted with the Bab Ballads are aware that the majority of them originally appeared in *Fun*, the only serious rival to *Punch* as the foremost English humor magazine of the mid-nineteenth century. What is not so widely known, however, is that the Bab Ballads comprise only a small portion of Gilbert's total contribution to the journal. Since none of the pieces in the regular numbers of *Fun* were signed, early attempts to identify the remainder of Gilbert's work on the basis of stylistic evidence alone were largely unsuccessful. Even the presence of a drawing with the familiar "Bab" signature does not definitely identify as Gilbert's the verse or prose it accompanies, for it is now known that Gilbert at times provided illustrations for the work of other contributors.

The discovery of this fact and, more significantly, the compilation of a chronology of Gilbert's contributions have been made possible by the external evidence provided by the unique Proprietor's Copy of *Fun* now held by the Huntington Library. In this file of the magazine, editor Tom Hood and his successors wrote the names of all contributors alongside their respective pieces and included in each issue a page of accounts listing the payments for the week's contributions. Although *Fun* began publication in 1861 under the editorship of H. J. Byron, it is unfortunate that the extant Proprietor's Copy does not contain issues before May 27 1865, the second number of the New Series begun by Hood. Hence, while it is still impossible to identify the vast majority of Gilbert's work for Byron, virtually all of his literary and artistic output during the "Bab" period subsequent to May 20 1865 is accurately recorded.

Letters from Gilbert Dalziel to Isaac Goldberg, now among the latter's papers in the Manuscript Division of The New York Public Library, reveal

that the marked Proprietor's Copy was available to scholars as early as 1927. And yet, few scholars other than Goldberg appear to have taken much advantage of it. As late as 1937, John Malcom Bulloch was seemingly trying to identify Gilbert's uncollected verses from internal evidence, as his remarkably consistent inaccuracies attest.[1] Dalziel, the son of one of *Fun*'s proprietors, sent ten weekly numbers from the Proprietor's Copy to Goldberg for his inspection, asking only that they be treated carefully and returned when Goldberg had finished with them. Photostats of several pages reveal that Goldberg did indeed receive the material, but, apparently, Dalziel never recovered it. The same ten issues are wanting from the Proprietor's Copy which, save for three other numbers, is complete for the time that Gilbert wrote for the New Series of *Fun*. Hence, the following chronology may omit a few pieces, although it has been possible to identify with a high degree of accuracy many Gilbert items in the missing issues. This has been made possible inasmuch as several are parts of continuing series known to be by Gilbert, while others bear a characteristic pseudonym or heading. Information regarding attributions made from evidence other than that provided by the Proprietor's Copy will be found in the notes to the chronology, along with remarks on irregularities or problems concerning Gilbert's contributions.

The chronology itself consists of two lists. The main list contains Gilbert's work in the regular weekly issues of *Fun*; his contributions to special numbers (the Christmas Numbers, and *Fun Almanack*) are entered following the main list. A uniform formation has been established for recording each entry. The first column in the main list records, respectively, the volume, number, and date of the issue to which Gilbert contributed and the page number(s) of each contribution in the issue. In the list of contributions to special numbers, the first column notes the title of the special number, year of publication, and page(s) of Gilbert's contribution. The second column contains the title of the piece, and the third an abbreviated classification or description of it.

The entries for issues missing from the Proprietor's Copy are enclosed in square brackets, and the word "*wanting*" follows the publication date. If such a missing number (I consulted a regular copy) contains one or more Gilbert contributions, they are listed on the next line starting with the page number. Issues in the Proprietor's Copy which do not contain any material by Gilbert are omitted altogether from the chronology.

In order to keep a rather long list from having a cluttered appearance, certain punctuation marks are omitted. No period follows the uniform three-

[1] *Notes and Queries* (Nov 14 1936) 344–348; (May 22 1937) 362–367; *none* of Bulloch's new "attributions" match the identifying notes of the editors of *Fun*.

letter abbreviations of months and no apostrophe precedes the two-numeral designation of years (65 for 1865, etc). If more than one Gilbert item appears in a single number of *Fun*, the volume, number, and date precede only the first contribution, the following entries beginning with the page number.

If the contribution has both a general heading and a title, these are separated by a virgule (From a Contributor/The Student; The Bab Ballads No. 65/The Two Majors). No attempt is made here to reproduce the type style of titles, and *Fun*'s practice of ending all titles with a period is not followed. Final question marks and exclamation points, quotation marks, and such internal punctuation as is integral to the titles are retained. Obvious errors in the printing of the titles are corrected; these errors are recorded in the notes.

The "Description" column is to acquaint the reader in a general way with the nature of each contribution. The following descriptive terms are employed:

Verse: Verse contribution without illustration; may or may not contain a prose introduction.

Il Verse: Illustrated verse contribution.

Dram Par: Dramatic parody of a specific play.

Dram Par Rev: Dramatic parody of a specific play with a brief review of the actual production of the play parodied.

Il Dram Par Rev: As above, illustrated.

Dram Burl: Dramatic burlesque of a particular kind or style of theatrical entertainment.

Letter: Humorous fabricated letter to the Editor.

Column: Column (usually one of a regular series) of commentary, observations, travel notes, etc.

Il Column: As above, illustrated.

Anecdote: Brief prose incident or joke.

Joke: Very brief (usually one to four line) witticism or "gag."

Fiction: Prose fiction; short story.

Review: Theatrical review.

Book Review

Prose: Miscellaneous prose account of current event, or discussion of nearly any topic.

Il Prose: As above, illustrated.

Illustration: Illustration accompanying written work by a contributor other than Gilbert; the writer's name follows the title in parentheses.

Cartoon: Cartoon or humorous drawing or engraving with no written material other than a brief caption or series of captions.

Cartoon Rev: Theatrical review in cartoon form.

In addition, the description of those verse contributions which Gilbert collected in *The "Bab" Ballads* and *More "Bab" Ballads* is followed by "(B)."

An illustration by Gilbert for Henry S. Leigh's review of Wilkie Collins' play *Frozen Deep* in the "From Our Stall" column of the Nov 10 1866 *Fun*.

Columbia University Library

Vol/No*	*(Date)*	*Page*	*Title*	*Description*
[1/1	(20 May 65)	*wanting*		
		2	From Our Stall [1]	Dram Rev]
1/2	(27 May 65)	12	To People in Search of a Thrill	Prose
		13	From Our Stall	Review
		14	A Man of Position	Anecdote
		17	Literature/Ne T'en Va Pas	Verse
		20	The West London Industrial Exhibition	Anecdote
1/3	(3 Jun 65)	27	From Our Stall	Review
		29	The Derby Day Operatized	Dram Burl
1/4	(10 Jun 65)	31	Something Like Nonsense Verses	Verse
		33	Ode to My Clothes	Verse
		39	In Re Dawkins	Verse
		39	Here's a Jolly (C)lark!	Prose
1/5	(17 Jun 65)	42	From Our Stall [2]	Review
		42	Good News for Pagans	Prose
		43	Concentrated Essence of Thought	Prose
		47	Literature/Garryowen	Verse
1/6	(24 Jun 65)	51	Something Like Nonsense Verses No. II	Verse
		51	Re Charles Baldwin Lever	Prose
		52	The Next New Play/Gemmi di Vergy; Or, The Wild Harper and the Twelve Trees	Dram Burl
1/7	(1 Jul 65)	62–63	Picadilly	Dram Burl
		67	From a Contributor/The Student	Verse
1/8	(8 Jul 65)	71	A Sore(d) Point	Letter
1/9	(15 Jul 65)	82	Tempora Mutantur	Verse (B)
1/10	(22 Jul 65)	99	The Bachelors' Strike	Verse
1/11	(29 Jul 65)	102–103	What We Have to Put Up With/Draco Beach	Dram Burl
		103	Literature/Good-Bye, Sweet-Heart, Good-Bye	Verse
		108	Out-Of-Town Talk	Column
1/12	(5 Aug 65)	120	Out-Of-Town Talk	Column
1/13	(12 Aug 65)	129	Out-Of-Town Talk	Column
1/14	(19 Aug 65)	139	Out-Of-Town Talk	Column
		139	A Bad Night of It	Verse
1/15	(26 Aug 65)	141	Out-Of-Town Talk	Column
		144	A Good Joke/To (Say) Phoebe	Verse (B)
1/16	(2 Sep 65)	151	Wanted!	Prose
		152	Correspondence	Letter
		153	Mr. Spurgeon: His Life	Prose

* Volume numbers refer to the New Series of numbering.

[1] This is one of the more tentative attributions. Gilbert was only one of several drama critics for *Fun*. Henry S. Leigh and T. W. Robertson also frequently provided the copy for "From Our Stall." There is at least a likelihood that Gilbert's work appears in this, the first installment of the column in the New Series. If he is otherwise represented it is probably impossible to know.

[2] Only the last two paragraphs are by Gilbert, the rest by T. W. Robertson.

Vol No	*(Date)*	*Page*	*Title*	*Description*
1/17	(9 Sep 65)	169	The Art of Parody	Letter
2/18	(16 Sep 65)	2	Ozone	Verse
		9	Social Glasses and Social Asses	Prose & Verse
2/19	(23 Sep 65)	18	Out-Of-Town Talk	Column
		19	Automatica	Prose
		19	Railway Library Termini	Prose
2/20	(30 Sep 65)	23	Correspondence	Letter
		29	Out-Of-Town Talk	Column
		29	To the Terrestrial Globe	Verse (B)
2/21	(7 Oct 65)	31	The Monkey in Trouble	Verse
		31	Out-Of-Town Talk	Column
		33	On Zöilism	Anecdote
		39	Back Again!	Verse
2/22	(14 Oct 65)	42	Correspondence	Letter
		49	Out-Of-Town Talk	Column
2/23	(21 Oct 65)	58–59	The Social Science Congress	Prose
		59	An Impromptu/To Mademoiselle Lucca	Verse
2/24	(28 Oct 65)	61	Out-Of-Town Talk	Column
		68	"For, Oh, It Is Such a Norrible Tale"	Prose
		69	Musings in a Music Hall	Verse
2/25	(4 Nov 65)	72–73	Il N'est Jamais Trop Tard Pour Raccommoder!	Dram Burl
2/26	(11 Nov 65)	84	Rent Service	Dialogue
		88	In Re the Reade-er	Prose
		88–89	Vice Triumphant/Sir Rockheart the Revengeful; or, A Life on the Ocean Wave	Dram Burl
2/27	(18 Nov 65)	92–93	The Watch Cry	Dram Burl
2/28	(25 Nov 65)	103	"Fun and Fact"	Prose
		103	The Next Olympic Burlesque	Dram Burl
2/29	(2 Dec 65)	111	Pantomimic Presentiments	Verse
		113	Our Library Table	Book Review
2/30	(9 Dec 65)	122	The Bar and Its Moaning	Verse
[2/31	(16 Dec 65)	*wanting*		
		133	Galway Go Bragh; or, Love, Fun, and Fighting [3]	Dram Par
		139	Correspondence/"I Do Adore Thee!" [4]	Verse]
2/32	(23 Dec 65)	141	Shortly will be produced —	Joke
		143	Henry Dunbar	Dram Par
		147	Sardinly	Joke
		150	To Euphrosyne	Verse

[3] Some of the early dramatic parodies in the New Series were written by H. J. Byron, Hood's predecessor as editor, although the Proprietor's Copy reveals that the great preponderance of these were Gilbert's. There is, then, at least a fifty-fifty chance that "Galway Go Bragh" is the work of the latter.

[4] This contribution is signed "R. Ditty," a pseudonym used by Gilbert in "Upon the Shore," 30 June 1866. The name occurs nowhere else in *Fun* and seems to have been used only by Gilbert.

Vol No	*(Date)*	*Page*	*Title*	*Description*
2/33	(30 Dec 65)	151	Musical Anecdote	Anecdote
		158	The Fenian Government	Prose
2/34	(6 Jan 66)	162	The Phantom Curate	Verse (B)
		167	To a Little Maid	Verse (B)
		168–169	Continuations of Dramatic Histories/Box and Cox	Prose
2/35	(13 Jan 66)	171	Continuations of Dramatic Histories/Still Waters Run Deep	Prose
		178–179	Our Library Table	Book Review
2/36	(20 Jan 66)	183	Nellie's Trials	Dram Par
		184	Police! Police!	Anecdote
2/37	(27 Jan 66)	193	Continuations of Dramatic Histories/The Honeymoon	Prose
		198	In the Matter of the Glowworm	Prose
2/38	(3 Feb 66)	201	From Our Stall	Review
		203	Our Future Criticisms	Letters
		209	The Decline of the Drama	Letter
2/39	(10 Feb 66)	213	Continuations of Dramatic Histories/Rip Van Winkle	Prose
2/40	(17 Feb 66)	223	East Lynne	Dram Par
		229	Ferdinando and Elvira	Verse (B)
2/41	(24 Feb 66)	233	An Umbrella — Stand and Deliver	Anecdote
		238	The Pantomime "Super" to His Mask	Verse (B)
		238	Continuations of Dramatic Histories/Harlequin Little King Pippin	Prose
2/42	(3 Mar 66)	242–243	The Yarn of the Nancy Bell	Verse (B)
		249	Monsieur le Blond on London	Verse
		249	A Fragment	Dram Burl
3/44	(17 Mar 66)	3	A Pantomime with a Purpose	Dram Burl
3/45	(24 Mar 66)	12	Haunted	Verse (B)
3/47	(7 Apr 66)	33	The Favourite of Fortune	Dram Par
3/48	(14 Apr 66)	43	Our Own Correspondent at a Murder Trial	Prose
3/50	(28 Apr 66)	63	Theodora	Dram Burl
		67	The Reverend Rawston Wright	Verse
3/51	(5 May 66)	77	Our Own Correspondent on the Correspondent of the "Événement"	Prose
3/52	(12 May 66)	83	Love's Martyr	Dram Par
[3/53	(19 May 66)	*wanting*		
		100–101	The Story of Gentle Archibald [5]	Il Verse]
3/54	(26 May 66)	105	The Fast Family	Dram Par
3/55	(2 Jun 66)	121	"Not Dead Yet!"	Fiction
3/56	(9 Jun 66)	125	To My Bride	Verse (B)
3/57	(16 Jun 66)	143	Sunday Work	Prose

[5] This is the first of Gilbert's own poems containing "Bab" illustrations.

Vol No	*(Date)*	*Page*	*Title*	*Description*
3/58	(23 Jun 66)	146	Only a Dancing Girl	Il Verse (B)
		152	To My Steed	Verse
3/59	(30 Jun 66)	163	A New Ballad	Verse
3/60	(7 Jul 66)	167	King Borria Bungalee Boo	Il Verse (B)
3/61	(14 Jul 66)	185	Out-Of-Town Talk [6]	Column
3/62	(21 Jul 66)	189	Musical Note	Joke
		194	Out-Of-Town Talk [6]	Column
3/63	(28 Jul 66)	200	Correspondence	Letter
		204	Out-Of-Town Talk	Column
3/65	(11 Aug 66)	227	Out-Of-Town Talk	Column
4/70	(15 Sep 66)	8	From Our Stall [7]	Review
4/71	(22 Sep 66)	22–23	Out-Of-Town Talk	Column
4/72	(29 Sep 66)	26	From Our Stall (Leigh)	Illustration
		27	The Long Strike	Dram Par Rev
4/73	(6 Oct 66)	36–37	Gentlemanly Criticism	Review
		37	Jack Casts His Shell	Verse
4/74	(13 Oct 66)	48	From Our Stall (Robertson)	Illustration
4/75	(20 Oct 66)	58	Out-Of-Town Talk	Il Column
		59	The Flying Scud	Dram Par
4/76	(27 Oct 66)	68–69	Ethel; Or, Only a Life	Dram Par
4/77	(3 Nov 66)	79	Curiosities of Natural History	Letter
		84–85	A Tale	Fiction
4/78	(10 Nov 66)	96	From Our Stall (Leigh)	Illustration
		97	A Promise to Pay	Anecdote
		97	The Archbishop at Inverness	Anecdote
4/79	(17 Nov 66)	101	The Frozen Deep	Dram Par
4/80	(24 Nov 66)	117	Barnaby Rudge	Dram Par
4/81	(1 Dec 66)	127	How to Write an Irish Drama	Verse
4/82	(8 Dec 66)	131	Oonagh; Or, The Lovers of Lismamona	Dram Par
4/83	(15 Dec 66)	141	A Sister's Penance	Dram Par Rev
4/88	(19 Jan 67)	195	A Lesson for Life	Dram Par Rev
4/89	(26 Jan 67)	205	Rouge et Noir	Dram Par Rev
4/90	(2 Feb 67)	215	From Our Stall [8]	Review
		216–217	Men We Meet [9]/Introductory *and* His Schoolmasters	Il Prose
4/91	(9 Feb 67)	226–227	Men We Meet/His Schoolfellows	Il Prose
4/92	(16 Feb 67)	236–237	Men We Meet/Of Some Prosperous Men	Il Prose
4/93	(23 Feb 67)	246–247	Men We Meet/Some Disappointed Men	Il Prose

[6] The title is printed as "Out Of Town Talk," omitting the hyphens appearing in all other instances of the title.

[7] Only the last paragraph is Gilbert's; the others are by Robertson.

[8] The first three paragraphs are by Gilbert; the last one is by Henry S. Leigh.

[9] This and all ensuing "Men We Meet" pieces bear the by-line "By the Comic Physiognomist."

Vol No	*(Date)*	*Page*	*Title*	*Description*
4/94	(2 Mar 67)	256–257	Men We Meet/The C. P. in Love	Il Prose
4/95	(9 Mar 67)	261	Men We Meet/Concerning Some Bald People	Il Prose
5/96	(16 Mar 67)	12	Men We Meet/Some Engaged Men	Il Prose
5/97	(23 Mar 67)	22–23	Men We Meet/Concerning Some Bores	Il Prose
5/98	(30 Mar 67)	31	Lost in London	Dram Par Rev
		32–33	Men We Meet/The C. P. at a Levée	Il Prose
5/99	(6 Apr 67)	43	Men We Meet/Some Club Men	Il Prose
5/100	(13 Apr 67)	54–55	Men We Meet/Whigs and Whiskers	Il Prose
5/101	(20 Apr 67)	64–65	Men We Meet/Some Old Bachelors	Il Prose
5/102	(27 Apr 67)	74–75	Men We Meet/The C. P. at a Wedding	Il Prose
5/103	(4 May 67)	77	Croquet: An Anticipation (Hood)	Illustration
		80	Caste	Dram Par Rev
		86	Men We Meet/Some Wags	Il Prose
5/104	(11 May 67)	95	The Great City	Dram Par Rev
		97	The Tailors' Strike	Anecdote
5/105	(18 May 67)	101	Correspondence	Letter
		105	Men We Meet	Il Prose
5/106	(25 May 67)	112	A "Wild Goose" Chase	Cartoon Rev
5/107	(1 Jun 67)	127	General John	Il Verse (B)
		128	From Our Stall [10]	Review
5/108	(8 Jun 67)	139	Sir Guy the Crusader	Il Verse (B)
5/109	(15 Jun 67)	147	Dora	Dram Par Rev
		149	Sir Galahad the Golumptious	Il Verse
5/110	(22 Jun 67)	159	The Antipodes	Dram Par Rev
5/112	(6 Jul 67)	173	Disillusioned	Il Verse (B)
5/115	(27 Jul 67)	205	From Our Stall [11]	Review
		207	What It Must Come To/Electra; Or, The Lost Pleiad	Dram Burl
5/116	(3 Aug 67)	221	The Man O'Airlie	Dram Par Rev
		222	John and Freddy	Il Verse (B)
5/117	(10 Aug 67)	225	Lorenzo De Lardy	Il Verse (B)
5/118	(17 Aug 67)	238	The Bishop and the Busman	Il Verse (B)
5/119	(24 Aug 67)	247	Babette's Love	Il Verse (B)
5/121	(7 Sep 67)	269	Fanny and Jenny	Il Verse
6/122	(14 Sep 67)	6–7	Sir Macklin	Il Verse (B)
		11	From Our Stall	Review
6/123	(21 Sep 67)	15	The Troubadour	Il Verse (B)
6/124	(28 Sep 67)	25	Ben Allah Achmet	Il Verse (B)
		31	Nobody's Child	Dram Par Rev

[10] The last paragraph is by Gilbert, the first four by Leigh.

[11] The last paragraph is Gilbert's, the first two, Leigh's.

Vol No	*(Date)*	*Page*	*Title*	*Description*
6/125	(5 Oct 67)	35	The Folly of Brown	Il Verse (B)
		38	The Tupper Testimonial	Anecdote
6/126	(12 Oct 67)	54	Joe Golightly	Il Verse (B)
6/127	(19 Oct 67)	57	The Rival Curates	Il Verse (B)
6/128	(26 Oct 67)	74	Thomas Winterbottom Hance and Mons. Pierre	Il Verse (B)
6/129	(2 Nov 67)	77	A. and B.; Or, The Sensation Twins	Il Verse (B)
		79	Mazeppa	Dram Par Rev
6/130	(9 Nov 67)	88	Sea-Side Snobs	Il Verse
		93	The Double Marriage	Dram Par Rev
6/131	(16 Nov 67)	104	The Bishop of Rum-Ti-Foo	Il Verse (B)
6/132	(23 Nov 67)	113	The Precocious Baby	Il Verse (B)
6/133	(30 Nov 67)	124	Baines Carew, Gentleman	Il Verse (B)
6/134	(7 Dec 67)	128–129	Maud's Peril	Dram Par Rev
6/135	(14 Dec 67)	137	A Discontented Sugar Broker	Il Verse (B)
6/136	(21 Dec 67)	149	The Force of Argument	Il Verse (B)
6/137	(28 Dec 67)	165	At a Pantomime	Il Verse (B)
6/138	(4 Jan 68)	171	How She Loves Him!	Dram Par Rev
6/139	(11 Jan 68)	182	Our Own Pantomime	Il Prose
6/140	(18 Jan 68)	191	The Three Kings of Chickeraboo	Il Verse (B)
6/141	(25 Jan 68)	207	Dearer Than Life	Dram Par Rev
6/142	(1 Feb 68)	211	The Periwinkle Girl	Il Verse (B)
6/143	(8 Feb 68)	221	Captain Reece	Il Verse (B)
6/144	(15 Feb 68)	242	Thomson Green & Harriet Hale	Il Verse (B)
6/146	(29 Feb 68)	260–261	Bob Polter	Il Verse (B)
6/147	(7 Mar 68)	263	Narcisse	Dram Par Rev
7/148	(14 Mar 68)	6	The Ghost, The Gallant, The Gael and The Goblin	Il Verse (B)
7/149	(21 Mar 68)	16	Ellen McJones Aberdeen	Il Verse (B)
7/151	(4 Apr 68)	39	A Hero of Romance	Dram Par Rev
		43	A Sensation Captain	Il Verse (B)
7/152	(11 Apr 68)	54	Trial by Jury	Il Verse
7/153	(18 Apr 68)	65	The Reverend Micah Sowls	Il Verse (B)
7/154	(25 Apr 68)	75	Peter the Wag	Il Verse (B)
7/156	(9 May 68)	93	Oliver Twist	Dram Par Rev
7/157	(16 May 68)	107	The Story of Prince Agib	Il Verse (B)
7/158	(23 May 68)	111	Gentle Alice Brown	Il Verse (B)
7/159	(30 May 68)	121	Out with the Militia	Cartoon
		132	Rhyme and Reason	Letter
7/160	(6 Jun 68)	133	Pasha Bailey Ben	Il Verse (B)

Vol No	*(Date)*	*Page*	*Title*	*Description*
7/162	(20 Jun 68)	153	Blabworth-cum-Talkington [12]	Il Verse
		155	Foul Play	Dram Par Rev
7/163	(27 Jun 68)	163	The Sailor Boy to His Lass	Il Verse (B)
7/164	(4 Jul 68)	174	Sir Conrad and the Rusty One	Il Verse
7/167	(25 Jul 68)	205	The Cunning Woman	Il Verse
7/169	(8 Aug 68)	225	The Modest Couple	Il Verse (B)
7/170	(15 Aug 68)	237	The Lancashire Lass	Dram Par Rev
7/171	(22 Aug 68)	246	The "Bandoline" Player	Il Verse
7/172	(29 Aug 68)	255	Sir Barnaby Bampton Boo	Il Verse
8/174	(12 Sep 68)	7	Boulogne	Il Verse
8/175	(19 Sep 68)	16	Brave Alum Boy	Il Verse (B)
8/176	(26 Sep 68)	26	Blow for Blow	Dram Par Rev
8/177	(3 Oct 68)	35	Doctor Parable, LL. D.	Il Verse (B)
8/178	(10 Oct 68)	46	Lieutenant-Colonel Flare	Il Verse (B)
		51	King O' Scots	Dram Par Rev
8/179	(17 Oct 68)	62	The Hermit	Il Verse
8/180	(24 Oct 68)	65	Annie Protheroe	Il Verse (B)
8/182	(7 Nov 68)	85	The Captain and the Mermaids	Il Verse. (B)
8/183	(14 Nov 68)	96	An Unfortunate Likeness	Il Verse (B)
8/184	(21 Nov 68)	106–107	The Yellow Passport	Dram Par Rev
8/185	(28 Nov 68)	117	Premonitory Symptoms	Verse
8/186	(5 Dec 68)	132	Little Oliver	Il Verse (B)
8/187	(12 Dec 68)	141	Cyril's Success	Il Dram Par Rev
8/188	(19 Dec 68)	151	The Phantom Head	Il Verse
8/189	(26 Dec 68)	161	Tame Cats; Or, the Triumph of Collette	Il Dram Par Rev
8/190	(2 Jan 69)	173	The Politest of Nations	Verse
8/191	(9 Jan 69)	176–177	Woman's Gratitude	Il Verse
8/192	(16 Jan 69)	188	The Baby's Vengeance	Il Verse
[8/193	(23 Jan 69)	*wanting*		
		204	The Two Ogres	Il Verse (B)]
8/194	(30 Jan 69)	208–209	School (For Scandal)	Dram Par Rev
8/195	(6 Feb 69)	217	The Bab Ballads No. 60/Mister William	Il Verse
		225	Home; Or, "Oh, Blame Not the Liar!"	Dram Par Rev
8/196	(13 Feb 69)	228	The Bab Ballads No. 61/The Martinet	Il Verse (B)
8/197	(20 Feb 69)	238–239	The Bab Ballads No. 62/The King of Canoodle-Dum	Il Verse (B)
8/198	(27 Feb 69)	248	The Bab Ballads No. 63/First Love	Il Verse (B)
8/199	(6 Mar 69)	259	Not Guilty; Or, "A Party by the Name of Johnson"	Dram Par Rev
9/201	(20 Mar 69)	21	Life for Life	Dram Par Rev

[12] The title is printed as "Blabworth-cum Talkington."

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9/202	(27 Mar 69)	31	The Bab Ballads No. 64/The Haughty Actor	Il Verse (B)
9/203	(3 Apr 69)	41	The Bab Ballads No. 65/The Two Majors	Il Verse (B)
9/204	(10 Apr 69)	51	The Bab Ballads No. 66/The Three Bohemian Ones	Il Verse
9/206	(24 Apr 69)	71	Black and White	Dram Par Rev
9/207	(1 May 69)	75	The Bab Ballads No. 67/The Policeman's Beard	Il Verse
9/208	(8 May 69)	85	The Bab Ballads No. 68/The Bishop of Rum-Ti-Foo, Again	Il Verse (B)
9/209	(15 May 69)	104	The Bab Ballads No. 69/A Worm Will Turn	Il Verse (B)
9/210	(22 May 69)	112	The Bab Ballads No. 70/The Mystic Salvagee	Il Verse (B)
9/211	(29 May 69)	115	The Bab Ballads No. 71/Emily, John, James, and I	Il Verse (B)
9/212	(5 Jun 69)	135	Firefly	Dram Par Rev
9/217	(10 Jul 69)	185	Mary Warner	Dram Par Rev
9/221	(7 Aug 69)	225	An Old Score	Dram Par Rev
9/222	(14 Aug 69)	233	The Ghost to His Ladye Love	Il Verse
9/224	(28 Aug 69)	253	The Bab Ballads No. 72/Prince Il Baleine	Il Verse
		255	Formosa; Or, the Railroad to Ruin	Dram Par Rev
10/226	(11 Sep 69)	13	The Bab Ballads No. 73/The Way of Wooing	Il Verse (B)
10/228	(25 Sep 69)	31	The Bab Ballads No. 74/The Scornful Colonel	Il Verse
10/229	(2 Oct 69)	41	Progress	Dram Par Rev
10/230	(9 Oct 69)	51	The Bab Ballads No. 75/The Variable Baby	Il Verse
10/231	(16 Oct 69)	61	Lost at Sea	Dram Par Rev
10/232	(23 Oct 69)	73	A Life Chase; Or, Who Killed Cock Robin	Dram Par Rev
10/233	(30 Oct 69)	75	The Bab Ballads No. 76/The Ladies of the Lea	Il Verse
10/234	(6 Nov 69)	91	Not Such a Fool as He Looks	Il Dram Par Rev
10/235	(13 Nov 69)	101	A Hint to Editors	Prose
10/236	(20 Nov 69)	105	The Bab Ballads No. 77/Hongree and Mahry	Il Verse (B)
10/239	(11 Dec 69)	141	The Siren	Il Dram Par Rev
10/241	(25 Dec 69)	161	Uncle Dick's Darling	Dram Par Rev
10/243	(8 Jan 70)	175	A Christian Frame of Mind	Il Fiction
10/246	(29 Jan 70)	211	The Nightingale; Or, The Terrible Turk and the Great Tidal Wave!	Il Dram Par Rev
10/247	(5 Feb 70)	215	The Bab Ballads No. 78/The Reverend Simon Magus	Il Verse (B)
10/250	(26 Feb 70)	247	Philomel	Dram Par Rev

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11/253	(19 Mar 70)	15	The Bab Ballads No. 79/My Dream	Il Verse (B)
11/254	(26 Mar 70)	31	The Bab Ballads No. 80/Damon v. Pythias	Il Verse (B)
[11/255	(2 Apr 70)	*wanting*		
		37	The Prompter's Box; Or, Prompter, Prompt Thyself [13]	Dram Par Rev]
11/256	(9 Apr 70)	45	The Bab Ballads No. 81/The Bum-Boat Woman's Story	Il Verse (B)
[12/270	(12 Jul 70)	*wanting*		
		21	The Courier of Lyons; Or, The Confusing Criminal, and the Commissary-and-a-Half [13]	Dram Par Rev]
12/271	(23 Jul 70)	32–33	The Bab Ballads No. 82/The Fairy Curate	Il Verse (B)
[12/272	(30 Jul 70)	*wanting*		
		43	Helen Douglas [13]	Dram Par Rev]
12/273	(6 Aug 70)	45	The Bab Ballads No. 83/Phrenology	Il Verse (B)
12/275	(20 Aug 70)	65	The Bab Ballads No. 84/The Perils of Invisibility	Il Verse (B)
[12/281	(1 Oct 70)	*wanting*		
		127	Innisfallen; Or, The Men in the Gap [13]	Dram Par Rev]
[12/282	(8 Oct 70)	*wanting*		
		136–137	Amy Robsart; Or, The Carnival of Irish Tragedians [13]	Dram Par Rev]
[12/283	(15 Oct 70)	*wanting*		
		151	The Odds [13]	Dram Par Rev]
12/284	(22 Oct 70)	156	The Bab Ballads No. 85/The Wise Policeman	Il Verse
[12/285	(29 Oct 70)	*wanting*		
		169	Fernande [13]	Dram Par Rev]
12/290	(3 Dec 70)	219	Nell in a Nutshell	Dram Par Rev
12/293	(24 Dec 70)	239	Écarté; Or, This Must Be Mr. Grant!	Dram Par Rev
13/295	(7 Jan 71)	7	Strange But True. No. 1/The Story of Old Reginald and the Honest Burglar	Il Fiction
13/296	(14 Jan 71)	16	Singular Effect of the Late Frost [14]	Prose
13/298	(28 Jan 71)	35	The Bab Ballads No. 85/Old Paul and Old Tim	Il Verse (B)
13/300	(11 Feb 71)	57	Randall's Thumb	Dram Par Rev
13/301	(18 Feb 71)	73	Deadman's Point; Or, All Fees Are Revived at the Adelphi Theatre	Dram Par Rev
13/305	(18 Mar 71)	113	Wait and Hope; Or, The Builder's Private Band	Dram Par Rev

[13] The Proprietor's Copy reveals that at this time all the dramatic parodies were Gilbert's work. Hence, it is almost certain that those contained in the "missing" numbers for April 2, July 12, July 30, October 1, October 8, October 15, and October 29, 1870, are his.

[14] The title is printed "SINGULAR EEFECT OF THE LATE FROST." Hood wrote the name of one Turner in the margin, but by Turner's name on the page of payments there is an X and the note "by Gilbert."

Vol No	*(Date)*	*Page*	*Title*	*Description*
13/306	(25 Mar 71)	125	Here, There, and Everywhere	Review
13/311	(29 Apr 71)	177	Notre Dame	Dram Par Rev
13/315	(27 May 71)	212	An English Gentleman	Dram Par Rev
[14/335	(14 Oct 71)	*wanting*]		
[20/485	(5 Sep 74)	*wanting*]		
20/500	(12 Dec 74)	238–239	Rosencrantz and Guildenstern [15]	Il Dram Par
20/501	(19 Dec 74)	256–257	Rosencrantz and Guildenstern	Il Dram Par
20/502	(26 Dec 74)	261	Rosencrantz and Guildenstern	Dram Par

Special Number	*(Year)*	*Page*	*Title*	*Description*
Christmas Number	(65)	17–18	The Astounding Adventure of Wheeler J. Calamity	Fiction
Christmas Number	(66)	5	The Sort of Story Without Which No Christmas Number Is Complete (Hood)	Illustration
		8	The Pantomime That Jack Wrote	Cartoon
		10	The Waits (Scott)	Illustration
Fun Almanack	(66)	5	M. Gustave Dore	Anecdote
		5	Caledonian Anecdote	Anecdote
		10–11	A Sensation Novel	Fiction
Fun Almanack	(67)	7	In-tense-ly Particular	Cartoon
Fun Almanack	(68)	13	The History of the Sensation Drama That Jack Wrote	Cartoon
Fun Almanack	(69)	12	All Levée Swells — All 'eavy Swells	Cartoon
Fun Almanack	(71)	14	Our Pictorial Centuple Acrostico-Charadical Puzzle	Cartoon

[15] Tom Hood died Nov 20 1874. The three-part "Rosencrantz and Guildenstern" was Gilbert's only contribution under the new editor Henry Sampson and his last for *Fun*. The fact that Gilbert ceased contributing in the spring of 1871 and did not resume his work, albeit briefly, till after Hood's death suggests a possible rift between author and editor. A letter from Gilbert to the Dalziels dated Nov 30 1874 suggests that his final severance from *Fun* was caused by his disapproval of Henry Sampson's activities with *The Hornet*, a rather scurrilous magazine. (The letter is quoted by Townley Searle in *Sir William Schwenck Gilbert: A Topsy-Turvy Adventure* [London 1931] p 87. The original A. L. S. is now in the Reginald Allen Gilbert and Sullivan collection at the Pierpont Morgan Library.)

Additions to the *NATION INDEX*†

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IN the course of exhuming literary and business remains of the *Nation* * of the period *1865–1900*, the compiler has encountered numerous references to authorship that supplement those contained in the *Nation Index*. The identifications appear chiefly in payment vouchers and in letters exchanged between *Nation* contributors and assistant editor Wendell Phillips Garrison. The form followed herein is that of Volume 2, Index of Contributors, of the *Nation Index*.

* * *

Adams,[1] Charles Francis Jr., 1835–1915:
Albert Gallatin. 29:128–129, 144–145.
Anderson, Rasmus Björn, 1846–1936:
Nordens forhistorie, af L. I. A. Worsaae. 33:380–381.
The great epics of medieval Germany, by George Theodore Dippold. 36:283.
[Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae.] 41:198.
[Professor Johannes Steenstrup.] 41:241.
Berlin som tysk Rigshovedstad, af Dr. Georg Brandes. 42:367.
[Volapyk.] 43:479–480.
Sne (Snow), by Alexander Kjelland. 44:326.
The Discoverer of Bering's Strait. 45:256–258.
Bornholms oltidsmindes og oldsager, af Amtmand E. Vedel. 45:379–380.
Atkinson, Edward, 1827–1905:
The public debt — reduction of currency. 1:196.
Probable effects of southern free labor on northern industry. 1:198–199.
Americans and money. 1:200–201.
Real nature of legal tenders. 5:234–235.
Atkinson,[2] Edward, and E. L. Godkin:
The difficulties of economical discussion. 9:65–66.
Bandelier, Adolf F., 1840–1914:
The primitive family in its origin and development, by C. N. Starcke. 48:493–494.
Becker, George Ferdinand, 1847–1919:
Walt Whitman, by Richard Maurice Bucke. 37:84.
Benson, Eugene:
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† *The Nation, Volumes 1–105, New York, 1865–1917, Indexes of Titles and Contributors*, compiled by Daniel C. Haskell, Volume 2, Index of Contributors (The New York Public Library 1953) — here referred to as the *Nation Index*. EDITOR'S NOTE: There are still a few copies remaining of the two volumes (available at $12.50 the set from our Sales Shop).

* The writer has assembled from various manuscript depositories in the United States a collection of copies of letters and payment vouchers, which he has used to prepare these additions.

[1] The *Nation Index*, on the evidence of existing records, attributes this contribution — a somewhat critical review of Henry Adams's life of Albert Gallatin — to A. R. McDonough. The true author of the review was kept secret by editor E. L. Godkin for fear of causing unpleasantness within the Adams family. For the story of the intrigue between Godkin and Henry's brother, see Evelyn Page "The Man Around the Corner" *New England Quarterly* XXIII (September 1950).

[2] The *Nation Index* attributes this article to Godkin.

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[3] Several years after the founding of the *Nation*, Garrison succeeded assistant editor John Richard Dennett as head of its literary department. Among Garrison's regular tasks was the writing of the introductory paragraphs to the "Literary Notes." (The succeeding longer paragraphs in the "Literary Notes" were often the work of paid contributors, who received five dollars per "Note." Historian Henry Charles Lea, a frequent contributor to the "Literary Notes" after 1875, sometimes, as did others, declined payment or else exchanged a "Note" for the renewal of his yearly subscription.) In 1871 Garrison outlined to his mother his duties as a contributor: "I don't write any of the editorials in the *Nation*. I contribute something to the 'Week' generally, and regularly write the greater part of the 'Literary Notes'; more rarely book reviews nowadays, for which I have not the time."

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[4] This article appears in Volume 2 of the *Nation Index* but through oversight it was omitted from Volume 1, Index of Titles.

[5] This article is mistakenly attributed to F. W. Godkin by the *Nation Index*.

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THE CENTRAL BUILDING

Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street

HEROES AND VALENTINES — Room 78

An exhibition featuring illustrations by Tom Feelings for Julius Lester's *To Be a Slave*. Also on display are Robin Hood paintings by N. C. Wyeth, and a collection of old valentines. Through April 30.

FIBER OPTICS — First Floor Corridor North

The versatility of the newly developed technique of fiber optics is shown in books, periodicals, and photographs from the Science and Technology Division. Through April 30.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY REGINALD MARSH — Lobby and Landing Cases

A selection of original drawings in pen and ink, pencil, and color, for the books illustrated by the New York artist, commemorating the gift of Mrs Felicia Meyer Marsh. Through June 16.

BEASTS, BIRDS, BUGS, BOOKS — Second Floor Gallery

An exhibition of books (including rare books), manuscripts, and original watercolors and prints from the Library's collections, marking the centennial of The American Museum of Natural History. April 24 through June.

The Central Building, continued

THE OSSETES AND OSSETIA — SECOND FLOOR CENTRAL CORRIDOR

The history and culture of a little-known people in the Caucasus are described in books and illustrative material from the Slavonic Division. April 21 through August 1.

ASPECTS OF URBAN LIFE — THIRD FLOOR PRINT GALLERY

Prints from the late fifteenth century to the present depict man in his urban surroundings. Through April 30.

NEW IN THE BERG COLLECTION, 1962–1964 — ROOM 318

Selected acquisitions including the archive of Lady Gregory; such notable items as the manuscripts of Byron's "Nisus and Euryalus" and of Irving's *A Tour on the Prairies*; and material for the study of figures as diverse as J. R. Lowell, Hardy, Conrad, Firbank, Shaw, Forster, Virginia Woolf, Huxley, Day-Lewis, and MacNeice. Through September.

THE DIVERSITY OF THE ARENTS TOBACCO COLLECTION — ROOM 324

Unusual books, manuscripts, and ephemera illustrate the many different sorts of materials included in the Collection. Through April 30.

THE ART OF MEDIEVAL ILLUMINATION: REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLES — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

On display are rare manuscripts charting the development of the technique of illumination during the Middle Ages. Through April 30.

* * *

RECENT ACCESSIONS — ROOM 84

A rotating display of books and dustjackets exhibiting materials recently added to the collection of the Jewish Division.

TECHNICAL BOOKS OF THE MONTH — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

A monthly selection of new books received in the Science and Technology Division, and reviewed in *New Technical Books*.

UNITED STATES POSTAGE STAMPS — MAIN LOBBY

An almost complete collection of United States postal issues and airmail stamps, 1847–1926. Permanent exhibition.

HISTORY OF PRINTING — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR

Examples of the recorded word and the graphic arts from Babylonian tablets to modern press work. Permanent exhibition.

WALT WHITMAN — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR

The Oscar Lion Collection of books by and about Whitman, including first editions, manuscripts, letters, portraits, and memorabilia. Permanent exhibition.

WASHINGTON IRVING — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR

Selections from the Seligman and Hellman collections of Irvingiana consisting of first editions, manuscripts, sketchbooks, etc. Permanent exhibition.

AMERICAN VIEWS — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

A selection of prints from the I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection. Permanent exhibition.

THE LIBRARY & MUSEUM OF THE PERFORMING ARTS AT LINCOLN CENTER

111 Amsterdam Avenue

SHELBY CULLOM DAVIS MUSEUM

THE FILMS OF MACK SENNETT — PLAZA GALLERY

A kaleidoscopic showing of Sennett's one reel comedies featuring "The Fatal Glass of Beer," with W. C. Fields. Through the summer.

IRVING BERLIN: WORDS AND MUSIC — PLAZA GALLERY

Scores and sheet music from the Library's Music Division commemorating the achievement of the American composer. Through the spring.

DEATH OF ELIZABETH — PLAZA GALLERY

A mural by the contemporary English artist Leonard Rosoman depicting the colorful events and personalities of England in the period before and after the death of the queen. Through the spring.

OPERA — FROM SCORE TO STAGE — MAIN GALLERY

A major presentation of how an opera comes into being. An animated, three-dimensional, audio-visual complex (40 by 80 feet in area) gives a back-stage view of the 1966 Metropolitan Opera production of Richard Strauss's *Die Frau ohne Schatten*. On view for a two-year period.

DRAWINGS BY HIRSCHFELD — AMSTERDAM GALLERY

An exhibition of more than forty original theatrical caricatures by artist Al Hirschfeld. Through April 14.

THE MELODY IS THE MESSAGE: POP SONGS AND THE MEDIA — VINCENT ASTOR GALLERY

Sheet music, memorabilia, and machines (in working order) representing the various media for American popular music from the 1840s to today: minstrel shows, vaudeville, the musical stage, recordings, movies, television. Through June 14.

DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER

20 West 53rd Street

A display of toys and amusement items from turn-of-the-century America, on loan from Time-Out Antiques, on the First Floor. Through April. Etchings and intaglios by Ann Flora, Katherine Metz, and Mohammad Omer Khalil, in the Art Library. April 15 through May 14.

COUNTEE CULLEN REGIONAL BRANCH

104 West 136th Street

"Bombax, Bugs-a-Bugs and Foufou from Ougadougou to Abengourou." Color photographs of West Africa by Shu-Ren Cheng. April 10 through May 9.

HUDSON PARK BRANCH

10 Seventh Avenue South

"Flea Market." An exhibition of antique glass (and toothpick-holders), from a private collection. April 10 through May 9.

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION

103 West 135th Street

Contemporary Art by Afro-Americans. On display are prints by the ten artists represented in the book, from a copy of the folio edition presented by the compiler, Louise Jefferson. Through April.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CENTRAL LIBRARY

MAY 1969

BULLETIN

OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

BULLETIN OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

VOLUME 73 MAY 1969 NUMBER 5

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Spring has come again, a time for flowers and secrets. The wreath on our cover conceals an old story in its flowers, a message not quite as Lethal as some of those to be found set in secret writing. A single tulip equals "I," a pair of roses, "N," etc. Clockwise, starting at top center, the flowers spell out, in German: *Ich bleibe dir getreu, bis in den Tod* (I will remain true to you unto death). The illustration is from the Music Division's Drexel collection copy of Johannes Friderici *Cryptographia* . . . (Hamburg, G. Rebenlein, print 1685) opp p 246.

In the Check List beginning on p 315 below, David Kahn provides an annotated guide to the best modern works on secret writing. Over the years, through the interest of specialists in this field, the Library has been able to build up a significant collection of materials on cipher writing, especially since the Second World War. These materials are augmented by some of the holdings in the Library's outstanding shorthand collection. Codebreakers and codemakers, amateur and professional, will find in the Information and Science & Technology Divisions most of the works in the Check List (including the unpublished translations) and many of those in the "Note on Other Sources." We are grateful to Mr Kahn for making available for microfilming copies of those works the Library did not already possess.

The tailpieces on p 308 and 314 are from the Bassett & Moreau workbooks noted in the January *Bulletin*. The linecut of readers in the Main Reading Room used in Front Matter is an illustration by Tom Funk from the 1961 Library publication *Search & Research*.

Printed and published monthly except July and August, by The New York Public Library at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. 10018. Subscription $5.00 a year, single numbers 50 cents. *Editor*, David V. Erdman; *Managing Editor*, William L. Coakley; *Editorial Assistant*, Marilan Lund. Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y. May, 1969. Volume 73, Number 5. © 1969. The New York Public Library. form p5 [v-16-69 22c]

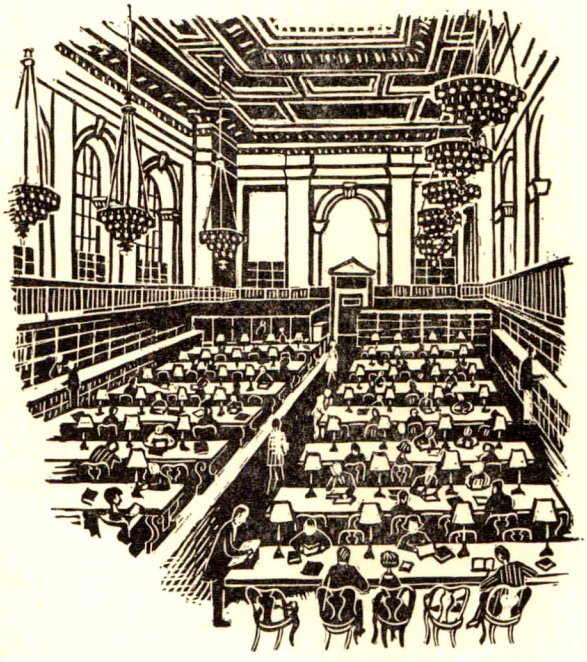
CALCUTTA CENTRAL LIBRARY UNIVERSITY

Front Matter

Drastic Curtailment of Library Services

Being put into effect as we go to press — with no bright ray of hope on the horizon — is a severe reduction of public services both in The Research Libraries and in The Branch Libraries voted by our Board of Trustees to meet the escalating budgetary crisis of The New York Public Library.

Beginning May 12 The Research Libraries will be closed evenings, holidays, and Saturdays and Sundays, providing service only on weekdays between 10 a. m. and 6 p. m. Forty-one of the Branch Libraries will be reduced to two-day schedules, and by August eleven of these will be closed completely. The other branches will operate on reduced weekly schedules. Eighty per cent of current branch evening service after 6 p. m. will be eliminated; and all branches (except Nathan Straus Young Adult Library) will be closed on weekends. Never in all its history, not during the great Depression nor during either World War, has the Library been driven to such drastic departure from its proud tradition of service to the public all evenings and throughout the week and in all neighborhoods.



The reason? Major decreases in the City's 1969–70 Executive Budget, which supports the Branch Libraries and, in part, the physical upkeep of Central Building; sharp increases in costs of operation that have produced a current annual deficit for The Research Libraries of an estimated $2.8 million, more than a million dollars over last year's deficit and thrice what any annual fund drive has been able to make up from private and foundation giving. Deficits of such magnitude, met from endowment principal, are depleting the Library's resources at a rate which cannot continue if The Research Libraries are to survive.

Recent efforts to obtain increased income from public and private sources to help bridge the budget gap have so far proved unsuccessful, including attempts to get the State to increase the levels of its support and the City to accept the full, rather than partial, support of the maintenance and housekeeping costs of Central Building. A program by which the State and City universities would contribute substantially to the heavy cost the Library has assumed in giving

free service to their students, and which was agreed to by both universities, has failed for lack of funding. (This essential proposal, which will require legislative support from the City and State governments, is discussed below.) Gifts from private sources have increased but not nearly substantially enough to meet the increased costs of books, labor, and supplies. The Trustees, nevertheless, believing that the Library must as long as possible maintain and strengthen its two great resources, its professional staff and its collections, have decided to continue to acquire and catalogue books and other materials as part of its obligation to remain one of the world's major research libraries and to support the advance reference and research needs of the New York academic, business, and professional community. Massive economies, therefore, could only be achieved by steep reduction of the quantity of public service.

The first announcement of the changes brought an immediate and gratifying response of support for the Library from a wide segment of the community. On April 25, a New York *Times* editorial strongly pleaded the Library's case and its executive offices made a new and substantial contribution to the fund drive. Many others have expressed their distress at the reduction in services, users of the Library such as the historian Barbara Tuchman and the young scholar faced with the closing of her neighborhood branch who was quoted by the *Times*: "If they close it, where will we go?" The Library deeply regrets the hardships and inconveniences the curtailments will cause the public in general and the scholars who depend on The Research Libraries. We will make every effort to obtain the increased income which would permit the restoration of any or all of the curtailments.

Proposal for the Future: The ACLS Report

In the spring of 1968, the American Council of Learned Societies, in a report issued under the direction of its president, Dr Frederick Burkhardt, outlined a program of cooperation between The New York Public Library and the State and City universities of New York. As a result of this study, a proposal was signed in July 1968 by the Commissioner of Education of the State of New York, the Chancellor of the City University of New York, the Chancellor of the State University of New York, and the President of The New York Public Library. The cooperative program which the proposal presents would provide the substantial public financing which appears to be essential to supplement the Library's inadequate private support. It recognizes that increased support from individuals, corporations, associations, and foundations may not prove sufficient to restore and extend the unique resources and services of The Research Libraries and that the State government as well as the City and Federal governments have an important stake in the Library's future. At the same time, both the City and the State universities are embarking upon ambitious and urgently needed doctoral programs; and they must have the use of a great advanced research library which would be expensive to create and which cannot possibly equal the existing resources of The New York Public Library. By making The Research Libraries of The New York Public Library the central resource for advanced research in the City and State university systems, the plan would provide the financial support essential to the growth and vitality of The New York Public Library's services not only to the City and State universities but to all members of the State's Reference and Re-

search Resources Program, to industry and business, and to the public requiring access to such resources. The proposal recommends that the State increase its statutory grant in partial support of The Research Libraries, that the State contribute substantially to the development of the Library's collections, that the City and State universities, by contracting for the special services and acquisitions necessary to meet their research needs, commit themselves to annual contributions to The Research Libraries, and that the City increase its support of them by one million dollars. Philanthropic foundations, which have not been willing to make a major commitment to the Library until it found a solution to its long-range financial problems, might then provide grants for the physical alterations and other non-recurring capital expenditures which would make The Research Libraries maximally accessible. These include the printing of a general catalog of The New York Public Library, which now exists on deteriorating cards; the relocation of collections and services to provide additional space in Central Building; and increased automation of the Library's operations. Such public and foundation support would not only preserve a great public resource but also enhance its utility to the City, the State, and the nation. Such enhancement will be beneficial to everyone who does research in the City and the State; and it is essential to the development of doctoral programs of quality in the City and State university systems.

After the proposal was signed last July, it was used as the basis of high-level talks with State and City officials. Service reductions contemplated in 1968 were postponed in the hope that the State might implement the cooperative program in its 1969/70 appropriations. When it became apparent that at least another year of delay would be necessary, the Board of Trustees of The New York Public Library felt that protective action could no longer be delayed if the Library's future existence were to be assured. Efforts will be continued to secure approval and funding of the cooperative program to permit restoration and expansion of The Research Libraries' services. Copies of the complete proposal (entitled "A Cooperative Program to Provide Improved Research Library Services to the City and State of New York") are available from the Director's Office of the Library.

NYPL Publications

Branch Library Book News, which was first published in 1924 as a supplement to this *Bulletin*, will cease publication with the June 1969 issue, Volume 46, number 5. But plans are under way to continue the bibliographical work which has given readers in our branch libraries the benefit of short and timely book lists prepared by the professional staff. *BLBN* itself continued the tradition of two ancestors, *Branch Library News* and the *Monthly List of Additions* (which began in 1901). The new book lists will be distributed only in our branches and will not be sold or distributed outside the Library.

Available from our Sales Shops

Films; A Catalog of the Film Collection in The New York Public Library. 1969 edition. 104 p. $1.50

This newly revised guide provides a brief description of each 16mm film in the collection, notes those especially recommended for teenagers and children, and contains a full subject index (Films, Avant-Garde, New York City, etc), and a selected index to directors. Copies are also available at the Registration Desk in Donnell Library Center.

Mail orders should be addressed to our Central Building Sales Office; those under $10 must be accompanied by check or money order.

A Survey of the Scholarship on John Evelyn

By JEANNE K. WELCHER
C. W. Post College

MOST READERS' acquaintance with John Evelyn is as a one-book man. Yet his Diary is but a fraction of his writings, which number some sixty published books and essays, in numerous editions and reprints. The scholarship evoked by this body of works has never been comprehensively listed. There is a primary bibliography, Geoffrey Keynes's authoritative *John Evelyn: a Study in Bibliophily* (1937; 2nd ed, 1968), in which only passing reference is made to secondary studies. Not only are these unlisted, neither has this criticism been analyzed for its trends and conclusions.

Yet several facts and insights about Evelyn's work as well as about the literature of his time emerge from a survey of the Evelyn studies. The principal conclusions are these. 1) The quantity of scholarship on Evelyn is large for the general estimate of his importance. 2) The approach to his work has been more nonliterary than literary, concentrating on his life, his scientific contributions, and his ideas. 3) Where the approach to his Diary has been literary, challenging questions have been asked about its value and about the literary essence of diary writing in general. 4) Critics distinguish among his works in terms of their artistry, but too rarely and without the proper emphasis to provide the general reader with ready direction. 5) Many of the works that critics designate as his most literary are almost unknown and relatively unavailable. 6) Evelyn's literary position, particularly as a pioneer in several lesser seventeenth-century genres and literary trends, has been notably neglected. 7) His reputation has undergone striking changes over the years, but many of the criticisms of his works and allusions to him remain uncited and nowhere have the details been assembled all together. 8) While surveys of some of his ideas have been made, few use the whole range of his writings or genuinely put him in his contemporary context. Yet, so varied are his subjects, reasons and occasions for writing, and media, that a right reading of any one of his texts is often difficult without such syntheses. 9) His role as virtuoso has been emphasized by scholars and explored advantageously but far from exhaustively. 10) Some relatively important work remains to be done on Evelyn as a literary figure.

A categorizing and consideration of the outstanding studies will both show the bases of these conclusions and illustrate the range of critical approach and opinion.

Quantity of Scholarship

A few figures serve to indicate the quantity of the scholarship on Evelyn. Six books and a dozen lengthy essays have been devoted entirely to him. Two more books have divided their attention between him and Pepys. Special studies number more than one hundred: book reviews, articles, and introductions to editions. Not counting the multitudinous brief references to Evelyn in general literary studies, at least twenty books give substantial treatment to some particular contribution of his.

Studies Prior to World War II

Several of the older studies remain outstanding. Some of these are broad in their approach; others concentrate on one or another particular aspect of Evelyn.

Arthur Ponsonby's *John Evelyn* (1933), while covering all phases of Evelyn's life, is very much a literary biography. With sympathy toward his subject and grace of expression, he describes each of Evelyn's works, provides brief, responsible judgments, and analyzes Evelyn's style with precision, detail, and little of the jargon often applied to seventeenth-century prose. In briefer compass, Robert Southey's lengthy review of the first edition of Evelyn's Diary (*Quarterly Review*, 1818) touches also on almost every publication of Evelyn's, intermixing incisive remarks with amusing crotchets. Austin Dobson in his introduction to an edition of the Diary (1906) judiciously sorts out Evelyn's works and shows what lasting values are to be found in the best of them.

Special features of Evelyn's works and ideas are analyzed in a few of the early studies. Horace Walpole, with his usual acute and caustic precision, describes Evelyn's place in art history in the two works *Anecdotes of Painting* and *Catalogue of Engravers* (1763). Albert Sieveking, whose anthology of gardening essays *The Praise of Gardens* (1899) includes selections from Evelyn, gives him generous space in the preface, placing his horticultural writings in the context of his other works and of other garden literature. A certain naiveté of language makes Carson Duncan's *The New Science and English Literature in the Classical Period* (1913) sound quaint to the modern ear, yet no study of seventeenth-century scientific prose style has sur-

passed it in evaluating Evelyn. With great knowledge of theatre history and thorough use of the available materials, E. Gordon Craig provides in his lengthy survey "John Evelyn and the Theatre" (*Mask*, 1924) a sound estimate of Evelyn's experience and taste. A *Times Literary Supplement* series on "Evelyn and Music" (1924–1926) is skeletal. Geoffrey Keynes's "John Evelyn as Bibliophile" (*Library*, 1931) is definitive. Although some of Thomas Mayo's judgments in *Epicurus in England 1650–1725* (1934) have been disputed by subsequent scholars, the sections on Evelyn stand.

Comment in Twentieth-Century Editions

The changing patterns of English literary scholarship at the turn of the century mark the Evelyn studies discernibly.

The quantity and quality of the editions reflect the new standards, as do the commentaries which introduce them. One can use with profit the following, all of which predate World War II: Dana's edition (1903) of Evelyn's translation *Instructions Concerning Erecting of a Library* from the French essay by Naudé, Bell's edition of *Sculptura* (1906), Keynes's *Memoires for My Grand-son* (1926) and *Directions for the Gardiner* (1932), Frere's *A Devotionarie Book* (1936), E. S. de Beer's *London Revived* (1938), and Harriet Sampson's *The Life of Mrs. Godolphin* (1939). All of these except the Naudé contain previously unpublished material. Looking to the last twenty years, we find notable criticism in the Augustan Reprint Society facsimile of *An Apologie for the Royal Party* and *A Panegyric to Charles the Second* (1951), the Luttrell reprint of Evelyn's own annotated copy of *Tyrannus* (1951), and preeminently in *The Diary* edited by Esmond de Beer (1955).

Recent Studies: Biographical

Recent critical studies — books, sections of books, and journal articles — have also followed the general literary trends, in their proliferation and accuracy of documentation. They divide rather sharply into two groups: those interested in Evelyn as a person and those analyzing his writings.

The majority of the new biographers of Evelyn reinforce the previous conceptions of the man. Margaret Willy's *English Diarists: Evelyn and Pepys* (1963) fulfills its modest design, succinctly and pleasantly but without innovation, comparing the two men and their self-portraits. The finest short biographical study is Guy Boas' "John Evelyn, 'Virtuoso': In the Light of Recent Research" (*Essays by Divers Hands: Being the Transactions of the Royal*

Society of Literature, 1956). Boas uses Evelyn's writings as occasions for noting the variety and style of his dilettantism. From early in his career, Evelyn had called himself a virtuoso, and the appropriateness of the term is self-evident. Boas enlarges on its applicability with economy, vividness, and pleasant dry wit.

Three sides of Evelyn's life — science, religion, and travel — have especially attracted scholars' attention.

To the modern scientist, Evelyn appears as an amateur in an age of amateurs. Yet there are distinctions to be made. What his particular contributions were and what respect he deserves are gradually becoming clearer. Some of the studies are very technical discussions of specific research projects of Evelyn's. More general is F. Sherwood Taylor's favorable view of "The Chemical Studies of John Evelyn" (*Annals of Science*, 1952). And broader yet is Peter Laslett's careful examination of the concept of amateurs in "The Scientist in Seventeenth-century England" (*Cambridge Historical Journal*, 1957).

More literary in emphasis yet still scientifically oriented are the reports on Evelyn's part in the Royal Society. The scope of Margaret Denny's "The Early Program of the Royal Society and John Evelyn" (*Modern Language Quarterly*, 1940) is revealed by its title. For the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Society, Esmond de Beer set down Evelyn's role as a Fellow thereof (*Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 1960). In the course of this article, he criticizes Evelyn's prose style — mainly adversely. Dorothy Stimson in *Scientists and Amateurs: A History of the Royal Society* (1948) treats Evelyn more cursorily than does Mr de Beer but provides a larger context, including examples of contemporary verse satire on scientific projectors. Similarly, references to Evelyn as scientist abound in Marjorie Nicolson's *Pepys' Diary and the New Sciences* (1965).

From the first, Evelyn's religious preoccupations have interested biographers, but the bulk of his writings on the subject, his extensive sermon notes, were made available for the first time only in the complete edition of the Diary (1955). Since then, articles by Caroline Robbins (*Journal of Modern History*, 1956), Louis Wright (*American Historical Review*, 1956), E. F. Carpenter (*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 1957), and David Underdown (*Sewanee Review*, 1957) have reiterated that Evelyn is singularly valuable on the religious life of a seventeenth-century Anglican. An overview of the vast body of fact and opinion is found in Florence Higham's *John Evelyn*

Esquire: an Anglican Layman of the Seventeenth Century (1968), addressed to the general reader rather than the specialist in religious history.

Interest in travel literature has found a ready subject in Evelyn. In particular, George Parks (*Huntington Library Quarterly*, 1947) and John Walter Stoye (*English Travellers Abroad 1604–67*, 1952) have summarized his thoughts on the value of travel. They note the literary influences on his travel accounts and show the effect on his whole life of his extensive continental experiences.

The debunking tendency — the most striking alteration in biography of the last hundred years — has affected only a handful of Evelyn studies. In many ways, Evelyn invites such attack. He blandly takes all knowledge and activities for his province. He writes often with a curious air of complacent humility. And he pictures himself as a model of dull propriety, his greatest acknowledged vice being somnolence at Sunday afternoon services. It is surprising that only so belatedly, and in such a limited way, has he come under fire.

Hardest on Evelyn and leading the reaction has been W. G. Hiscock, with two books, *John Evelyn and Mrs. Godolphin* (1951) and *John Evelyn and His Family Circle* (1955). Combining a new psychological approach with the old-fashioned readiness to pass moral judgment, he gives a mean view of Evelyn. Both books are almost totally absorbed with the activities and personality of Evelyn; references to his writings are chiefly incidental. Because Hiscock used material from unpublished manuscripts, he wrote with unprecedented authority and completeness. Consequently, the reader may be inclined to accept without question the opinions along with the facts. Yet a careful reading shows that what is new in Hiscock's judgment of Evelyn is based on negative evidence, inference, and a personal interpretation of seventeenth-century sensibilities.

James Holly Hanford said this in a brief review of *John Evelyn and Mrs. Godolphin* (*Philological Quarterly*, 1954). Some years later, Esmond de Beer (*Notes & Queries*, 1960) wrote an admirably detached critique of both of the Hiscock works which amounts to a set of guidelines on the use of conjecture in biographic writing. As he sees it, one cannot disprove Hiscock's guesses, but one should not have to: the burden of the proof lies with Hiscock and this his studies do not provide.

But more readers see the Hiscock books than the de Beer notes and some critics have vociferously echoed Hiscock's denunciation of Evelyn as a person — for example, Charles Smyth (*Church Quarterly Review*, 1956) and John Plumb in *Men and Places* (1963).

Recent Studies: Literary Critical

Evelyn's individual works have received fairly extensive critical treatment. This has been in the form of a doctoral dissertation, reviews of new editions of his works, journal articles on particular points of research, and books analyzing specific features of seventeenth-century literature.

The unpublished doctoral dissertation of Grace Hawley (Columbia, 1962) is by far the most comprehensive survey that has been made of Evelyn's literary works, their context, and the scholarship on them. Miss Hawley's thesis is that Evelyn's career derives almost entirely from Bacon, that Evelyn deliberately set out to complete as many as possible of the schemes outlined in the *Advancement of Learning*. Much of Evelyn's activity and writing fits into this plan; but by no means does it account for all his writings, nor are his references to Bacon numerous, respectful though they be. Yet, even if the thesis is pushed a little hard, there is value in the analysis.

Reviews have greeted each new publication of an Evelyn work in the past thirty years. Aside from the Diary, there have been new editions and reprintings of ten of his books and essays. Without exception, the reviews of these have commended the editing and introductions and strongly approved of the texts' being made available in modern editions. But the reviewers have provided relatively little exploration of this interest in any specific fashion.

The reception given to the Diary is another matter. When this was published for the first time (1818), reviewers were adulatory and long-winded. They exalted the Diary as a source of profound edification, their interest lying almost exclusively in the man himself. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the emphasis became somewhat less moralistic, broadening to include Evelyn's political and social significance. At the same time, comparisons with Pepys's diary evoked from the reviewers slightly shame-faced admissions that Evelyn's piety lacked liveliness. The more the contrasts were examined, the closer critics verged on the central question — what is the literary essence of autobiographic writing?

Before any real answers were forthcoming, the critical attitude toward the Diary changed in the same way that the whole approach to biography changed at that time. Even before the start of the twentieth century, reviewers once again occupied themselves with judging the man and not his work, only now their judgments were depreciative rather than glorifying. Reviews call Evelyn a "self-constituted plenipotentiary" (*Blackwood's*, 1854); accuse him of lacking humor, frankness, temperament; regret that he was

"not an oddity" (*Harper's*, 1902); dislike his "self-complacency and decorum" (*The Month*, 1906).

Bright exceptions to these more personal than literary comments are to be found. Richard Garnett (1901) and Austin Dobson (1906) wrote well-balanced evaluations. "Rambling round Evelyn" by Virginia Woolf (*The Common Reader*, 1925), written in 1920 for the three hundredth anniversary of Evelyn's birth, is thoroughly charming, a witty, appreciative, well-illustrated essay that is temperate in its appraisal.

Since the appearance of the six-volume *Diary of John Evelyn* edited by Esmond de Beer (1955), the first complete text to be published, a whole new reassessment has ensued. The emphasis has been very much on the editing but with divergent reactions and implications. No one has for a moment questioned the absolute competence of Mr de Beer's work. The majority of reviews express, in a tone often close to awe, profound respect for its painstaking accuracy and thoroughness of annotation. The words of the *Times Literary Supplement* sum up this judgment: "Our century has seen no finer achievement of patient and devoted scholarship" (Feb 3 1956).

The voice of dissent, taking no issue with such a description, instead undercuts the whole project. Some reviews directly challenge the previously quite unquestioned value of the Diary as an aid to the historian. D. C. Allen puts Evelyn down as "a pious snob" (*Modern Language Notes*, 1956). Asserting that the Diary "should never have been classed as 'literature,'" Benjamin Boyce calls it "ultimately a bore" (*College English*, 1961). For John Plumb (*Men and Places*, 1963), the edition is "rendered almost unreadable by the herculean scholarship." Ernest Sirluck remarks that such annotation is "usually reserved, even by Americans, for poets of the first rank" (*Modern Philology*, 1957). Both by direct statement and implication, this criticism raises two questions: is this kind of exhaustive scholarship really defensible (thirty years of research for this edition)? Even if the answer to this question is yes, does Evelyn deserve all this (explicitly asked by Christopher Hill, *History*, 1957; D. H. Pennington, *History Today*, 1956)? The questions are far-reaching if they are taken seriously — and the responsible way they are posed asks for serious answers.

Perhaps Mr de Beer in some measure invited such questions by his cool manner toward his subject. One can hardly disagree with Marion Smith's description of his introduction as "monotonous" and "impersonal in the main" (*Queens Quarterly*, 1957) or Hyder Rollins' comment that "the notes are models, even if their effect is to denigrate" (*Virginia Quarterly Review*, 1956). Mr de Beer himself frankly refers in his introduction to the fluctua-

tions of his own enthusiasm for Evelyn and one feels a straining for impartiality that is almost prejudicial.

Whether any of this flurry of comment represents a lasting change in the literary estimate of the Diary, the scholarly attitude toward the rest of Evelyn's writings has not altered. Journal articles on very specific problems about his works are not numerous but appear with a steady regularity. Precise answers are given on authorship, sources, and influences. Of most general interest are the Earl of Crawford on the Naudé (*Library*, 1932) and Michael Fixler on *The History of Three Late Famous Impostors* (*Library*, 1954), both of whom provide literary analysis along with new data.

Special seventeenth-century studies — on genres, ideas, or other elements of literary history — have provided some of the finest criticism of Evelyn's writings.

Gertrude Noyes (*A Bibliography of Courtesy and Conduct Books in Seventeenth Century England*, 1937) in a sentence or two indicates the importance of Evelyn in the tradition of courtesy literature and she lists nine of his works as coming in this category. There has as yet been no comprehensive exploration of these materials specifically as courtesy books. One of them, Evelyn's translation *The Golden Book of St. John Chrysostom Concerning the Education of Children*, is evaluated at some length by Max Laistner in *Christianity and Pagan Culture in the Later Roman Empire* (1951). Evelyn's discussion of salads in *Acetaria*, part of the vogue for cookery books in the seventeenth century, is given a context by Charles Cooper (*The English Table in History and Literature*, n.d.), Dorothy Hartley (*Food in England*, 1954) and Betty Wason (*Cooks, Gluttons, and Gourmets*, 1962). Viewing a different side of the social and historical scene are books on the disastrous events of 1666. Jane Lang, *Rebuilding St. Paul's after the Great Fire of London* (1956) and John Hearsey, *London and the Great Fire* (1965) evaluate Evelyn's Diary accounts and his "Londinium Redivivum."

Evelyn is seen as a pioneer in the changing attitude toward nature, described by Henry and Margaret Ogden in *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century* (1955). Their comments are complemented by Marjorie Nicolson in *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory* (1959). She shows — in a very few words — how far Evelyn's taste was from being romantic.

Among genre studies is Benjamin Boyce's *The Polemic Character* (1955). This discusses Evelyn's *A Character of England* in relation to two kinds of character-writing: the portrait character and the character of a country.

Donald Stauffer's *English Biography before 1700* (1964) lists "intimate biography" as one of the important seventeenth-century divisions of the genre and ranks Evelyn's *Life of Margaret Godolphin* as an outstanding example, of notable influence and lasting appeal. "Investigating 'the study of lives,'" James Roy King in *Studies in Six 17th Century Writers* (1966) makes many fresh approaches in his essay on Evelyn. He relates Evelyn to "the dehumanization of the 17th century world" and to "the history of technology." He analyzes him as "a thorough-going phenomenalist" and as "a generalist" (as opposed to a specialist). He relates his writings to "a fundamental problem of the modern world — the problem of the dissemination of highly factual knowledge." Not all of the contexts which Mr King provides produce unassailable conclusions, but the essay is lively and fresh.

Evaluation of the Scholarship

What becomes apparent from this survey is that Evelyn's life and his role in the seventeenth-century scene have received more attention from scholars than has his literary career. Commentary has consisted largely of psychological and moral judgments. Literary analysis and evaluation have been limited in comparison. The best studies are those by Ponsonby, Keynes, and Boas, the introductions to twentieth-century editions, some of the reviews of these editions, and the discussion of Evelyn in special studies of seventeenth-century genres and other literary phenomena.

Another conclusion is that a curious disproportion has marked the appreciation of Evelyn as an author. The initially great popularity of the Diary was owing in part to real merit but in part also to its novelty and the lack of competition. His other works, several of which had had a continuing vitality throughout the eighteenth century, were quite overshadowed by the Diary. Then, when more lively and more literary diaries were published, the artistry of Evelyn's began to be questioned. And the next step for many critics was to conclude that, if the Diary was not primarily artistic in ambition and achievement, then Evelyn must be somewhat peripheral to the literary scene. Yet from the 1920s onward, editions of more than a dozen of his works evidence a divergent opinion and scholarship has been steadily forthcoming from critics primarily in search of facts. Evaluations have been very cautiously and temperately offered.

Implicit in the criticism is the recognition that few valid generalizations can be made about Evelyn's works, for they are of such different sorts. Certain of them are not literature at all and have no value except for a very

specialized historian seeking some detail on the period. Others, while equally lacking in artistic pretension (written in haste or on assignment by the Royal Society or the King, or concerned with so technical a subject that Evelyn thought it unsuitable for stylistic polish), have an appeal for any student of seventeenth-century literary, social, religious, and political history. Around a dozen are genuine pieces of literature — not of the very first rank it is true, but entertaining examples of minor genres.

These distinctions have not been stressed. Many who write on Evelyn — historians, scientists — have no interest in Evelyn's art. Even the biographers, though they devote space to his literary career, undertake little critical analysis and base their rare evaluations on the whole mass of his writings. The few critics who note the works they feel have true literary worth have buried these assessments in paragraphs of analysis. Nowhere can one come upon a simple summary of which works by Evelyn the educated reader might enjoy. Yet surveying the comments, one finds substantial agreement, the critics generally acclaiming *The State of France*, the dedicatory epistle to *The Golden Book of St. John Chrysostom*, *A Character of England*, *Fumifugium*, *Tyrannus*, *A Devotionarie Book*, *The Life of Mrs. Godolphin*, the commendatory poem for Creech's Lucretius, *Directions for the Gardiner at Says-Court*, *Mundus Muliebris: or the Ladies Dressing Room Unlock'd* (the work of Evelyn and his daughter Mary), *Acetaria*, *Memoires for my Grandson*. Some also have praise for *Publick Employment and an Active Life Prefer'd to Solitude*, *The History of Three Late Famous Impostors*, *Navigation and Commerce*, *Numismata*, and parts of the Diary and of the letters.

Desirable Future Projects

Even if one knows what selections of Evelyn he wants to read, the difficulty remains of finding the texts at all, to say nothing of satisfactory texts. The letters have, thus far, appeared only in selections and without annotation; yet their quantity — probably around three hundred — and variety are such that they are of very great importance in ascertaining Evelyn's opinions and tastes with completeness and accuracy. There is a substantial body of other writings by Evelyn that are still in manuscript also, most of which presumably are significant more for their ideas than their style, but nonetheless they should be published, with annotation where it would be useful. Complete scholarly editions have been made of less than half of the works listed in the preceding paragraph. So there is ample work to be done in new editions. Also the several works which have been competently edited

in this century are all out of print now; all should be reprinted, with new introductions for some.

Such availability of texts would aid in the appreciation of seventeenth-century literature as a whole, because seeing Evelyn's works alongside comparable others clarifies sources, influences, and trends. Furthermore, while Evelyn was not a genius, he had a kind of vision: the number of his works which are pioneers in their genre, rhetorical techniques, or subject matter is astonishing. Yet details on these contributions are merely scattered through the criticism or not worked out at all. And such information is relatively useless if the reader cannot get a copy of the text in question.

That Evelyn's reputation has fluctuated over the years, with different works being favored by readers of different periods, is clear enough. However, many citations of Evelyn — particularly passing references in letters, journals, and essays — have not been noted in the scholarship. A collection of these would prove astonishingly large and indicate not only how widely his works have been read but also to what extent his name has, at times, been almost a by-word. Beyond that, a study of the details of his popularity and its variations would provide insights in the history of taste.

Enjoyable as is Boas' study "John Evelyn, 'Virtuoso' " cited above, a clear determination of what was distinctive and influential in Evelyn's role of virtuoso has not been made. Before that, separate analyses of each of Evelyn's pursuits must be made. The investigations that have been done on his taste in theatre, gardening, travel, religion, and music are limited in their detail and authority by the fact that they are based on abridged versions of the Diary and make inadequate use of Evelyn's other works. Several of his interests have not been surveyed in any detail: literature, language and prose style; art in general, architecture, nature and landscape art, and the art of collecting; education and ways of life; food; and such social and political questions as the monarchy, liberty, social classes and the peerage, poverty, health, and city-planning.

Syntheses of ideas, besides being interesting in themselves, are an important background to recognizing Evelyn's literary techniques and hence to reading him properly. As one might expect, the motivation, the audience, the medium, and current events affected the tone and even altered the nature of his opinion. A cross-view of his writings on any one of these topics helps in assessing the intrinsic intention and rhetorical effects in any one passage or selection.

Evelyn has received a fair share of scholarly attention: that is abundantly apparent. But building on what has been done, scholars should now focus on

making available standard editions of his works, on singling out his most literary contributions, on putting these in their proper perspective, and thus on establishing a more exact view of his literary stature.

An engraving by Thomas Worlidge used as frontispiece to John Evelyn's *Sculptura; or, The History and Art of Chalcography, and Engraving on Copper* (London 1755).
Prints Division

The Bostonians: Creation and Revision

By HERBERT F. SMITH *and* MICHAEL PEINOVICH
University of Wisconsin

IN THE CANON of Henry James's writings *The Bostonians* stands unique, a poor relation admitted to near membership — not denied its paternity by its author, but never attaining complete status. It is the only full-length novel dealing with wholly American characters and settings; it is the only major work excluded from the New York Edition. Virtually all his commentaries upon the work are ambivalent. He had, he wrote Howells when he was deep in work on the New York Edition, "a dim vague view of introducing, the too-diffuse but, I somehow feel, tolerably full and good 'Bostonians' of nearly a quarter of a century ago; that production never having, even to my much disciplined patience, received any sort of justice. But it will take, doubtless, a good deal of artful redoing — and I haven't, now, had the courage for any thing so formidable as touching and retouching it." [1] Years afterward, when he had become fairly assured that he would *not* revise and preface it for the New York Edition, he felt the same ambivalence. Writing in answer to some praises of Edmund Gosse about the novel, he remained tentative:

> Your good impression of the Bostonians greatly moves me — the thing was no success whatever on publication in the Century (where it came out,) and the late R. W. Gilder, of that periodical, wrote me at the time that they had never published anything that appeared so little to interest their readers. I felt about it myself then that it was probably rather a remarkable feat of objectivity — but I was never very thoroughly happy about it, and I seem to recall that I found the subject and the material, after I had got couched in it, under some illusion, less interesting and repaying than I had assumed it to be. All the same I *should* have liked to review it for the Edition — it would have come out a much truer and more curious thing (it was meant to be curious from the first;) but there can be no question of that, or of the proportionate Preface to have been written with it, at present — or probably ever within my span of life.[2]

In retrospect, the novel seems to have been jinxed from the first. It was the only major novel by James committed to serialization in that magazine which epitomized American middle-class literary leanings in the heyday of the Genteel tradition, the *Century Monthly*. James's misjudgment of his market for the novel in its serialization was compounded by the unfortunate

[1] *The Letters of Henry James* ed Percy Lubbock (New York 1920) II 100.

[2] Lubbock II 498–499.

early history of the novel in hard covers: James's American publisher, James R. Osgood, went bankrupt during the publication of the novel, and James received only about half what he had been led to expect in royalties, $2500 instead of $5000.[3] Finally, the novel was received very badly by the American press, who appreciated its satire about as much as the audience at Whittier's birthday dinner appreciated the flippant contributions of Mark Twain. Boston was a holy place in those days, and its Brahmins and its causes — abolition and women's rights — were not to be defiled. A luckless project from first to last, the novel provoked in James feelings of pride in the achievement and unhappiness in the result to the last year of his life.

No other novel by James had this effect upon him. Although one can perhaps guess why James did not include the work in the New York Edition (fear for the success of the whole series if this Jonah were to be aboard — plus some pressure from Scribner's not to include it), he is still left with the question of why this one work should have produced such a disaster for its author. After all, since Lionel Trilling's defense of *Princess Casamassima* and by implication, extension, and some explicit argument *The Bostonians* as well, few critics would argue that the novel is, indeed, inferior. One must look among the events surrounding the writing and first publication of the novel for the reasons for its curious position in the James canon. This paper will examine, first, the attendant circumstances of its serialization in the *Century* and second, by reason of a careful collation of the two first appearances of the work, in serial and then in book form, the kinds of revisions James made while the work was in press. The investigation will enable us to discern both James's original intention for the work which he "got launched in . . . under some illusion" and the "artful redoing" that he performed upon it as the illusion wore away.

I

The unlikely marriage of the *Century Magazine* and this novel by Henry James has an interesting history. James was first brought to contribute to the magazine by the personal supplication of Josiah Gilbert Holland, first editor of *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* (the ancestor of the *Century*). Holland presumed upon his acquaintance with Henry James Sr to intercede with his son.[4] James did respond to Holland's request, publishing five rather un-

[3] Leon Edel *Henry James; The Middle Years* (Philadelphia 1962) 145.

[4] Arthur W. John "A History of *Scribner's Monthly* and *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, 1870–1900" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University 1951) 123.

distinguished stories in *Scribner's Monthly* between 1874 and 1878 and the short novel *Confidence* in 1880 — in spite of a request by his friend Howells that he not contribute to a magazine that was cutting into the circulation of the *Atlantic Monthly*.[5] After Holland retired from the magazine, the new editor-in-chief, Richard Watson Gilder, worked harder, for a time, to get works by James. Gilder's wife, Helene DeKaye Gilder, had been a close friend of Mary Temple, so her husband was more intimately connected with James than were most of the editors of New York magazines.[6] When Gilder found that his magazine was being virtually taken over by what he called the "War Series," the articles spanning the years 1882–1886 later collected under the general title of *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, he reached out in every direction to include works by known writers on matters often peripheral to the Civil War, but of rather more literary content than the accounts by the generals. Thus, he published Twain's "Private History of a Campaign that Failed," Whitman's reminiscences of nursing in Washington, and actually had Thomas Nelson Page commissioned to rewrite Lessing's "Minna von Barnhelm" to fit the War between the States.[7] Doubtless the agreement that started James to work on *The Bostonians* in April 1883 was for some form of a novel that would help in the "reconciliation" of North and South that seemed to be the *Century's* self-imposed duty of the period. James only had to make one change in his original plan for the novel to fit the *Century* formula: he converted Basil Ransom from a Westerner to a native of Mississippi.[8] However, as we shall see, this one change was to haunt him in the writing of the novel.

As late as August 1884, James noted that he was "infinitely oppressed and depressed by the sense of being behindhand with the novel — that is, with the *start* of it."[9] But by October he had completed the first installments and sent them to the *Century*. Gilder was delighted with his manuscript: "It is so *human*, with all the penetration, & humor of situation developed so charmingly. The style is so alert, the tone is a delight and refreshment. Be careful or you will find yourself writing your best story."[10]

5 *Life in Letters of William Dean Howells* ed Mildred Howells (New York 1928) I 181.

6 James's letters to Helene Gilder are in the possession of Miss Rosamond Gilder, New York City.

7 Robert Underwood Johnson *Remembered Yesterdays* (Boston 1923) 121–122.

8 *The Notebooks of Henry James* eds F. O. Matthiessen and Kenneth B. Murdock (New York 1961), 47.

9 *Ibid* 66.

10 Gilder to Henry James, November 14 1884, copy in the Gilder Letterbooks, Manuscript Division, The New York Public Library.

Unfortunately, within a few months that last statement was to ring very hollowly in the *Century*'s offices. Long before its run in the magazine was over, *The Bostonians* became something of a legend among the editors as the epitome of dullness. One of the editors recounted a typical anecdote. When, in the fall of 1885, Robert Underwood Johnson, the magazine's associate editor, was making out the schedule for the following six months, he suddenly called out to one of the editors,

> "Carey! Oh, Carey, does 'The Bostonians' end in February?" "Yes," replied Carey, not looking up from his own work. "James says it does, and so does Tooker [another of the editors], and they ought to know; they are the only ones who have read it." [11]

What caused the problem with *The Bostonians*? Probably the answer is in the origins of the agreement — that James was asked to write what amounted to "occasional prose," a story of a Southerner in the North after the war, and after he "had got couched in it, under some illusion," as he said, he could not develop it as simply as he had developed *Confidence*, for example, which had been serialized in the magazine only a few years before. Gilder and his editors, it appears, were both victims and culprits, having set James off upon a *donnée* which was complex and intriguing, demanding the kind of convolutions in rhetoric and insight that James could do at his best, but which also, unfortunately, presented a character, Basil Ransom, far outside of James's experience. Unable to "saturate" himself in the mind of Basil, James eventually found his "subject and material . . . less interesting and repaying than [he] had assumed it to be."

But the novel remained to be written, and the central characters, Verena, Olive, and Basil, each steeped in peculiar and individual folly, had to have their conflict resolved honestly. The original plan for the novel was six installments, but the immovable object, Olive Chancellor, could hardly be swept aside so cavalierly, the more so as the brutality of Basil was to be subtly suggested in the action. The serial dragged on in the magazine for thirteen installments and ended on the wonderfully inconclusive note that although Verena "was glad, [Basil] presently discovered that, beneath her hood, she was in tears. It is to be feared that with the union, so far from brilliant, into which she was about to enter, these were not the last she was destined to shed." [12] Clearly, this was not the sort of thing the readers of the *Century* expected. Their chagrin was partially, tactfully, hesitatingly reflected by

[11] L. Frank Tooker *The Joys and Tribulations of an Editor* (New York and London 1924) 227.
[12] Henry James *The Bostonians* (New York, Macmillan 1886) 452.

Gilder himself when he wrote to James after having read something over one-half the novel:

> Leaving aside any question as to literary merit, I am afraid Mr. Howells has beaten you in the matter of readers [with *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, serialized concurrently]. The movement of "The Bostonians" is so slow that people seem to be dropping off from it. To me it is extremely enjoyable, but I can see reasons for impatience on the part of the readers. I notice that there is some repetition which you seem to acknowledge yourself by the expression "As I said before," or words to that effect. I never see anything that I could omit, supposing — what is ludicrously impossible — myself to be the author, but I sometimes wonder whether the art would not be better if something of Tourgenieff's condensation were used. I would not speak in this way were it not for a sense that a great many people were losing the pleasure of the story who would naturally like it, having made up their minds with the May number to the length to which it was being drawn out. If this feeling is so strong by the May number, I am afraid that when it comes to subsequent numbers it will be rather increased than diminished. Notwithstanding all this I am sure the book will be considered one of your very best, and as I said it is to me a constant source of interest.
>
> Ps. My letter sounds, on reading it over, like a literary lecture! So much for the formality of punctuated words! Pray pardon any apparent impertinence and believe me always your sincere friend and admirer.
>
> R. W. Gilder [18]

II

One has difficulty imagining how forcefully such a letter must have struck a proud writer like James. For all his friendship and admiration for James, Gilder managed to use the very criticisms which would most deeply cut his friend, while showing clearly that he remained personally sympathetic to the work. To suggest to James that "something of Tourgenieff's condensation" might be helpful to the work is to remind him that he was failing in precisely what he wanted to do. The letter, calm and friendly as it is, serves only to remind James that the serial appearance of the novel was, artistically and popularly, a tremendous disaster. There was nothing to be done about the popular failure — the *Century's* circulation, at that time around 200,000, was far higher than anything James could hope for in book sales. The question remained, could he revise the work to make it less of an artistic failure?

[18] Gilder to Henry James, May 18 1885, copy of a letter in the papers of Richard Watson Gilder, in the possession of Miss Rosamond Gilder, New York City. We wish to acknowledge our indebtedness to Miss Gilder for permission to examine her father's papers and for permission to quote from these letters.

Between the serial publication and the first edition of the novel, James reworked *The Bostonians* almost to the point of rewriting it, hardly less than he was to do later with the novels revised for his collected edition.[14] A collation of the two forms of the novel shows almost 1200 variants. One thousand of these are accidentals, but the nearly 200 substantive variants that remain document James's revision of the novel. They suggest an intricate two-column profit and loss entry about serial publication in the *Century*; they illustrate stylistic and rhetorical reevaluations documenting James's growth as a writer; they even cast light upon the author's mature attitude toward characters in the novel.

Inevitably, there are evidences of James's dissatisfaction with the middle-class strictures placed upon him by the *Century*. Where Olive Chancellor murmurs "Oh, mercy!" in the magazine, she says "Oh, heaven!" in the book text (296). Basil Ransom requests that "The city of Boston be d — !" in the *Century*, but spells it out in the book (441). Indeed, setting the novel in Boston was a daring act on James's part, which he knew would provoke criticism. He wrote his brother William that emphasizing the Boston location by his choice of "The Bostonians" as a title would make him "much abused . . . but it exactly and literally fits the story, and is much the best, simplest and most dignified I could have chosen."[15] In general, the book is more offensive to the refined sensibilities of Bostonians than is the serial. Twice in the first chapter of the book text Olive Chancellor and her friends are referred to as "roaring radicals." In each case, James added the adjective for the book. In the last chapter of the book the disappointed crowd at the music hall is compared to a "raving rabble"; again, the adjective is missing from the serial (5;445). Finally, in chapter Five, where Mrs Farrinder tells Olive about the need to attract to the cause "those whose refinement is generally acknowledged," she adds that it might be necessary to "take certain steps to conciliate the shrinking." In the magazine text the word "shrinking" has been replaced by the word "refined" (35).[16]

[14] Leon Edel and Dan H. Laurence *A Bibliography of Henry James* (London 1961) 75, mentions the numerous changes in the two texts, but does not elaborate. In the following discussion of variants between the *Century* and Macmillan texts of *The Bostonians*, only references to the first American edition of the book are given in parenthesis in the text. Students who wish to check the comparative forms in the serial publication in the *Century* should have no trouble searching out the appropriate passages in the magazine between February 1885, and February 1886 (Vol. XXIX to Vol. XXXI), since the numbering of chapters of the novel is identical.

[15] *Notebooks* 67.

[16] James's anticipation on this matter proved well founded, for he was soon attacked on the grounds that all Bostonians were not "as false or as hyper-analytic" as he had made them appear in his novel (*Notebooks* 67). For comparison, see Arthur L. Scott "*The Century Magazine* Edits *Huckleberry Finn*, 1884–1885," *American Literature* XXVII (1956) 356–362.

On the profit side of James's serialization of the novel in the *Century* is the evidence that James listened to Gilder's advice about using "something of Tourgenieff's condensation." Specifically, James removed no less than twelve of those little signposts of inattention which are so killing to style, "as I have said," "I say," "I repeat," each deleted on several occasions, and several more specific statements also deleted along with the parentheses which enclosed them: "(I gave a hint of it in the early pages of this narrative)"; "(I have touched the fact more than once already)"; "(I have already mentioned it)." Possibly James would have deleted expressions like these anyway, without Gilder's admonition; but, if we are to see Gilder at least partly responsible for the "illusion" under which James began the novel, it seems only fair that we give him credit for improvements the novel achieved outside the pages of his magazine.

James's deletion of such evidences of repetition appears quite similar to many other deletions and changes made for purely stylistic reasons. These other changes not only removed more obvious evidences of repetition but also extricated some of the references to the author as narrator. When James commented to Gosse that he felt the novel "rather a remarkable feat of objectivity," he was referring to his mature view of the novel, after its serialization. With a number of deletions he increased the "objectivity" of the novel by forcing the reader to reach his own conclusion about certain events instead of depending upon the author's judgment. He deleted one whole sentence of summary concerning the character of Olive Chancellor: "It will be seen that she, at least, did not wish to be personal" (10). More often, though, James deleted parenthetical authorial comments, often delightfully ironic ones, in striving for objectivity. In the following, for example, the italicized parts were deleted in the book text: "as men smile when they are perfectly unsatisfactory (*though being, perhaps, in the right*)" (229); "with the promptness and assurance (*'glibness' Basil Ransom would have called it*)" (52); "he pulled himself together, *as the phrase is*" (273); many other substantive changes, only less striking, were apparently made for this same purpose. Furthermore, among the accidentals discovered in collation of the two texts are a large number which were perhaps changed by James to increase the book's objectivity. In twenty cases the book text prints words in roman type where the magazine uses italics for emphasis, and in three cases quotation marks around single words were removed, as in "the 'culture' of Charles Street" (17); "that didn't sound like 'chaff'" (227); and "her words were a happy 'hit'" (261). Each of these changes removed from the

text some kind of implied comment on the author's part; the direction of such consistent changes is toward objectivity, without question.

Of course, many of the substantive changes seem to have been made only at the whim of the author: an adjective or noun substituted for another probably only because it sounded better to James that way. Many additions to the book text expand or clarify the meaning of a passage without greatly changing it, or add a picturesque detail probably for no good reason except its picturesqueness. The following examples, in which the additions to the book text are set off in italics, will illustrate: "as the title and date, *or the list of fires,* or the column of Western jokes" (101); "changing horses *while the horses steamed,* and absorbing and emitting passengers" (338–9); "that editor wrote him about his contribution, *and paying for it right off*" (378); "think of you always, *and your name will be sacred to us,* and that will teach us" (399); and, the longest single addition to the book text, "Mr. Pardon remarked. *I have been hunting round after your sister's agent, but I haven't been able to catch up with him; I suppose he has been hunting on his side.* Miss Chancellor told me" (424).

Some changes simply removed inelegancies, as when the proposal "that they should 'work' Verena in partnership" in the *Century* text becomes "that they should constitute themselves into a company for drawing profit from Verena" in the book (142). There are a dozen such changes, ranging from revisions of awkward modifiers to changes to keep consistency in tenses. In one case James "corrects" the ladies at Mrs Farrinder's when they say "that it wasn't *she*" to the solecism, "it wasn't *her*" (49). At first glance the variants seem random, but close study reveals some interesting patterns among them. James had a tendency to replace French words or phrases with their English counterparts. English replaces French four times: "fast set" for "*jeunesse dorée*" (120), "conversation" and "interview" for "*tête-à-tête*" (171, 434), and "exhibition" for "*début*" (392), while the situation is reversed only once, "*bibelots*" for "objects" (153). But common or simple nouns and adjectives are replaced by less common and more precise words more often than not: "petrified" for "fixed" (305), "fatuous" for "ridiculous" (335), "lacerated" for "wounded" — the context is "a face like a lacerated angel's" (407), "ingress" for "approach" (431). There is only one instance of the opposite, when "expressive" is used in place of "fuliginous" to describe Basil Ransom's eyes (384).

James apparently tried to remove slang consistently from the narrative part of the text, as in the reference to "working" Verena cited above, or "circumvent" for " 'head it off,' " in quotation marks in the magazine (392), and " 'squelch' all that" for " 'smash' all that" (393). Sometimes James merely

substituted British for American slang, however, as "balderdash" for "moonshine" (317). James treated his dialogue quite differently, making none of these changes there but instead attempting to insert more realistic speech patterns. In the book text, both Mrs Tarrant and the policeman are made to use contracted forms of speech — "fam'ly" for "father" (118) and "s'pose" for "suppose" (434).

In ten places James introduced alliteration into the narrative, sometimes very effectively, as when he called Basil Ransom's Mississippi phrases "patronising and ponderous" (68) for "patronising and heavy" in the magazine text, or where he repeated Olive's warning to Verena not to let young men "mock and muddle" her (132 and 134) for "mock and entangle." Other additions of alliteration are "roaring radicals" and "raving rabble," already discussed, "private and passive" for "private" (11), "poor perversity" for "pitiful mistake" (247), and "sociable silence" for "good-humored silence" (388). On the whole, such changes are probably not significant, except to illustrate James's care with his text and his general concern for style.

One group of changes is significant, beyond any doubt. These are the changes James made apparently to reflect second thoughts and elaborations upon the characters. Although they are few, the changes are so precise and so brilliant they help the reader to see James's intentions for his characters and, in several cases, at least, present the fillip that makes the character come to life. Of course, in some cases the changes are merely revisions in favor of consistency — the novel had been published serially, after all, and Homer might well nod over something he had written months before and no longer had before him, if he had to be consistent with that earlier statement. As just one example, but a rather important one, there is the case of Verena Tarrant's western trip. Readers of the *Century* were assured that "Verena had been away for a long time — for two or three years." A Verena Tarrant who had spent such a considerable period away from Boston and the East, who had been exposed to that much of the barbarity of St Louis and points west, would not likely be the Verena Tarrant who is so fully developed in the novel. The period is shortened to "nearly a year" in the book text (40).

Three revisions concerning the character of Dr Mary Prance illustrate no less than Verena's shortened western trip the fine honing James could work upon his characters. Dr Prance must be one of the most sympathetic characters in the novel — grotesque in her own way, but tainted as little by the enthusiasm of the female Bostonians as she is by the cynicism of Basil Ransom. Brief as is her appearance in the novel, it is clear that she is something of a touchstone character, scientific and rational in her efforts to keep Miss

Birdseye alive, but human in her acceptance of the inevitable. In the magazine her area of special interest is pathology; in the book text it is changed to physiology (44 and 377). It is hard to imagine a more significant revision with more symbolic purpose than this one for the character of Mary Prance. A pathologist, specializing in disease and suffering, leans, by dint of her specialty, exactly in the direction opposite the one occupied by Mary Prance. James shifted her from a preoccupation with suffering to a preoccupation with healthy, normal, vital functions of all living things. Pathology could not be appropriate to her character; physiology can be; the shift from one to the other in James's thought about her illustrates perfectly his mature conception of her.

A clarification of her character, perhaps not quite as dramatic as the reversal of pathologist to physiologist, is implicit in the other revision James made that pertains to her. In the scene taking place around the dying Miss Birdseye, Mary Prance is described as appearing "to deprecate too solemn a tone" in the magazine text, but the statement is changed to "deprecate a sentimental tendency" in the book (396). Solemnity one imagines within the character of Dr Mary Prance — sentimentality, never.

Another revision in the book text serves just as admirably in the fixing of the character of Mrs Luna, Olive's sister, this time moving exactly in the direction of consistency and away from any tendency to see that lady in a more complex mode. Readers of the *Century* perhaps saw some hope for the morality of the otherwise too-too sophisticated Mrs Luna when they read that she always managed to say "something friendly to the young woman from Cambridge" who visited her sister. That chink in her brassy armor is closed for the reader of the book text who finds instead that it is something "worldly" she says to Verena (108).

Three changes of only a single word each illustrate the maturing of James's vision of Olive Chancellor and the precision of his final characterization of her. Twice James excised words which suggested the more pathetic aspect of Olive's position in the novel, each time substituting words to suggest her passionate intensity. The first case is the substitution of "an appeal somewhat impassioned" for "an appeal somewhat pathetic" by Olive (222). In the second variant, Olive's "perpetual insistance [sic]" in the magazine becomes a "passionate insistence" in the book (328). Her doggedness is, in itself, pathetic; James worked to change the emphasis within the fact of her determination to her passionate intensity, away from qualities with which the reader might sympathize and toward qualities which he might more tough-mindedly admire. The third change is even more revealing about Olive's

own tough-mindedness. In the serial text she concluded her meditations in the park after her visit to Mrs Burrage by sighing that at least Mr Burrage and Mr Ransom "could not both marry Miss Tarrant." In the final text, "marry" was changed to "capture," a verb which defines Olive's recognition of her situation in regard to Verena and her suitors much more precisely (314).

This is not to say that the reason James did not revise *The Bostonians* for inclusion in his collected edition was that he found his earlier revisions were satisfactory. The expression of his ambivalence about the work quoted at the beginning of this paper is far from an equivocation. However, in the light of the care and the precision of the revisions he made between serial publication and book publication, it is clear that these misgivings stem from a later date — perhaps from the adverse criticism the book received after it had received the best he had to give it. Its modern reputation surely justifies its inclusion in the list of James's major works; the evidence of his care in revising it for book publication suggests that James thought no less well of it.

Robert Frost and the Politics of Self

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"TWO TRAMPS in Mud Time" was first published in 1934. At the time Frost remarked that he considered the poem to be "against having hobbies." [1] Two years later, when he collected it in *A Further Range* as one of ten poems to be "taken doubly," he added to its title in the list of contents the thematic phrase, *"or, A Full-Time Interest."* In both instances Frost was providing a clue to his intended meaning. Unfortunately, published critical interpretations of the poem have seldom followed the lines suggested by the poet.

Two such commentaries, published twenty years apart, are particularly instructive for the manner in which each reaches out for the meaning of the poem. Each sees the poem as a vehicle for an idea, for a social ideology. But neither finds it necessary to locate the poem in the context of traditional American thought and literature.

Denis Donoghue, writing in 1965, reads "Two Tramps in Mud Time" as a clear instance of the relation between Frost's "temperament and the ideas of Social Darwinism." [2] The poet did not find compelling the arguments for giving the tramps a job, and hence Donoghue reaches this puzzling conclusion: "So need is not reason enough. The narrator has need and love on his side, hence he survives and nature blesses him as the best man. The tramps are unfit to survive because they have only their need, and the Darwinist law is that they should not survive." Donoghue's overall reading of Frost's poem, not to mention his extraordinary application of Darwinist law, defies explanation. The idea that conjoined need and love constitutes in itself a higher claim for survival than need alone is a curious form of Darwinism. Frost's poem does show a concern with personal integrity and the survival of the human spirit, but nowhere does it come close to hinting that need without love, lamentable as that situation might be, actually renders the mud-time tramps unfit for survival. The narrator may have need and love "on his side" (as Donoghue puts it), but this fact hardly constitutes evidence either that the situation enables him to survive or that "nature blesses him as the best man." There is no indication, either within the con-

[1] Louis Mertins *Robert Frost: Life and Talks Walking* (Norman 1965) 210.

[2] Denis Donoghue *Connoisseurs of Chaos: Ideas of Order in Modern American Poetry* (New York 1965) 182–184.

fines of the poem or in the facts of the poet's life as we know them, that "Two Tramps in Mud Time" is intended either to recall Charles Darwin or to echo the Social Darwinists.

Donoghue's reading has a curious relationship to Malcolm Cowley's famous commentary on the poem twenty-five years ago. His Darwinist interpretation is an offshoot of Cowley's "liberal" chastisement of Frost in the *New Republic* in 1943.[3] Donoghue offers a specific reason for Frost's behavior toward the tramps, while Cowley describes and deplores the poet's reactions to their request. But both critics are interested in faulting the poet for his inhumanity. "In spite of his achievements as a narrative and lyric poet," dissents Cowley, there is "a case against Robert Frost as a social philosopher in verse and as a representative of the New England tradition" of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. Assuming that the poem reflects an actual incident of the Depression years, Cowley scores Frost for evading the socio-economic fortune of the masses, and retreating into "sermon." Instead of helping men who want work, preaches Cowley, "Frost turns to the reader with a sound but rather sententious sermon on the ethical value of the chopping block."

To acknowledge that Cowley's account of the poem has some, albeit limited, merit, is not, however, to endorse his vestigial, 1930s reading. It may be granted that Frost was an early, outspoken foe of the social excesses he found exhibited in Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the administrators of his New Deal.[4] But to insist unequivocally that in this poem Frost lacks all social conscience is to mislead grievously. Cowley's concept of what constitutes a social conscience is at best constrictive.

That the strangers who come at him "out of the mud" [5] display great need, Frost acknowledges. Too readily is his head filled with the narrow logic that he has "no right to play/ With what was another man's work for gain." "My right might be love but theirs was need," he admits; "and where the two exist in twain/ Theirs was the better right — agreed." Frost is not insensitive to the tramps' need for "gain," for shelter and food perhaps, but individ-

[3] Malcolm Cowley "Frost: A Dissenting Opinion" *New Republic* cxi (1944) 312–313; "The Case Against Mr. Frost: II," *NR* (1944) 345–347. His strictures on "Two Tramps in Mud Time" appear on p 345–346.

[4] See, for example, Frost's poem, "To a Thinker" (originally entitled "To a Thinker in Office"); *Interviews with Robert Frost* ed Edward Connery Lathem (New York 1966) 82–88; *The Letters of Robert Frost to Louis Untermeyer* (New York [1963]) 251, 258–259, 268, 280, 345; and *Selected Letters of Robert Frost* ed Lawrance Thompson (New York 1964) 413–415, 430, 442–443, 450, 493–494.

[5] The text of "Two Tramps in Mud Time" used in this paper follows *Complete Poems of Robert Frost 1949* (New York 1949) 357–359.

ualist that he is, he is too thoroughly self-reliant and humanistic to assign all priority to the satisfaction of such basic needs. Rather, he hopes to remind us, in offering himself as example, that men have other kinds of need as well, and that their failure to meet those needs results from their inability to recognize the high necessity that "love and need" must make one ("as my two eyes make one in sight"). This failure, common to men everywhere, is particularized for the moment in the tramps whose only thought was that, claiming *economic* need, "all chopping was theirs of right." Frost deplores, of course, the plight of the misfortunates who for whatever reason must totally dissociate need and love, vocation and avocation. He does not deny that poverty is problematic to society, but he does indicate that the necessity for any man to work much or all of his time for pay alone will rapidly dissolve his sense of other values of self and spirit. He concludes triumphantly:

> Only where love and need are one,
> And the work is play for mortal stakes,
> Is the deed ever really done
> For Heaven and the future's sakes.

Frost's ideology in this poem has its roots deep in the nineteenth century, and to understand his poem's relationship to that century, we must turn, *pace* Donoghue and Cowley, to the traditions of Concord transcendentalism. Specifically, we must look to Henry Thoreau, whose work, encountered early, had a pervasive and formative impact on Frost's life as well as his poetry. The spiritual morality of the individual self expressed in "Two Tramps" is endemic to both Thoreau and Frost, while Frost's economy accords perfectly with Thoreau's views on work and labor as nurture for the human spirit. In "Two Tramps" the kinship of Frost and Thoreau is evident at every turn.

Take *Walden* for the moment. In Chapter XIII Thoreau contemplates his metaphoric "House-Warming":

> Every man looks at his wood-pile with a kind of affection. I loved to have mine before my window, and the more chips the better to remind me of my pleasing work. I had an old axe which nobody claimed, with which by spells in winter days, on the sunny side of the house, I played about the stumps which I had got out of my bean-field. As my driver prophesied when I was plowing, they warmed me twice, — once while I was splitting them, and again when they were on the fire, so that no fuel could give out more heat.[6]

[6] *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau* II (Boston and New York 1906) 278.

These few sentences anticipate Frost's poem as a unit, but they have their closest dramatic equivalence in the second and sixth stanzas:

> Good blocks of oak it was I split,
> As large around as the chopping block;
> And every piece I squarely hit
> Fell splinterless as a cloven rock.[7]
>
> * * *
>
> You'd think I never had felt before
> The weight of an ax-head poised aloft,
> The grip on earth of outspread feet.
> The life of muscles rocking soft
> And smooth and moist in vernal heat.

In situation, motif, and theme, this passage from *Walden* offers a meaningful context for "Two Tramps."

For a full understanding of the transcendental tradition behind Frost's poem, however, a more useful document, perhaps, is Thoreau's brilliant essay, "Life without Principle." A discursive presentation of his central ideas on society, labor, and the self, this essay was published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1863, after having served for several years as a lyceum talk. It is an important manifestation of Thoreau's dedication to the spiritual needs of the self, and to the idea that the self must be served constantly in its struggle against the destructive pressures of socialization. As such, it can now serve us as a kind of manifesto of the intellectual and literary tradition to which "Two Tramps in Mud Time" properly belongs.

Frost is wary of those who want to take his "job for pay." Thoreau's more generalized complaint makes the same point. "The ways by which you may

[7] In 1934 the ninth line of the poem read: "Good blocks of *beech* it was I split" (emphasis added). Through several reprintings the line remained unchanged — until *Complete Poems* in 1949, when for the first time the word "oak" replaces "beech." As published originally, however, lines 9–12 (quoted in the text) bear some resemblance to an observation in Thoreau's journals. In 1858 he wrote: "Minott remembers how he used to chop beech wood. He says that when frozen it is hard and brittle just like glass, and you must look out for the chips, for, if they strike you in the face, they will cut like a knife" (*Writings* XVII 250). As early as 1896 Frost was acquainted with excerpts from Thoreau's journals (Lawrance Thompson, *Robert Frost: The Early Years, 1874–1915* [New York 1966] 218). In the context of Thoreau's warning that in chopping one must be wary of *beech* chips that "cut like a knife," it can be seen just how emphatically Frost celebrates his own skill at splitting beech wood: "every piece I squarely hit/ Fell splinterless as a cloven rock." It can be noted further that although the time is April the incident reported in Frost's poem occurs when "Winter was only playing possum," with "lurking frost in the earth beneath/ That will steal forth after the sun is set/ And show on the water its crystal teeth" — at a time, in short, when beech wood still has the properties it acquires only when "frozen." One can only speculate on the reason for the change from "beech" to "oak" fifteen years after the poem was first published. One possibility is that by 1949 Frost's distance from the Thoreauvian influences on his poem enabled him to revise the poem along purely euphonic lines.

get money almost without exception lead downward. To have done anything by which you earned money *merely* is to have been truly idle or worse. If a laborer gets no more than the wages which his employer pays him, he is cheated, he cheats himself." [8] In fact, such a laborer is deceived in that he is "paid for being something less than a man" when his aim should be "not to get his living . . . but to perform well a certain work. . . . Do not hire a man who does your work for money," cautions Thoreau, "but him who does it for love of it." [9]

Frost takes these Thoreauvian ideals and dramatizes them in his lyric poem. It is not the tramps who work for the love of the work, it turns out, but the poet himself; and consequently he cannot without compromise and self-betrayal give way to those who work merely for wages. He must, in Thoreau's words, "be fastidious to the extreme of sanity, disregarding the gibes of those who are more unfortunate than ourselves." [10] Thoreau reminds us that, surprisingly, "a man may be very industrious, and yet not spend his time well":

> There is no more fatal blunderer than he who consumes the greater part of his life getting his living. All great enterprises are self-supporting. The poet, for instance, must sustain his body by his poetry, as a steam planning-mill feeds its boilers with the shavings it makes. You must get your living by loving.[11]

The values Thoreau conveys discursively and didactically in "Life Without Principle," Frost exalts in narrative subsumed to lyric. Given such commitments, there is no question that Frost must fail Cowley's test in socio-economics and collectivist philosophy, but so must Thoreau. Frost might have said with Thoreau:

> To be supported by the charity of friends, or a government pension, — provided you continue to breathe, — by whatever fine synonyms you describe these relations, is to go into the almshouse.[12]

[8] *Writings* IV 458.

[9] *Writings* IV 459.

[10] *Writings* IV 468.

[11] *Writings* IV 461.

[12] *Writings* IV 461. For correctives to the 1930s view of Thoreau as a collectivist thinker, see Heinz Eulau, "Wayside Challenger: Some Remarks on the Politics of Henry David Thoreau" *Antioch Review* IX (1949) 509–522; Leo Stoller *After Walden: Thoreau's Changing Views on Economic Man* (Stanford 1957), particularly the last two chapters; and Sherman Paul *The Shores of America: Thoreau's Inward Exploration* (Urbana 1958) 251 and *passim*.

Frost did say that a man "should be a large-proportioned individual before he becomes social." [13]

In sum, "Two Tramps in Mud Time" should not be read as the one-sided, frontal attack on socialist or collectivist thinking that Cowley would have it be, nor should it be read as Donoghue's illustrative apologia for the wondrous workings of Darwinist law. Grounded in social and transcendental ideas the poet shares with Henry Thoreau, the poem stands in opposition to that capacity for self-betrayal and degeneration which inheres in each and every man: that propensity to "quarter our gross bodies on our poor souls, till the former eat up all the latter's substance." [14] When the thematic and ideological affinities of Frost and Thoreau are fully recognized, we shall have a surer sense of what Frost is about in his poem "against having hobbies." Thoreau's statement that "the whole duty of life is contained in the question how to respire and aspire both at once," [15] is an adage the import of which Frost seems not to have missed. As he insisited in the early 1950s, at the age of seventy-eight, "I have never outgrown anything that I ever liked. I have never had a hobby in my life, but I have ranged through a lot of things." [16]

[13] Interview in *Rural America* (June 1931); reprinted in *Interviews with Robert Frost* 77–78.

[14] *Writings* IV 477.

[15] *Writings* VII 300.

[16] *Interviews with Robert Frost* 133.

Secret Writings: Selected Works on Modern Cryptology

By DAVID KAHN

CRYPTOLOGY is, with the possible exception of spy satellites, the most important branch of secret intelligence in the world today. Breaking codes produces more and better information than that obtained by spies. It is a little known but highly significant fact that the National Security Agency, the United States' codemaking and codebreaking organization, employs more men and spends more money than the Central Intelligence Agency.* And cryptologic intelligence exerts great influence on the policies of governments.

Yet, despite this present importance of cryptology and perennial public interest in it, no selective annotated bibliography covering the entire field has appeared since World War II. This paper offers such a listing. It aims at helping the person approaching cryptology for the first time to find his way around in the field. Therefore, for the most part, it cites only the better works and tells the student what is in them.

I believe that this kind of bibliography is more helpful to the beginner than a long list of unannotated entries. It saves him from having to plow through relatively worthless or essentially repetitious works: the compiler has already done this. It sends him right to the works most germane to his needs, for the compiler's experience in the field and his more extensive knowledge of the literature has enabled him to select such works. In line with its aim, this listing ranges widely. It includes, for example, anecdotal works, and accounts of criminal, Baconian, and musical cryptology, as well as of how to conceal messages in photographs. It suggests sometimes-ignored areas of research in "A Note on Other Sources." But it concentrates (a) on works dealing with the modern techniques of secret communications and their solution, and (b) on works reporting the impact of cryptology on recent world affairs. Consequently, it excludes the following categories:

1 works dealing with tangential or distant influences on modern events, such as medieval Arabic cryptology or Britain's eighteenth-century Decyphering Branch;

2 technical descriptions of purely historical interest, such as the cipher systems of Johannes Trithemius' *Polygraphiae libri sex* (Oppenheim 1518), the first printed book on cryptology;

* EDITOR'S NOTE: See David Kahn *The Codebreakers* (cited below), p 677.

3 commercial codes (non-secret codes for cable and telegraph users);

4 laws and governmental regulations, such as those making it a crime to divulge official cryptologic information;

5 purely administrative matters, such as articles or Congressional reports dealing with personnel security in the U. S. National Security Agency;

6 peripheral matters, such as traffic analysis, telephone eavesdropping, and electronic warfare, which are surveyed in section 4 of the "Note on Other Sources";

7 the decipherment of lost languages.

Many works in these categories may be found in the notes to the text in my book, *The Codebreakers* (New York: Macmillan 1967). Nearly all of the works listed in this paper are cited there, classified by subject. The difference is that here I have picked out the better works and commented on them.

I have had to omit two other groups of works that would have been extremely interesting because I do not know of any titles in them: government security-restricted ("classified") documents, both printed and manuscript, and books and articles from the Communist world.

I have preferred books in English where possible and have listed translations into English from foreign-language originals, though not translations of English originals. I have included books published recently or written by well-known authors, even though some are of little worth.

In my annotations, I have sought to define each book's special contribution — what it has that others do not, since nearly all the purely cryptologic books cited here will cover what I call "standard systems and their solution." This means columnar transpositions, grilles, monoalphabetic substitutions, periodic polyalphabetic substitutions (both with standard and with mixed alphabets), aperiodic polyalphabetic substitutions such as autokeys and running keys (usually only with standard alphabets), digraphic substitutions, and tomographic (fractionating) substitutions.*

It will not be overlooked that I have provided critiques for my own works. Someone has said — perhaps it was George Bernard Shaw — that an author who is intellectually honest can write a better review of his book than anyone else. It is on this premise that I submit my comments.

* EDITOR'S NOTE: For amplification of definitions of terms peculiar to the field of cryptology, we refer the reader to *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged* (Springfield, Mass: G. & C. Merriam Co 1961) and David Kahn's *Plaintext in the New Unabridged: An Examination of the Definitions on Cryptology in Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (New York: Crypto Press 1963). Mr Kahn's *The Codebreakers: The Story of Secret Writing* (New York: Macmillan 1967) presents in the preface, "A Few Words" (p xiii–xvi), most of the essential cryptological terms and their definitions.

For their kindness in reading the manuscript and in offering suggestions, I hereby thank David Shulman of New York, owner of the world's greatest private collection of books on cryptology and compiler of the most complete (though unpublished) bibliography on the subject; William R. Harris of Harvard University's Center for International Affairs, compiler of an extensive forthcoming bibliography on intelligence and espionage; Herbert Flesch of Bad Godesberg, Germany, who is always in touch with current European publications in cryptology; Bradford Hardie of El Paso, Texas, and Howard T. Oakley of Scotch Plains, New Jersey, both of whom served as U. S. Army cryptanalysts during (respectively) World War II and the Korean War, and have retained as amateurs a discriminating critical sense of the literature.

If readers have any comments or corrections, I would very much appreciate their sending them to me.

SECRET WRITINGS: A CHECK LIST

With a Note on Other Sources

Amè, Cesare *Guerra segreta in Italia 1940–1943* (Rome: Gherardo Casini 1954) xl, 223 p

This memoir by the one-time head of the Servizio Informazione Militare discloses some Italian successes in communications intelligence in World War II — tricking the Yugoslavs with fake messages (p 74–76), and obtaining a U. S. military attaché code in Rome that helped Axis campaigns in Africa (p 95–106). P 6 and 47–51 praise the Italian military intelligence cryptologic sections as having a broader vision and furnishing a greater volume of information than any military intelligence division. Though Amè's information is impeccable, too often he is irritatingly vague — he does not specify how the U. S. code was obtained, nor does he name the head of his cryptologic section.

Bragadin, Marc'Antonio *The Italian Navy in World War II* trans Gale Hoffman (Annapolis: U. S. Naval Institute 1957) xviii, 380 p

"Secrecy of Naval Operations" p 98–103, discusses cryptanalytic results, limitations of cryptanalysis, and practical difficulties that aid cryptanalysis — such as the use of six communications channels to notify subordinate and allied units of the sailing and route of a convoy.

Candela, Rosario *Isomorphism and Its Application in Cryptanalytics* (New York: Cardanus Press 1946) 31 p

The solution of a key-progression Vigenère using a mathematical technique that can serve for many complex ciphers. The author, an architect, was a brilliant amateur cryptologist.

Cazden, Norman "Staff Notation as a Non-Musical Communications Code" *Journal of Music Theory* v (Spring 1961) 113–128, (Winter 1961) 287–296

Technical attempt to use music for steganography, with discussion.

"Codes Are Fragile" *Spring 3100* xxxiii (April 1952) 10–12

Abraham P. Chess's solutions of policy-game ciphers for the New York City Police Department, with illustrations of some of the cryptograms. The systems use, for example, musical notes or abbreviated French words to represent the numbers on which bets have been placed.

The Cryptogram n p: American Cryptogram Association 1932– Published every other month

Official publication of the amateur A.C.A., averaging 24 pages. It includes articles on new ciphers and solving techniques and occasional historical notes. Each issue contains several score puzzle cryptograms for solution by members.

Cuelenaere, A[lphonse] "Crytophotography" *International Criminal Police Review* No 102 (Nov 1956) 284–290

How hidden images in photographs can transmit messages. Illustrated. References.

Davies, H. Neville "The History of a Cipher, 1602–1772" *Music & Letters* XLVIII (October 1967) 325–329

The attempts to create a cipher based on musical notes whose ciphertext would be melodic instead of cacophonous. Does not offer any conclusions about value of this method. References.

Dulles, Allen *The Craft of Intelligence* (New York: Harper & Row 1963) 277 p

Disappointingly thin and elementary section on cryptology on p 71–79, rehashing some of Yardley's stories and the episode of the Zimmermann telegram. Most valuable item: the judgment by the former Director of Central Intelligence that cryptanalyzed intercepts constitute "the best and 'hottest' intelligence that one government can hope to gather about another."

Écard, Georges "Les encres invisibles" *Revue internationale de criminalistique* X (1938) 225–256

Detailed article on invisible inks, listing dozens of chemicals that may serve as secret inks, their reagents, and the general reagent for all invisible inks.

Electronic News (New York: Fairchild Publications 1953–) Weekly

Often has tidbits relating to the latest developments in cryptology, such as a mention of the enciphering of battlefield television from Vietnam to the Pentagon, and occasional full articles on such items as scramblers or the National Security Agency. Indispensable for keeping up with current events.

Epstein, Sam and Beryl *The First Book of Codes and Ciphers* (New York: Franklin Watts 1956) 62 p

Good juvenile with bright illustrations. Grade school level.

Eyraud, Charles *Précis de cryptographie moderne* (Paris: Éditions Raoul Tari 1953) 320 p

A solid work, with unusual scope. In addition to the standard ciphers and their solution, it touches on the Hagelin, Enigma and teletypewriter cipher machines and combined substitution-transposition ciphers, including the solution of a World War I German field cipher. The solution of code and the stripping of additive superencipherments receive extensive coverage, though no examples are given. Eyraud offers valuable sections on probability theory and its applications to cryptology, on a résumé of Shannon's work, and on the security value of a cryptosystem. An appendix gives numerous letter-frequency statistics on the Russian language. The author was a cryptanalyst for Vichy France and later an instructor in cryptology for the French Navy Ministry. His language is sometimes hard to follow.

Farago, Ladislas *The Broken Seal: The Story of "Operation Magic" and the Pearl Harbor Disaster* (New York: Random House 1967) 439 p

A work magnetic because of its new material but to be approached with caution because of its errors. Where the author, a professional writer, sticks to nontechnical material, he appears fairly reliable, but he sometimes badly garbles his cryptography. P 32–46 comprise the first published account of the U. S. Navy reading of Japanese naval codes during the 1920s and 1930s, and p 76–81, 95–100, and 102–103 provide new anecdotal material (but few technical details) on the American reading of the Japanese JN-25 and PURPLE cipher machines before

Pearl Harbor. P 58–60, 73–75, and 90–92 provide new information on Japanese cryptography, taken from cited archives of the Japanese Foreign Office. On p 54–58, Farago accuses Herbert O. Yardley of selling out to the Japanese the secret of his solution of their diplomatic codes in the 1920s — an accusation not believed by many who have analyzed the evidence.

"FBI Cryptanalysts Decipher 'Bookie' Codes and Ciphers" *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* xxxi (July 1962) 15–17, (Aug 1962) 15–17, (Sept 1962) 28–29

Cases in which Federal Bureau of Investigation solutions of bookmakers' ciphers using Hebrew script, Greek letters, and number-into-letter transformations have resulted in convictions.

Flicke, Wilhelm F. *War Secrets in the Ether* trans Ray W. Pettengill (Washington: National Security Agency 1953). Reprinted 1959 in one volume, xii, 305 p

A former official of the German Military radio intelligence services recounts a number of stories about cryptology from 1914 to 1945 that make it appear as if all recent history has turned on the solution of encrypted messages. Though sadly uncritical, and though its conclusions must be regarded with much skepticism, the work presents some cryptologic information — particularly about German organizations, spies, and the Russian front in World War II — available nowhere else.

Foote, Alexander *Handbook for Spies* (Garden City, N Y: Doubleday 1949) vi, 273 p

Appendix A, p 250–256, describes the cipher that this Soviet spy in the Lucy net in Switzerland used with Moscow during World War II — the standard Soviet spy cipher. P 125–126 tell of the tedium of enciphering.

Franzheim, Ludwig "Tarn- und Geheimschriften in Kassibern und Gefängnisbriefen" *Archiv für Kriminologie* cxxx (July and Aug 1957) 40–52

Simple prisoners' ciphers with illustrations of concealed messages.

Friedman, William F. *Military Cryptanalysis*. War Department: Office of the Chief Signal Officer (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office)

I *Monoalphabetic Substitution Systems* 3rd ed (1942) iii, 142 p

II *Simpler Varieties of Polyalphabetic Substitution Systems* 3rd ed (1943) iii, 131 p

III *Simpler Varieties of Aperiodic Substitution Systems* (1939) iii, 119 p

IV *Transposition and Fractionating Systems* (1941) iii, 189 p

The finest textbook. The theory is expounded with great clarity, and the sample solutions are given in great detail. In addition to the standard systems, Friedman presents elementary statistical theory applicable to repetitions, the kappa, phi, and chi tests respectively for superimposition of texts, for mono- or polyalphabeticity, and for identity of key in two cryptograms, considerable detail on indirect symmetry of position, and solutions for the ADFGVX World War I German field cipher. But the work's great value lies in the power and permanency of its instruction. The author, regarded by many as the world's greatest cryptologist, led the U. S. Army team that solved the Japanese PURPLE cipher machine before Pearl Harbor.

Friedman, William F. and Elizebeth S. Friedman *The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined: An Analysis of Cryptographic Systems Used As Evidence That Some Author Other Than William Shakespeare Wrote the Plays Commonly Attributed to Him* (Cambridge University Press 1957) xvii, 303 p

Devastates the Baconian "ciphers," frequently by using a Baconian "system" to produce a plaintext that completely contradicts the Baconian claim. Often witty, with good personality portraits of the Baconians. The definitive work on Baconian ciphers. Winner of the 1955 Folger Shakespeare Library Literary Prize.

Gaines, Helen Fouché *Elementary Cryptanalysis.* Sponsored by the American Cryptogram Association (Boston: American Photographic Publishing Company 1939) vii, 230 p

Reprinted as *Cryptanalysis* (New York: Dover Publications 1956) vii, 237 p [Includes answers to problems]

A good introduction that covers the standard systems and their solution (except tomographic solutions), with problems to practice on. "Elcy," as the book is called by members of the American Cryptogram Association, packs a lot of cryptanalytic information into one volume, but is sometimes hard to understand. Its greatest advantage is its accessibility: it is in print as a paperback and most libraries seem to have a copy. The author, a schoolteacher in Lake Village, Arkansas, was an expert solver and writer of articles for the A.C.A. under the nom de plume of PICCOLA.

Gilmore, Ken "The Secret Keepers" *Popular Electronics* XVII (Aug 1962) 41–44, 102, 104

Systems to conceal radio transmissions and to scramble radio messages.

Hamilton, Victor Norris "Ya Vybral Svobodya" *Izvestia* (July 23 1963) 6

An Arab defector to the Soviet Union tells why "I Chose Freedom" in a long letter to the editor. He discloses practices of his former employer, the U. S. National Security Agency, that shocked him, such as reading the cipher messages of Near East countries. A partial translation in Kahn, 728–729.

Herdan, Gustav *The Advanced Theory of Language as Choice and Chance* Kommunikation und Kybernetik in Einzeldarstellung IV (Berlin: Springer-Verlag 1966) xii, 459 p

In § 9.3, "A de-coding experiment," p 182–185, Herdan cryptanalyzes a monoalphabetic substitution and then shows the high correlation of the plaintext letter frequencies with the letter frequencies of the language as a whole; this demonstrates the validity of the basic assumption of cryptanalysis: that the linguistic universe "may serve as a guide in decoding [cryptanalysis]." Herdan, a PhD specializing in quantitative linguistics at the University of Bristol, discusses what lies behind this phenomenon in § 2, "Stability of Linguistic Distributions" p 14–44, and in § 3, "Explanation of the Stability of Linguistic Distributions" p 44–60.

Hines, Bill "Operation Codename" *Infantry Journal* LX (March 1947) 42–43

Production and selection of codenames for Allied military operations in World War II.

Hyde, H. Montgomery *Cynthia: The Spy Who Changed the Course of the War* (London: Hamish Hamilton 1965) 181 p

Sensational tales of seductions by a World War II Mata Hari to obtain Italian and Vichy French naval codes in the most traditional way on p 94–160. Though Hyde's statements of the results of these code thefts have been contested and may well be wrong, the basic stories of how CYNTHIA got the codes are almost certainly true.

Kahn, David *The Codebreakers: The Story of Secret Writing* (New York: Macmillan 1967) xvi, 1164 p

The first full survey of cryptology. Its main contributions are to demonstrate through many examples the important role that cryptology has played in history and to present the major stages in its development by showing how literacy, permanent embassies, telegraphy, radio, and World Wars I and II have affected it. Technical descriptions of all major systems of cryptography, cipher machines, telephone and television scramblers, and of methods of solving them (frequently in outline form). Other topics include the unbreakable cipher, the U. S. National Security Agency, criminal cryptography, the Baconian folly, information theory in cryptology, Soviet spy ciphers, biographies of cryptologists, computer cryptanalysis. The book has rightly been criticized for failing to tell of British cryptanalytic successes against Germany in World War II. Other omissions: Russian successes in cryptanalysis, post-World War II cryptanalytic successes, names and details of the present cryptologic bureaus of all nations other than the

U. S. and the U.S.S.R. Nevertheless, the book — thoroughly documented in 155 pages of notes — provides an enormous quantity of new material and has been called indispensible to any study of the subject. The author is a professional writer and an amateur cryptologist.

—— *Plaintext in the New Unabridged: An Examination of the Definitions on Cryptology in Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (New York: Crypto Press 1963) 35 p

Lists the 180 definitions — thus serving as a kind of index to an authoritative glossary — and praises most of them.

—— *Two Soviet Spy Ciphers* (Great Neck, N Y: published by the author 1960) 16 p

The completely mnemonic, practically unbreakable spy cipher of Reino Hayhanen, and the absolutely unbreakable one-time pad of his chief, Rudolf Abel, both used in the United States in the late 1950s.

Kapany, Narinder S. "Fiber Optics" *Scientific American* CCIII (Nov 1960) 72–81

A paragraph on p 76 describes the use of narrow light-conducting fibers to encode pictures. P 77 has a diagram of the method, and photographs of an encoded image and its decode.

Knight, Mary "The Secret War of Censors vs. Spies" *Reader's Digest* XLVIII (March 1946) 79–83

Colorful picture of how censors detect hidden messages and the results they obtain.

Kobler, John "JCHEW GISEY PYMQP UQRPD" *Collier's* CXXVI (Oct 28 1950) 22–23, 46, 48, 50

Anecdotal feature on cryptology, with emphasis on the American Cryptogram Association.

Koenig, W[alter] *Final Report on Project C-43: Continuation of Decoding Speech Codes.* Bell Telephone Laboratories, New York, Report on Western Electric Company Contract No. OEMsr-435 for United States, Office of Scientific Research and Development, National Defense Research Committee, Communications Division (Division 13, Section 3). (Washington: The Library of Congress) O.S.R.D. Technical Reports, Microfilm Reel 185.

I *Speech Privacy Systems — Interception, Diagnosis, Decoding, Evaluation* (Oct 12 1944) 106 p

II *Appendix Including All Preliminary Reports* (Nov 30 1944) 287 p

Clear and thorough discussion of continuous-wave voice scramblers, describing the basic systems, diagnosis of unknown systems, methods of solution, and evaluation of systems, accompanied by numerous diagrams and spectrograms. Appendix covers such matters as experimental intercept work, field tests, and evaluations of specific scramblers.

Kohn, Bernice *Secret Codes and Ciphers* (Englewood Cliffs, N J: Prentice-Hall 1968) 63 p

Poor juvenile.

Laffin, John *Codes and Ciphers: Secret Writing Through the Ages* (New York: Abelard-Schuman 1964) 152 p

Amateurish in writing, elementary in cryptology, frequently inaccurate as history.

Levine, Jack and Joel V. Brawley, Jr "Involutory Commutants with Some Applications to Algebraic Cryptography" *Journal für die reine und angewandte Mathematik* CCXXXIV (1966) 20–43, CCXXXVII (1967) 1–24

Cryptanalysis of the Hill algebraic polygraphic cipher on the basis of two cryptograms that have different transformation formulae but the same underlying plaintext. The alphabet that

converts the plaintext letters into numbers is assumed known. Entirely mathematical. References. Illustrates an interesting and not uncommon problem in cryptanalysis utilizing the higher mathematics often needed in modern cryptology. Levine, a wartime cryptanalyst, teaches mathematics; Brawley was one of his students.

McLachlan, Donald *Room 39: Naval Intelligence in Action 1939–45* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1968) 438 p

Chapter 4, p 76–101, based largely upon captured German naval archives, discloses in some detail the effects of German cryptanalytic successes against British naval codes from 1936 to 1944. In this excellent history of World War II British naval intelligence, the author, formerly on the Admiralty intelligence staff, repeatedly demonstrates the critical importance of cryptanalysis. McLachlan apparently was precluded by security regulations from discussing British cryptanalysis — though he does refer occasionally to the cryptanalytic results of Britain's "Station X" (actually the Foreign Office codebreaking establishment) — and so he seems to have resorted to the German example to make his point. No technical details.

Mäkelä, Jukka L. *Im Rücken des Feindes: Der finnische Nachrichtendienst im Krieg* (Frauenfeld: Verlag Huber 1967) 206 p Trans from the Finnish

Remarkable disclosures by a former Finnish intelligence officer of Finland's cryptanalytic successes in World War II against Russia (p 17–21), the United States (p 156–160), Turkey (p 161–162), England (p 162–163), and others, including the Vatican (p 155–156). The technical details — as, for example, the Turks' use of a four-figure code with an additive key of only 40 digits — make the work concrete, credible, and valuable to a degree rarely found in cryptologic memoir literature. Mäkelä mentions some of the more noteworthy messages read by the Finns, but he does not say how they affected the course of the war — probably because they did not. Other interesting cryptologic details are scattered throughout the work, such as information on the Finnish radio intelligence organization (p 23). This is the single most revealing primary source published on a nation's World War II cryptanalytic work.

Martin, William H. and Bernon F. Mitchell "Text of Statements Read in Moscow by Former U. S. Security Agency Workers" New York *Times* (Sept 10 1960) 10

Two defectors to the Soviet Union disclose information about the National Security Agency, the U. S. codemaking and codebreaking organization. They describe its administrative set-up (with some minor errors) and report on some of its success in cryptanalysis. [Note: typographical errors in the article wrongly cite Harry Howe Ransom's *Central Intelligence and National Security* (Cambridge, Mass 1958) as the source of a great deal of information. In fact the Ransom quotation is two paragraphs long and ends with "world-wide scale."]

Monte, Mario de *Uomini ombra: Ricordi di un addetto al Servizio Segreto Navale, 1939–1943* (Rome: Nuova Editoriale Marinara Italiana 1955) 255 p

Stories of the Italian naval cryptanalytic service, by its former chief. Sample episodes involve the solution of one Royal Navy code that led to what turned into an Italian defeat on July 9 1940 (p 29–37) and the theft of another code (the P Block) that proved to be used for transmitting false information (p 48–83) — the results in both cases being rather ineffectual and anticlimactic. Since the accounts are admittedly "idealized," and since no names or technical details whatsoever are given, the book must be regarded more as a spring board for further research than as a definitive work.

Moore, Dan Tyler and Martha Waller *Cloak and Cipher* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill 1962) 256 p

Essentially a debasement of Pratt. Little new, frequently inaccurate, poorly written.

Mügge, Karl-Albert "Die Deutsche Heeres-Fernmeldeaufklärung in Mittelmeerraum: Herbst 1942 bis Herbst 1944 — Ein Erlebnisbericht" *Fernmelde-Impulse* VII (May 1964) 9–17

An unpublished English translation (1964), "The Radio Intelligence Service of the German Army in the Mediterranean Sea Area, Autumn 1942 to Autumn 1944 — A First-Hand Account" by Bradford Hardie, is available on microfilm in the Microform Reading Room, 315M, Central Building, The New York Public Library.

Fact-filled, concrete memoir by the chief of a German army radio intelligence unit in the Mediterranean area, describing its operation and results.

"Navajo Code Talk Kept Foes Guessing" New York *Times* (Sept 19 1945) p 9, col 1

How the U. S. Marines used Navajos as "code talkers" during World War II.

Pakbo, see Punter, Otto

Peck, Lyman C. *Secret Codes, Remainder Arithmetic, and Matrices* (Washington: National Council of Teachers of Mathematics 1961) 54 p

Teaches mathematics through the Hill algebraic cipher, but serves also as a good introduction to that fascinating system.

Post, Melville Davisson "German War Ciphers" *Everybody's Magazine* XXXVIII (June 1918) 28–34

Illustrations of how messages can be hidden from censors in letters and drawings.

Practical Cryptanalysis (n p: American Cryptogram Association 1960–)

I William Maxwell Bowers *Digraphic Substitution* (1960) 47 p

II —— *The Bifid Cipher* (1960) 49 p

III —— *The Trifid Cipher* (1961) 55 p

IV William G. Bryan *Cryptographic ABC's* Vol I: *Substitution and Transposition Ciphers* (1967) 46 p

V —— —— Vol II: *Periodic Ciphers — Miscellaneous* (1967) 46 p

Part I covers the Playfair and four-square ciphers; Parts I, II, and III are clear and thorough, with problems for practice. Parts IV and V sketch cryptanalytic techniques for standard ciphers and for some ciphers appearing only in *The Cryptogram* magazine, such as Phillips, ragbaby, Cadenus, fractionated Morse, and seriated Playfair. The series is oriented toward solver-members' needs.

Pratt, Fletcher *Secret and Urgent: The Story of Codes and Ciphers* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill 1939) 282 p

A fast-paced anecdotal survey of the history of cryptology up to about 1929, very well written but with too many made-up "facts" and incorrect generalizations. Many frequency tables and, on p 64–75, a detailed exposition of the solution of a homophonic substitution. The author was a professional writer specializing in naval and Civil War history.

Punter, Otto, alias "Pakbo" *Guerre secrete en pays neutre: Les révélations d'un agent secret sur l'espionnage en Suisse contre le Fascisme et Hitler* (Lausanne: Payot 1967) 298 p Trans Laurent Jospin from *Der Anschluss Fand Nicht Statt*

A member of the famous Lucy spy ring in Switzerland describes his cipher with Moscow during World War II — the standard Soviet spy cipher — on p 146–152, with a reproduction of a page from his keybook, a volume of trade statistics, demonstrating its use. In an interesting appendix, Marc Payot, the publisher and a former cryptanalyst for Swiss counter-intelligence, comments on the cipher from the point of view of one who sought in vain to solve it (p 266, 268–269, and 277–294).

Rémy, see Renault, Gilbert

Renault, Gilbert [pseud Rémy] *Comment devenir agent secret* (Paris: Albin Michel 1963) 221 p

A French Resistance chief explains his ciphers (p 95–105, 117–119), how to make microdots (p 119–120), methods of concealing images photographically (p 120–121), and problems of avoiding German direction-finding teams (p 174–178).

Robertson, Jack "Spy Agency in Big IC [Integrated Circuit] Buy" *Electronic News* XII (April 1 1968) 4

In surveying the problems faced by electronics manufacturers trying to sell in quantity to the U. S. National Security Agency, reporter Robertson discloses considerable up-to-the-minute detail about modern cryptography. He mentions, for example, the need for tight synchronization in modern cipher machines, the use of fifteen printed-circuit boards in such machines, and the popularity of polynomial algebra as a cipher technique. These items serve as clues to the nature of today's cipher methods and mechanisms.

Rohrbach, Hans "Chiffrierverfahren der neuesten Zeit" *Archiv für elektrischen Übertragung* II (December 1948) 362–369

An unpublished English translation, "Modern Cryptography" by Howard T. Oakley, is available on microfilm in the Microform Reading Room, 315M, Central Building, The New York Public Library.

Description in mathematical terms of World War II cryptosystems such as the strip cipher, Hagelin, Hebern, and Siemens cipher machines, code and enciphered code, and voice scramblers. Introduced by elementary systems, also generalized in mathematical terms. Countries using the systems are not specified. The author, a mathematician, served as a cryptanalyst in the German Foreign Office during the war.

—— "Mathematische und maschinelle Methoden beim chiffrieren und dechiffrieren" *FIAT Review of German Science, 1939–1946: Applied Mathematics* Part I (Wiesbaden: Office of Military Government for Germany, Field Information Agencies, Technical 1948) p 233–237.

An unpublished English translation (1963), "Mathematical and Mechanical Methods in Cryptography" by Bradford Hardie, is available on microfilm in the Microform Reading Room, 315M, Central Building, The New York Public Library.

Cryptology as a field of applied mathematics, using mostly Allied cryptosystems and German solutions of World War II as illustrations. The techniques are described in general mathematical terms, with few concrete examples, a method which has both advantages and disadvantages. Among the more advanced matters considered — though with specific methods seldom given — are the solution of Hagelin and Enigma cipher machines and the strip system, mechanisms for stripping an additive superencipherment from an already-solved code, stripping the superencipherment from a code with literal codewords, the role of regularity in a stock of codewords in correcting garbles and in facilitating solution, probability laws in cryptology, tabulators in cryptanalysis, and judgments of security. The cryptosystems are not identified by country. The papers cited in its bibliography appear to have been confiscated by the belligerents.

Sacco, Luigi *Manuale di crittografia* 3rd ed (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato 1947) xii, 364 p

Trans by J. Brès as *Manuel de cryptographie* (Paris: Payot 1951) 374 p

The most comprehensive technical study of cryptography and cryptanalysis. In addition to the standard cipher systems, the author describes a dozen cipher machines, telephone scramblers, and different kinds of enciphered code. He shows how to solve cipher machines, codes, and enciphered code. The analyses are very condensed, with examples given only for the salient points. Other sections discuss the practical use of cryptosystems, steganography, cryptologic equations, formulas to distinguish mono- from polyalphabetic substitutions in short texts, a concise history, a commentary on cryptologic literature, and extensive discussion of the characteristics of major languages, including Russian and Serbo-Croatian. The author was head of the cryptologic section of the Italian general staff in World War I; he later rose to lieutenant general, specializing in radio.

Shannon, Claude "Communication Theory of Secrecy Systems" *Bell System Technical Journal* XXVIII (October 1949) 656–715 [Reprinted in Bell Telephone System Technical Publications as Monograph 1727]

The discoverer of information theory examines cryptology in the terms of that theory: redundancy, entropy, equivocation. Shannon develops formulas that enable the cryptanalyst to tell when a solution in a particular cipher system is valid. He discusses perfect secrecy (the

absolutely unbreakable cipher) and ideal secrecy (practically unbreakable ciphers) and work characteristics needed to solve different kinds of cipher. Heavily mathematical. A professional cryptanalyst has stated that this work has not helped solve a single cipher; nevertheless, its theoretical insights throw considerable light on the bases of cryptology and may help in constructing ciphers. The author, a mathematician, was working on communication secrecy for the Bell Telephone Laboratories during World War II when he wrote the paper.

Thayer, Charles W. *Diplomat* (New York: Harper 1959) xii, 299 p

Chapter XII, "Consuls, Codes, and Couriers: 2," p 139–152, recounts a few amusing anecdotes about cryptology. It also repeats a number of stories from Yardley.

Tuchman, Barbara *The Zimmermann Telegram* (New York: Viking 1958) vii, 244 p [Reprinted, with additional references in a "Preface to the New Edition" (New York: Macmillan 1966) xii, 244 p]

Masterful study of the genesis and interception of this 1917 dispatch of the German Foreign Minister and of the effect of its disclosure: finally pushing the United States into World War I. A case history of the political circumstances surrounding a cryptogram solution — the most important ever.

United States. Congress. Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack *Pearl Harbor Attack.* Hearings 79th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office 1946) 39 parts, paged in sections. 20,606 p, 559 illustrations

Information about many non-technical aspects of cryptology — manpower, distribution of cryptanalytic results, use to which these results are put — is scattered throughout this vast record. No general index exists, but most information may be obtained from the testimony of Bicknell, Bratton, Brotherhood, Doud, Dunning, Dyer, Edgers, Fabian, Fielder, Finnegan, French, Friedman, Holtwick, Kramer, Lasswell, Layton, Marshall, Mayfield, McCollum, Minckler, Murray (Allan), Noyes, O'Dell, Pering, Prather, Redman, Rochefort, Rowlett, Sadtler, Safford, Schukraft, Schulz, Shivers, and Street. Their appearances are indexed in the front of part 1. Most of the other information is concentrated in parts 34 to 38, which includes such items as translated Japanese instructions for enciphering coded messages (part 37, p 995–996) and illustrations of Japanese cablegrams and U. S. cryptanalysts' worksheets (part 38, items 169 and 124).

United States. War Department. Office of the Chief Signal Officer *Articles on Cryptography and Cryptanalysis Reprinted from The Signal Corps "Bulletin"* (Washington: Government Printing Office 1942) v, 316 p. Xerographically reproduced by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich

A miscellany illuminating various aspects of cryptology: solutions to challenge cryptograms, Jules Verne as a cryptologist, the first solution of a periodic polyalphabetic substitution, evaluations of World War I cryptology. Quality varies, though the essays by William F. Friedman are uniformly good. Several articles on communications and peripheral subjects are included.

Vries, Maurits de "Concealment of Information" *Synthese* IX (1953) 326–336

Clear and simple introduction to cryptology as a branch of mathematics. Discusses such concepts as key-sets (with cryptanalysis being the task of isolating the proper key in a set) and secrecy as a social phenomenon. Wide-ranging, interesting (because of its illustrative stories), and thought-provoking.

Wolfe, J[ack] M. *A First Course in Cryptanalysis,* rev ed ([Brooklyn] Brooklyn College Press 1943) Vol I iii, 187 p; Vol II 208 p; Vol III 224 p

Pedagogically, the finest elementary text, organized into sixteen lessons. The theoretical expositions stress the mathematical framework of systems; the illustrative solutions are clearly and fully worked out. No mixed-alphabet polyalphabetics and no aperiodic polyalphabetics, but a good introduction to the Hill system. A pleasant tone pervades the writing. Problems. The author, a mathematician, taught a course in cryptanalysis at Brooklyn College during World War II.

Yardley, Herbert O. *The American Black Chamber* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill 1931) 375 p

This colorful account of the author's experiences as head of the U. S. military and diplomatic cryptanalytic bureau from 1917 to 1929 will arouse a beginner's interest in cryptology more than any other work. Its speeding excitement and pungent anecdotes convince the reader of the thrill and the importance of cryptology. Yardley has fictionalized some incidents, has puffed up others beyond their intrinsic importance, and has suppressed some uncomplimentary facts, so the work is to some degree unreliable as history. Nevertheless, its narrative qualities have caused it to remain for many people what best-selling mystery writer Erle Stanley Gardner has called it: "one of the most interesting books I have ever read."

Zacharias, Ellis M. *Secret Missions: The Story of an Intelligence Officer* (New York: Putnam 1946) viii, 433 p

P 88–90 tell what it is like in a black chamber — the U. S. Navy's cryptanalytic unit in the 1920s.

Zim, Herbert S. *Codes and Secret Writing* (New York: William Morrow 1948) v, 154 p

Excellent juvenile, especially good on secret inks. Junior high school level.

A Note on Other Sources

THE ITEMS in this appendix are presented as a quick survey of other areas where information on the subject may be found. There has been no attempt at detailed evaluation, except in section 2 below.

1 *Bibliographies.* These explore the field more thoroughly. The most comprehensive published is Joseph S. Galland's *An Historical and Analytical Bibliography of the Literature of Cryptology* (Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press 1945), which covers about 1,800 entries in 209 pages. Its annotations are skimpy or missing altogether and it lacks many works. Nevertheless, it is extremely valuable for the period up to its publication. Other bibliographies are: Al. Cuelenaere "Secret Communications: A Bibliography of Secret Writing and Cryptography" *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science* L (Oct 1959) 307–311, which emphasizes secret inks; Maurits de Vries' untitled bibliography, multilithed, Jan–Feb 1962, an excellent work that includes many items not found in Galland; Yves Gyldén's "Bibliographie cryptologique" in Edmond Locard *Traité de criminalistique* VI (Lyons 1936) 904–931, with letter symbols indicating the basic content of each work; and Sacco's 228-item list in chronological order (with about 50 additions in the French translation). David Shulman's "A Rational Bibliography of Cryptology," the most complete of all, exists only in manuscript.

2 *Patents.* These are essential for keeping up with the state of the cryptographic art. The principal U. S. classes are: 35:2–4 (that is, Class 35, Subclasses 2 to 4) for cryptography generally; 283:11, 17 for cryptographic printed matter; 197:4 for cryptographic typewriters; 178:5.1 for telephone scramblers; and 106:21 for secret inks. The Patent Office also includes in its field of search for cryptography, classes that do not deal exclusively with secret communications. Many of the patents in them will not have anything to do with cryptology. They are: 116:18–20 for code signalling generally; 325:32–35, 122 for modulated carrier wave systems involving secrecy; 340:345–365 for electrical communications involving code converters and transmitters; 88:1 for fiber-optic image scramblers; 117:1.7 for developing latent images, such as those in secret inks, by chemical means; 250:71–80 for revealing secret ink (and other substances) by electrical means; 204:1–156 for revealing secret ink (and other substances) by electrochemical means; 204:157.1–163 for revealing secret ink (and other substances) by ultraviolet, infrared or X-ray means, and 234:69–70, 94–106 for cutting or punching involving coding. The Patent Office sells lists of the patents in each class and subclass.

3 *Archives.* Governmental archives can often furnish very concrete, detailed, and unexploited information. Thus the captured German military archives include in the papers of army intelligence units cryptanalyzed intercepts and reports of codebreaking units, the captured Japanese diplomatic archives have papers dealing with Japanese Foreign Office cryptography, and the U. S. Department of State's Decimal File No 119.25 in the National Archives contains correspondence and memoranda dealing with American codes. Archives are usually closed for recent

years, and in some cases for long-distant years. The files of the National Security Agency are not open to the public, and even those of Yardley's World War I cryptanalytic unit remain under lock and key in the National Archives. National libraries — Library of Congress, Bibliothèque Nationale, British Museum — often contain valuable manuscript material for older periods.

4 *Periphera.* Works dealing with related subjects may show other forms of communication intelligence or may yield insights on cryptology itself. Some of the more valuable are studies of:

a the history of various signal corps: the three volumes on The Signal Corps in the Office of the Chief of Military History's "United States Army in World War II": *The Emergency* by Dulany Terrett (Washington, DC 1956), *The Test* by George R. Thompson et al (Washington, DC 1957), and *The Outcome* by George R. Thompson et al (Washington, DC 1966); L. S. Howeth's *History of Communications-Electronics in the United States Navy* (Washington, DC 1963); R. F. H. Nalder's *The History of British Army Signals in the Second World War* (London 1953) and his *The Royal Corps of Signals* (London 1958); France's Ministère des Armées' special number on "Transmissions-Télécommunications" of the *Revue historique de l'Armée* (February 1967); Karl Otto Hoffmann's *Ln — Die Geschichte der Luftnachrichtentruppe* (Neckargemünd) I (1965), II (1968); and the U. S. Army. Forces in the Far East. Military History Section, *Operational History of [Japanese] Naval Communications: December 1941–August 1945* (Washington, DC 1953). In this same area are memoirs of former signal officers, as Albert Praun's *Soldat in der Telegraphen- und Nachrichtentruppe* (Würzburg [1965?]).

b telephone eavesdropping: Henri Morin's *A l'écoute devant Verdun* (Paris 1938), reprinted as *Service Secret: A l'écoute devant Verdun* (Paris 1959) and Alan Westin's *Privacy and Freedom* (New York 1967), with extensive bibliographical notes.

c radio interception, direction finding and traffic analysis: George E. Sterling's account of running down World War II spy radios in "The R.I.D. Story" *Spark-Gap Times* No 16 (Aug 1 1963) 13–23, No 17 (Oct 1 1963) 25–39, No 18 (Dec 1 1963) 7–27, No 19 (Feb 1964) 6–7, and U. S. Departments of the Army and the Air Force *Fundamentals of Traffic Analysis (Radio-Telegraph)* TM 32–250 and AFM 100–80 (Washington, DC 1948).

d spy communications: especially the many authentic details in M. R. D. Foot's *SOE in France* in Great Britain's official "History of the Second World War" (London 1968), and the sometimes puerile training manual of GRU Lt Col I. Ye. Prikhodko "Characteristics of Agent Communications and of Agent Handling in the U.S.A." in Oleg Penkovskiy *The Penkovskiy Papers* trans Peter Deriabin (Garden City, N Y 1965) 104–162.

e electronic warfare: Robert J. Schlesinger's technical *Principles of Electronic Warfare* (Englewood Cliffs, N J 1961); John M. Carroll's simplified *Secrets of Electronic Espionage* (New York 1966); *Countermeasures*, a reprint from *Aviation Week* (November 18 and 25 1957); and *Aerospace Electronics*, a reprint from *Space/Aeronautics* (April 1960) with bibliography.

f preserving the privacy of information in computers: H. E. Petersen and R. Turn *System Implications of Information Privacy*, The RAND Corporation Publication P–3504 (Santa Monica, Calif 1967), and Annette Harrison *The Problem of Privacy in the Computer Age: An Annotated Bibliography*, The RAND Corporation Memorandum RM–5495–PR/RC (Santa Monica, Calif 1967).

Studies of even broader subjects, such as war or language, may show where cryptology and the information conserved or generated by it fit into a bigger picture of human activities.

5 *Fiction.* Stories or novels with codes or ciphers in the plot may increase the palatability of the sometimes dry technical aspects of cryptology. Classic are Edgar Allan Poe's *The Gold-Bug* (1843) and Arthur Conan Doyle's tale of Sherlock Holmes and *The Adventure of the Dancing Men* (1905), both of which explain the solution of a monoalphabetic substitution and are available in any library. Jules Verne employs various cipher systems in *Voyage au centre de la terre* (1864) chapters 2–5; *La Jangada* (1881) Part I chapter 1, Part II chapters 12, 13, 14, and 18; and *Mathias Sandorff* (1885) Part I chapters 1, 3, and 4. Dorothy Sayers' Lord Peter Wimsey solves a Playfair in *Have His Carcase* (1932), and Helen McCloy has her heroine in *Panic* (1944) solve a mixed-alphabet polyalphabetic. There are literally scores of novels with ciphers in the plot. Henry E. Langen [pseud HELCRYPT] discusses a few in "Ciphers in Literature" in *The Cryptogram* XXIII (June–July 1953) 32–33. A collection of short stories involving cryptology appears in Raymond T. Bond's anthology, *Famous Stories of Code and Cipher* (New York 1947, republished 1965).

James Stephens' Verso Additions to the Manuscripts of *The Crock of Gold*

By PATRICIA ANN MCFATE
University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

THE CROCK OF GOLD is a fantasy, but it contains debates on certain philosophical issues, slap-stick comedy, a romance between a mortal and a god, and the drab life stories of two prisoners. Its characters range from the mundane to a multitude of Celtic gods, fairies, and leprecauns, its settings from an enchanted mountain area to a village jail. James Stephens' success in combining these divergent elements into a cohesive novel has been recognized as a victory in literary craftsmanship. What critics have not noted — and what the heavily corrected pages of the first draft of the novel make clear — is that the author's triumph was not without its compositional struggles.

Stephens wrote the first draft of his novel on the recto pages of stenographic notebooks.[1] During the period of composition or, more probably, the process of revision, the author realized that sections of his story needed amplification. Because the new material was too lengthy to fit above the line of the notebook page for which it was intended, he used the empty verso page of the preceding leaf, with a symbol inserted at its place in the first draft. Stephens made 132 of these additions to the notebooks (he also revised the recto pages). The verso interpolations vary in length and significance, but the majority of them are of importance to a study of the novel since they mark those sections which the author felt that he must expand in order to clarify or better integrate his ideas and materials.

This paper presents 1) a general discussion of how the verso additions contribute to the structure of *The Crock of Gold*, and 2) an analysis of those additions which elaborate on the themes of the novel and which demonstrate the influence of the writings of William Blake on Stephens' best-known work.

[1] Six holograph notebooks in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of The New York Public Library; hereafter, cited as the Berg Collection. All but one of the six notebooks have paper covers of a terra-cotta color; the fifth is covered in blue paper. The first notebook is dated by Stephens October 23rd 1911; and the last, 9th April 1912. For the dating of the fifth notebook, see footnote 19 below. The pages in the first edition which correspond to this draft are given in footnotes as each notebook is discussed.

For permission to quote from James Stephens' manuscripts and letters, grateful acknowledgment is made to the Berg Collection of The New York Public Library and to The Society of Authors as agent for the Estate of James Stephens.

I

The novel opens with two seemingly unrelated acts, the "suicides" of a philosopher and his wife and the robbery of a pot of gold, and yet the remaining action of the story is dependent upon these events. Moreover, the comment of the second philosopher upon hearing that his colleague proposes to die is not only indicative of Stephens' view of life but anticipatory of the novel's ending: "the ultimate end" is gaiety, music, and a dance of joy.

Unlike the suicides, the effects of which are not immediately felt, the robbery of the leprecauns' crock by Meehawl Mac Murrachu sets off a series of incidents. The children of the two philosophers are temporarily abducted by the angry leprecauns. They are then released, but the leprecauns direct the pagan god Pan to Mac Murrachu's daughter, and she is lured away.

The first stenographic pad contains the narration of these events and Stephens' introduction of the characters who are involved in the action.[2] Several verso additions in the opening pages of the notebook expand a description of the philosophers. In one, which narrates their bewilderment over the birth of their children, a correction the author makes in his wording is significant.[3] The men's first reaction to the event was to be "astonished"; Stephens has replaced this word with a more considered phrase, "forced to admire an event which they had been unable to prognosticate." A second verso addition further delineates the philosophers by indicating that the two men are violently opposed to "noise" even when it consists of the sounds of birds, the wind, or rain.[4] By these wry remarks, Stephens emphasizes the philosophers' lack of emotion and their inability to appreciate natural forces. In his treatment of the philosophers' wives, the author employs the same gentle irony to point out how their emotional nature borders on irrationality. He writes that each woman hated her own child but loved the other's baby, and he adds on a verso page the lines in which the women resolve this dilemma by swapping children.[5]

When one man makes the startling announcement that he wishes to die, his colleague's response has undergone several corrections in the manuscript.

[2] This draft corresponds to pages 3.1 – 69.8 of the printed text (London 1912).

[3] For purposes of citation, the notebook number is given in roman numerals followed by the page and lines in arabic numbers. This addition is to be found in CG–I, 1^{v}:4–12; that is, Notebook I of *The Crock of Gold* manuscript, page 1^{verso}, lines 4 through 12. The page numbers used are those pencilled under the draft in each notebook. The lines referred to are those on the notebook page, including blanks; in this case, lines 1–3 are blank, and the text of the addition begins on line 4.

[4] CG–I, 2^{v}:1–5.

[5] CG–I, 3^{v}:9–10.

These changes reflect Stephens' desire to make the second man an important figure in the story. This man, unlike his fellow philosopher, is capable of doubt concerning the value of a life built upon the pursuit of wisdom alone, but he is as yet lacking in the qualities which Stephens places beyond wisdom — goodness and kindness. One example of how the manuscript insertions clarify this point is the passage quoted above in which the Philosopher questions whether the end of life might not be gaiety; however, in another addition the man calmly states that he wishes to discuss his friend's resolution to kill himself not in order to change his mind but "merely to continue an interesting conversation." [6] The Philosopher's comments do not alter his companion's decision. The other philosopher proceeds to extinguish his life by spinning like a religious dervish, and he is joined in this unique method of self-annihilation by his wife, the Grey Woman of Dun Gortin. The Philosopher is, of course, as yet unable to deal with the elementary practicalities of human nature, whether they involve birth or death; thus, his wife, the Thin Woman, must bury the two bodies under their cottage hearthstone. The terse narration of this interment, a necessary preparation for later events in the plot as well as an indication of the Philosopher's lack of contact with reality, is an afterthought, incorporated into the draft by a verso addition.[7]

In contrast to this serious note, the next additions to the draft furnish comic relief in the form of nine unsolicited interruptions of the Philosopher's rambling discourses on a variety of topics (including the theoretical aspects of washing and sleep).[8] These interruptions turn what were originally lectures into comic routines in which the Philosopher succeeds in discouraging his audience's attempts to make conversation out of monologue. Other verso additions are whimsical aphorisms characteristic of Stephens' distinctive humor, for example:

> (a leprecaun without a pot of gold is like a rose without scent, a bird without a wing or an inside without an outside)[.] (CG–1, 25^{v}:3–4)

The Philosopher's neighbor, Meehawl Mac Murrachu, comes to the cottage in the woods to seek advice concerning two lost items. The first is a washing board, and he is given directions which lead, instead, to the leprecauns' pot of gold. The second item, his daughter, is a more difficult problem for the Philosopher to solve.

[6] CG–1, 11^{v}:1^{sup}–1, in its revised form.

[7] CG–1, 16^{v}:3.

[8] CG–1, 19^{v}:5, 8, 11–13; 20^{v}:1–3, 5–6; 29^{v}:1–2, 5–7, 9–11; 30^{v}:1–2.

Caitilin Ni Murrachu, "the most beautiful girl in the world," is not described in any detailed manner in the novel or its draft. Her exceptional beauty is stated rather than specified, and the only addition which concerns her is a sardonic comment:

> Beauty also is usefulness. The arts as well as the crafts[,] the graces equally with the utilities must stand up in the market place & be judged by [*the demand and supply*] <the gombeen men>[.] (CG–I, 42^{v}:1–3)

Her name, however, has been the result of some experimentation. She is called Nora or Noreen throughout the first two notebooks, but in Notebooks III, IV, and VI she is given the name of Caitilin. Caitilin Ni Murrachu, of course, is intended to recall Caitilin Ni Houlihan; with this change, Stephens raises a shepherdess to a figure representative of Ireland.

The draft of *The Crock of Gold* in the second stenographic notebook begins with a continuation of the narration concerning Caitilin's mysterious disappearance, and it ends with the Philosopher on his way to seek divine assistance in bringing the girl back to her people.[9] Added to the fourth page of the notebook are lines which make the situation in which the Philosopher's children are kidnapped a humorous escapade, in contrast to the disturbing departure of Caitilin Ni Murrachu. These verso additions include a description of the crowded underground room in which the leprecauns live and a solemn explanation of how they make shoes.[10]

After the children are released, they are sent by their father as envoys to Pan's cave. When they fail to convince Caitilin to leave Pan, the Philosopher seeks the aid of a higher authority, the Celtic god of love, Angus Óg. On his way to Óg's stronghold, he pauses to speak with Pan and Caitilin, and engages in a short debate with Pan over the meaning of the concept of virtue. Leaving the cave, the Philosopher, although he has objected to Pan's notion of wisdom as a "catalogue of sensual stimuli," recalls a vision of Caitilin in her naked beauty. He really "sees" the sunshine and the landscape, he takes pleasure in the feeling of bodily movement and in the heat of the sun, he enjoys the food he eats, and he indulges in a frivolous conversation with a woman culminating in an impetuous kiss. With some surprise he realizes that he finds luxuriating in his senses a pleasant change from constant ratiocination. However, he is not yet able to cope with feminine emotions: he annoys the woman whom he has kissed by offering to apologize to

[9] This draft corresponds to pages 68.24 – 115.17 and 122.15 – 128.23 of the printed text.
[10] CG–II, 4^{v}:1–12, 14–19.

her husband; his response to the tears of a homeless old woman is embarrassment; and he must flee from tinkers when the woman who travels with them insists that she wishes to marry him.

There are no verso passages in the second half of Notebook II, and the recto pages themselves bear only a few corrections. Apparently the sections dealing with these encounters were written without much difficulty. Indeed, the narration of the Philosopher's meeting with the old woman is missing from the pad, its position being marked only by a notation indicating its location in the story.[11] In Notebook III, however, a lengthy passage is added to the Philosopher's discussion with the tinkers.[12] In it he maintains that man should declare war against nature because she uses "the whips of appetite." This remark points up the Philosopher's continuing and unhealthy preoccupation with the mind; only after his meeting with Angus Óg does he view God, Man, and Nature as a "mighty organism."

The Philosopher's visit to Pan has provoked an argument about virtue. His appeal to Angus Óg results in another debate in which Pan and Óg explore the question of what constitutes "the greatest thing in the world," and Caitilin chooses divine imagination, championed by Óg, over hunger, represented by Pan. On another plot level, the leprecauns who are still angered over their lost gold turn informers and send the police information concerning some bodies buried under a hearthstone. Thus, the opening events of the novel, the suicides and the theft of the crock of gold, result in the novel's two climaxes, the Philosopher's arrest on a charge of murder and Caitilin's resolve to live with Angus Óg.

These developments are recorded in the third stenographic notebook.[13] Here, the tablet's many verso additions attest to the care with which Stephens articulates his beliefs in the expository sections of the novel. The debate between Pan and Óg is important to him because Caitilin's choice of the god with whom she will live must be understood as an action symbolic of what he wishes for Ireland, namely, a revival of national culture and a choice of the spiritual over the material life. The debate and the narrative commentary in Chapter XIII on politics and justice have undergone extensive revision in the draft. There are thirteen verso additions to these sec-

[11] What Stephens calls "the old woman's story" is a revised version of his short story, "Old Mrs. Hannigan," which was first published in *Sinn Fein* (29 Feb 1908) 4. This tale is incorporated into pages 115.18 – 122.4 of the printed text.

[12] CG–III, 5v:1–19.

[13] This draft corresponds to pages 128.23 – 193.26 and 268.23 – 272.26 of the printed text.

tions, a record of the author's battles with his material.[14] Two examples of these added lines are given in the second part of this paper.

The Philosopher's adventures on his return home reveal that Angus Óg has transformed him into an emotionally responsive person. Although he is very hungry, he shares his cake with seven people, a greater sacrifice than an earlier gift of extra food that he did not desire to the married woman. Upon meeting an unhappy girl, he spontaneously offers her assistance; this willingness to counsel is in contrast to his wish to escape when confronted by the old woman's tearful complaints. And his meeting with a young boy is both a delightful sojourn and a serious discussion, as opposed to the exchange of arguments and misunderstandings which mar his stay with the tinkers.

While returning home, the Philosopher delivers messages from Angus Óg to three men. These messages and the reactions which they elicit are dependent upon the strangers to whom they are directed. To enable his readers to understand this section of his story, Stephens has provided the strangers with significant names. Stephens has written two other names, Mac Morna and Mac Cuhail on p 35 of Notebook III before settling upon Mac Cúl for the elderly man; the name Cuchulain is written on the verso leaf facing the page on which the young man is identified as Mac Culain; and the name of the youngest stranger, Mac Cushin, is chosen from many alternatives including these six found in a verso addition: Mac Coshín, Mac Cusín, Mac Cushín, Coshin, Cushín, and Cusín.[15] When Stephens' selections and alternatives are viewed together, the names become more obvious. Since the prefix Mac means "son of," the men are the sons or heirs of Cumhail, Cúchulain, and Oisín. Therefore, Mac Cúl and Mac Culain, the heirs of the warrior-heroes of Ireland, respond to Óg's messages in their hearts but they are unable to understand them in their heads as Mac Cushin does, for he is related to the great poet of the Gaels.

When he reaches home, the Philosopher discovers that policemen have arrived to arrest him on charges of having murdered his colleague and his colleague's wife. The fourth notebook contains a draft of the chapters in which Stephens narrates the march to the village police station, the Philosopher's brief escape from his police escort, and his stay in prison.[16] The most interesting addition to the tablet is intended for incorporation into the dialogue in which a woman who lives on the road to the police station reveals

[14] CG–III, 12ᵛ:1, 4–5, 9–17; 13ᵛ:1–5; 16ᵛ:5–6; 20ᵛ:1–8; 21ᵛ:13; 22ᵛ:1–7, 8–12; 23ᵛ:1^{sup}–2, 3–18; 24ᵛ:1–20^{sub}; 25ᵛ:1–4.

[15] CG–III, 35:8, 11; 43ᵛ:8; 50ᵛ:5–8.

[16] This draft corresponds to pages 197.1 – 245.7 of the printed text.

to the Philosopher and his arresting officers that her husband has left her after losing his job as a clerk.[17] Her remarks are altered by this addition to prepare for the moment when the Philosopher realizes that the first prisoner who tells his story in jail is this woman's husband. Other verso additions in this pad serve to expand the ludicrous verbal contests between the Philosopher and his dim-witted captors.[18]

The pages of the fifth stenographic notebook contain the stories of two clerks who are in jail with the Philosopher. This notebook must have been written in 1909, at which time the stories were contributed to *Sinn Fein*.[19] None of the changes made in the stories before their inclusion in the novel are to be found in this pad, and the narration which follows the stories in the first edition is also missing from this notebook. Stephens must have decided to use the tales after he had finished his draft of the novel. At a later date, perhaps at the time of galley proofs, he must have formulated the lines in which the Philosopher and the first prisoner converse and the notation that after hearing the two stories the Philosopher is removed from his cell and taken to a city jail to face trial and execution. The prisoner's unhappy tales have earned for Stephens some critical attack on the grounds of their irrelevance to the main action of the book. It is true that they were not originally written for *The Crock of Gold* and that they are not essential to the plot, but it is also true that they serve a purpose. Both stories deal with clerks who have been turned out of their jobs because of illness or old age and who, because of an economic structure which Stephens condemns, are unable to make a living honestly. These typical victims of a mechanized, industrial society — the aged and the infirm — are as much in need of the humanitarian philosophy of Angus Óg as the Philosopher and Caitilin Ni Murrachu.

In the chapters contained in the sixth stenographic pad, the missing pot of gold, the imprisoned Philosopher, and the lost shepherdess are returned to their rightful places.[20] After the children discover and hand over the leprecauns' crock, they accompany their mother upon her journey to find and request the aid of Angus Óg. The Thin Woman informs Óg of her husband's peril, and the god summons the aid of his people of the Sidhe. Óg, his bride

[17] CG–IV, 16v:1–10.

[18] See, e.g., CG–IV, 9v:2–5; 20v:1–8, 9–12; 21v:5–8.

[19] Both short stories appeared in the 6 Nov 1909 issue of *Sinn Fein*, p 1 and 3; they were entitled "Grierson's Discovery" and "The Man Who Was Afraid." These stories are incorporated into pages 255.6 – 263.11 and 245.8 – 253.19 of the printed text.

[20] This draft corresponds to pages 267.1 – 268.22 and 272.27 – [312.13] of the printed text.

Caitilin, the Thin Woman, and the fairy host march to the city and release the Philosopher from prison; then they return to the countryside and their people. Thus, order and harmony are restored in the community.

Notebook VI is of greater importance than the two preceding pads because its many corrections, notations, and additions reveal the care with which Stephens brought his story to a close. Furthermore, its pattern of revision is representative of all the notebooks; that is, pages of casual conversation have only a few corrections or verso additions while the pages of exposition, usually in the form of lectures or arguments, are heavily emended. Just as there are few corrections and no verso additions to the sections in Notebook II dealing with the conversation between the Philosopher and the attractive woman he meets on the road, in this last pad the pages presenting the dialogue between that woman and the Thin Woman are written with very little reworking. And just as there are many emendations and verso additions to the debate in Notebook III between Pan and Óg, here five blocks of material expand the Thin Woman's talk on the eternal strife between men and women and another five versos supplement the speeches of those symbolic characters she meets on her journey, the Three Absolutes.[21] Many of these additions will be discussed in the second part of the paper.

To counterbalance serious narrative passages, Stephens frequently inserts comedy, for example, the verso additions to Notebooks I and IV which enliven the children's kidnapping and the Philosopher's stay in prison. In this final tablet, two lengthy passages are added which bring gaiety into the Thin Woman's journey to Óg's stronghold: the first is a light-hearted discussion on why cows say "moo"; the second is an animated conversation between a cow and a fly.[22]

In the first three notebooks, the author has worked out symbolic names for his heroine and the three strangers who speak to the Philosopher. Similarly, notes on the last pages in Notebooks IV and VI are Stephens' preparation for writing the concluding portion of his novel in which the fairy host is introduced.[23] The notations are lists of Celtic gods, Ulster fairies, and Queens of Munster and background material on the King of the Lupra and Dana, the mother of the gods. These characters, like Caitilin Ni Murrachu, Mac Cúl, Mac Culain, and Mac Cushin, are drawn from Gaelic folklore and mythol-

[21] CG–VI, 3ᵛ:2–3; 4ᵛ:1–6, 8, 11; 5ᵛ:3–10; 20ᵛ:1–7, 8–9; 21ᵛ:2–8; 22ᵛ:7–8; 23ᵛ:2–8.

[22] CG–VI, 10ᵛ:5–18; 11ᵛ:1–18^{sub}.

[23] CG–IV, 54:1^{sup}–5, 7–12, 14–16; 54ᵛ:1–17. CG–VI, 31ᵛ:2; 32ᵛ:2–4, 6–7; 33ᵛ:2–4, 10; 34ᵛ:1, 3, 11–14.

ogy. Their presence in the novel is Stephens' means of turning an amusing story into an allegory.

The gaiety, the music, and the dance of joy envisioned by the Philosopher at the beginning of the tale form the background for the novel's ending. Moreover, the dancers' circular pattern — from countryside into the city and then a return to the home of the gods — is both descriptive of the plot structure and, Stephens hopes, prophetic of Ireland's future. *The Crock of Gold* is concerned with a descent into corrupt civilization and a return to beneficial nature. Ireland's representative, Caitilin Ni Murrachu, must make her way from Pan to Angus Óg, from foreign to Celtic gods, from base materialism to divine spirituality.

II

Study of certain verso passages in the manuscripts has revealed Stephens at work, blending elements of fantasy, realism, and rhetoric. Other important additions are relevatory of their author's interest in the writings of William Blake.

As many critics have noted, Blake served as a master for W. B. Yeats, George Russell, Stephens, and other writers of the Irish Literary Revival who shared an interest in Theosophy.[24] Stephens himself often acknowledged Blake's influence on his artistic career. He said that reading Blake's works had encouraged him to begin writing poetry; he admitted in 1914 that he was producing "Blakeish poems";[25] and certainly many of his poems before and after that date could be termed Blakean in subject matter and style.[26] Indeed, some of his contemporaries were less than entertained by Stephens' whimsical admissions of his poetic indebtedness. C. P. Curran wrote Alan Denson that he and other friends of Stephens were distressed when they began to notice a difference in his poetic writings. Compared to the earthy realism of his earliest poems, those included in *The Hill of Vision* seemed lacking in originality. "Blake both as poet and painter stood in the first rank of Æ's admirations and Blake's influence is evident in *The Hill of Vision*.

[24] Many recent books and articles contain discussions of this topic including the following: Hazard Adams *Blake and Yeats: The Contrary Vision* (Ithaca 1955); S. Foster Damon, *William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols* (Boston and New York 1924); Northrop Frye "Yeats and the Language of Symbolism" *University of Toronto Quarterly* XVII (Oct 1947) 1–17; Hilary Pyle *James Stephens: His Work and an Account of His Life* (London 1965); Margaret Rudd *Divided Image: A Study of William Blake and W. B. Yeats* (London 1953).

[25] Stephens used this expression in a letter to Sir Edward Marsh dated February 1914 (now in the Berg Collection).

[26] Barton Friedman discusses Stephens' poetic indebtedness in "William Blake to James Stephens: The Crooked Road" *Eire – Ireland* I, No 3 (1966) 29–57.

This book appeared to me in 1912 to be apprentice work and no notable advance on his first work . . . ." [27]

Stephens' fiction in this period also contains beliefs which are based on his readings. In a verso addition to the manuscript of his first novel, *The Charwoman's Daughter*, he states that by "the interaction perhaps cooperation of [Good and Evil] all things are possible," [28] an idea which is amplified in several expository sections of his later work, *The Demi-Gods*. In another added passage, Stephens defends hunger as a better condition than satiety and "all those negations which culminate in stupidity & decay"; [29] this thought is repeated by Pan in *The Crock of Gold*. These verso additions, along with the narrator's statements in the first two novels that there is "no fertility" unless extremes meet, are Stephens' versions of Blake's contention that "without Contraries is no progression."

Characters in his fiction often serve to demonstrate this proposition. In *The Demi-Gods*, Finann and Caeltia are spiritual representatives of the eternal strife between knowledge and emotion. Appropriately enough, their human counterparts, Eileen and Patsy, who are also in conflict throughout the novel, are united as the book ends. The conflict in *Deirdre* is also a battle of opposites; its tragic ending is brought about by the inability of Conachúr, representing conformity and old age, and Naoise, representing rebellious youth, to live together.

In all his novels and short stories, Stephens condemns the tyranny of misguided authority, the hypocrisy of organized religion, and the materialism and exploitation to be found in cities. His conception of Angus Óg's mission in *The Crock of Gold* seems to be taken from the epigraph chosen for "The Four Zoas," and in *The Demi-Gods* he looks forward to a Jerusalem in Ireland: ". . . we scatter our sins broadcast and call them our neighbours; let us scatter our virtues abroad and build us a city to live in." [30]

Ideas expressed in his essays also reflect Stephens' admiration for Blake. In those written for *Sinn Fein*, he frequently utilizes Blake's concept of the contraries. In "Tattered Thoughts" he holds that "if every one was virtuous vice would be a distinction," and in "Irish Idiosyncrasies" he says that "good

[27] *Letters from Æ* ed Alan Denson (London 1961) 231.

[28] A verso addition to the sixth holograph notebook containing Stephens' first draft of *The Charwoman's Daughter* (CD–VI, 2r:5, as revised). The notebooks for this novel are also in the Berg Collection.

[29] CD–VI, 12r:7–9, as revised.

[30] *The Demi-Gods* (London 1914) 54.

and evil are energies working in opposite directions."[31] Stephens does not acknowledge the source for his ideas in these early essays; however, in a later article he admits that he finds Blake "very good to steal from; and let it be conceded that theft is the first duty of man."[32] In another article, published in the same year as *The Crock of Gold*, he lauds his precursor as "the sole example of the myth maker not only in modern, but even in historical literature";[33] and over forty years later, he characterizes the poet as "the man who wrote the best epigrams in our language."[34]

As this brief summary would indicate, Stephens' admiration took the form of adaptation, of Blake's style, characters, and beliefs. For the purpose of this paper, certain additions to the manuscript of *The Crock of Gold* will be used to further demonstrate this contention.

Stephens particularly admired Blake's epigrams, and in his novel he attempted to reproduce them in the maxims attributed to the philosophers and their wives and in certain expository sections. One of his last additions to the novel — so late that it does not appear in the notebook draft — is the women's belief that "Man is God's secret, Power is man's secret, Sex is woman's secret," a line which recalls the style and thought of "The Proverbs of Hell." An addition on a recto leaf in Notebook III continues a discussion of the "divinely erratic energy" of Thought with the explanation that it is "Erratic because as [*Blake*] ⟨has been⟩ sa[*ys*]⟨id⟩ The Crooked Roads are roads of Genius";[35] Stephens uses this maxim again in an essay written two years later in order to support his claim that Blake was the only writer who could be called a genius.[36] Many of the verso additions in Notebook III resemble Blake's epigrams, for example, these two selections:

> The fingertips are guided by God but the devil looks through the eyes of all creatures so that they may wander in the errors of reason & justify themselves of their [*foolishness*] ⟨wanderings⟩[.] (CG–III, 20ᵛ:5–8)

> [*for*] Statecraft also that [*Ancient*] <Tender> Shepherd of the [*Peoples*] <Flocks> has been despoiled of his crook & bell & wanders in unknown desolation whi[*ch*]<le> [*under*] <beneath> the banner of Politics

[31] "Tattered Thoughts" *Sinn Fein* (5 Oct 1907) 3; "Irish Idiosyncrasies" *Sinn Fein* (7 May 1910) 3.

[32] "An Essay in Cubes" *English Review* XVII (Apr – July 1914) 93.

[33] "The Wisdom of the West" [review] *Irish Review* II (Apr 1912) 101.

[34] "William Blake" in *James, Seumas & Jacques: Unpublished Writings of James Stephens* ed Lloyd Frankenberg (London 1964) 199–200.

[35] CG–III, 25:12–14.

[36] "An Essay in Cubes" 93.

> Thought rules [*in the dominions of*] <over an intellectual> Chaos. (CG–III, 25ᵛ:1–4)

In a book review published in the same year as *The Crock of Gold*, Stephens states that the recurrent theme in Blake's mystical works is the interaction of the Four Zoas and their struggles for domination over each other which end when "Imagination, or The Redeemer, has fused them into the peace of Universal Brotherhood."[37] Clearly, Stephens works with this theme in his novel. In *The Crock of Gold*, the antagonisms of the Zoas are found in two conflicts, the quarrels between the Philosopher and the Thin Woman and the opposing theories of Pan and Angus Óg.

The Philosopher's reliance upon intellect has brought him to a state in which he, like Urizen, has cast aside pleasure. The Thin Woman, who has lost her stores of knowledge and who walks in "the valleys of anger," has reached the point where she, like Luvah or his female fragmentation Vala, is governed by emotion without the guidance of thought. Pan is Stephens' Tharmas; he advocates a sterile and destructive concentration upon the senses, those qualities Óg lists as "Desire and Fever and Lust and Death." Pan awakens Caitilin to an awareness of sensual pleasures, but their relationship is incomplete because she represents Enitharmon, whose true mate is Los, or Angus Óg. When Óg is in union with Caitilin, he is Urthona, and his people of the Sidhe are Urthona's "Gods of the Heathen." In Óg's company, Caitilin, the Philosopher, and the Thin Woman can be transported beyond Beulah; they can gain a "sense of oneness."

The Three Absolutes encountered by the Thin Woman are "The Ancient Britons" about whom Blake writes:

> In the last Battle of King Arthur only Three Britons escaped, these were the Strongest Man, the Beautifullest Man, and the Ugliest Man; these three marched through the field unsubdued, as Gods, and the Sun of Britain s[e]t, but shall rise again with tenfold splendor when Arthur shall awake from sleep, and resume his dominion over earth and ocean.[38]

Blake's Britons are now Irish figures awaiting Angus Óg, the Celtic god of Imagination, and his son, the Redeemer whom Óg predicts will be born of his union with Caitilin Ni Murrachu. Blake designated his Beautiful Man as the human pathetic, his Strong Man as the human sublime, and his Ugly

[37] "The Wisdom of the West" 102.

[38] "A Descriptive Catalogue" in *The Poetry and Prose of William Blake* ed David V. Erdman (Garden City, N Y 1965) 533.

Man as the human reason. Stephens' Absolutes are Thought, Love, and Generation; thus, they are representations of the qualities found in the Philosopher, the Thin Woman, and Pan.

Not only subject matter and writing style but the theories expressed in *The Crock of Gold* are Blakean in origin. For example, a number of verso additions throughout the notebooks are related to three themes which Stephens has found in Blake's writings, namely, the enmity between men and women, the happy innocence of childhood, and the need to embrace life's joys and its responsibilities.

Notebook VI opens with the comment that the Thin Woman's ability to be angry was unlimited. Feminine rage is illustrated, however, from the very beginning of the story. There, the Philosopher and his colleague learn that their wives' anger is "more valuable than the friendship of angels" because in their state of irritation the women repeat the fourteen hundred maledictions which make up their knowledge, thus increasing their husbands' wisdom and their own turbulence. The Thin Woman's anger is intensified when the leprecauns report to her that their pot of gold has been stolen by Meehawl Mac Murrachu while he is operating under the Philosopher's directions for the location of his lost washingboard. She announces in a verso addition that all her sympathies are with the leprecauns of Gort na Cloca Mora.[39]

The quarrels between the Thin Woman and the Philosopher are illustrative of female Emotion in perpetual battle with male Thought. In his poem, "Mount Derision," Stephens pictures Heart and Thought as chained to each other like Blake's Oothoon and Theotormon. In *The Crock of Gold*, the torture is verbal rather than physical, and the chains are marital. The disagreements between men and women are exemplified in their maxims: the women believe in storage of knowledge and secrecy; their husbands wish to offer others their knowledge because they believe that "refilling is progress."

Stephens, like Blake, views this conflict as universal but not irreversible Indeed, spiritual transformation is brought about by enmity. When the children return from their unsuccessful mission to Pan's cave, the Philosopher asks his wife to undertake an assignment as his messenger. She indignantly refuses, and he is forced to set out himself for the stronghold of Angus Óg. Because of this errand, he receives the instruction of the Celtic god in whom Thought and Emotion are united, and he is inspired to love all humanity.

The Thin Woman's response to the Philosopher's new tenderness is stunned silence, then a recovery to make his favorite food, to weep, and to

[39] CC–I, 27ᵛ:1.

proclaim her husband's beauty and goodness. Conflict between the sexes has ended, but the female also must receive instruction in unifying her being. The Thin Woman, who has previously refused to undertake a journey on the grounds that it would be an impropriety for a lady to leave her household, must travel the countryside at night in order to find Angus Óg; and before setting out, she must take part in "that sacrifice which is called Forgiveness of Enemies":

> Thus she [*would be*] <became> free to direct her malice against the State of Punishment while forgiving the individuals who [*but*] <had> [<*only*>] <but> acted in [*accordance with*] <obedience to the pressure of> their infernal environment which is Sin[.] (CG–VI, 1ᵛ:4–7)

Thus, Stephens echoes Blake's axiom: "Without Forgiveness of Sin, Love is Itself Eternal Death."

With the cessation of adult enmity, child-like innocence may return, for Stephens believes that the "knowledge of a man is wedded to the gaiety of a child." [40] Stephens' children behave instinctually. Seumas and Brigid Beg do not think out their reactions — they react; and although their actions are also unpremeditated, they are wise because they bring happiness into the world. The culmination of this instinctual wisdom is the children's return of the leprecauns' gold, but its beginnings are found much earlier in the story.

Unlike the adults who live in the darkness of the forest, Seumas and his sister choose to play in the sunlight. It is Seumas who discovers a patch of sunshine, and in a verso passage, Stephens praises his namesake's curiosity as one of the "great impelling forces of life." [41] Seumas and Brigid Beg play happily and freely with the creatures in the forest, as Stephens points out in a verso addition; [42] the author also adds three passages which augment descriptions of their delightful companions, the birds and a handsome goat. [43]

The children are not only able to recognize differences in the birds' personalities, but they are able to understand a cow's emotions. With equal spontaneity and attention they listen to the leprecauns and Pan, and their responses are honest and frequently quite perceptive. They explain when questioned that they do not know if they like their father and that the most

[40] CG–VI, 28ᵛ:12, as revised. In "Poetry," Stephens states that ". . . the wisdom of a wise man can be allied to the artlessness of a child . . . ." *Sinn Fein* (22 June 1907) 3.

[41] CG–I, 5ᵛ:1–9.

[42] CG–I, 4ᵛ:6–7.

[43] CG–II, 10ᵛ:1–14; 11ᵛ:1–7; 12ᵛ:10–11.

memorable thing about their mother is that she pinches them. After parting from a leprecaun, Brigid admits that she likes him even when he is not in good humor, a view with which her brother concurs; a little later, Seumas excuses Pan's strained manner on the grounds of his being "sick."[44]

Two other young people share the children's natural relationships with all living creatures. Tomás loves dogs and horses almost to the point of his mother's distraction. When he learns that the policemen intend to hang the Philosopher, he courageously attacks them. Mac Cushin instructs the Philosopher on the subject of youth, and he is the only stranger who is able to interpret the words of Angus Óg. It is significant that the three to whom Óg sends messages are progressively younger in age and that the youngest man receives the most important news, that he is going to write a poem which will rouse the slumbering Irish people.

Caitilin Ni Murrachu occupies the middle ground betwen childhood and maturity, her age being representative of Ireland on the threshold of cultural awakening. When she is first seen, the shepherdess and her animals are dancing to Pan's music. A verso addition describes her emotions upon hearing the song played by the pagan god:

> Hither & thither she flitted in front of the [*animals*] <beasts> & behind them. Her feet tripped to a wayward measure. There was a tune in her [*head*] <ears> & she danced to it throwing her arms out & above [*the*] <her> head. The full freedom of her body was hers now, the lightness & poise & certainty of her limbs delighted her & the strength that did not tire delighted her also[.] (CG–I, 46^{v}:1–7)

Seumas and Brigid Beg also dance and sing as they follow the path to Pan's cave, and their father moves ecstatically in the sunlight when he leaves the god's dwelling.

But Pan's music, while it extolls the senses, celebrates only the depths of the passions. He tells Caitilin that right and wrong are merely words, that the creatures of nature are part of an unthinking cycle of existence. Several additions to Notebook III indicate that Caitilin's happiness in her sexual freedom is marred by her dissatisfaction with this philosophy, although she does not know what further goals to seek.[45]

It is from Angus Óg that she learns of a happiness built upon both physical and spiritual love, because in Óg passion, intellect, and the senses are com-

[44] CG–II, 8^{v}:12–14; 22:12–13.

[45] CG–III, 12^{v}:1, 4–5, 9–17; 13^{v}:1–5.

bined through imagination. Óg helps her to develop a concern for others; she learns "to renounce the little ego that the mighty ego may have life." [46]

> She was not an individual only[;] she was also a part of a mighty organism striving [*desperately*] to achieve its [~~*individuality*~~] <oneness> & this great being was threefold comprising in its mighty units God & Man & Nature[.] (CG–VI, 28ᵛ:3–7)

However different in age and temperament, the mortals who are influenced by the Celtic god share one quality, an enjoyment of the art of dancing. This might seem at first to be a negligible accomplishment, but Stephens holds it to be one of the highest possible achievements because it is representative of a joyous acceptance of life.[47] According to him, a leprecaun is more valuable than a Prime Minister because he is able to dance and make merry. When the Philosopher is rescued from his police escort by the leprecauns, he says that he is tempted to stay with them because he has learned that dancing is man's "first and last duty."

In a verso addition to Notebook I, the Philosopher asks his colleague whether he can dance with a woman of the Sidhe.[48] His associate rejects this prospect just as he has rejected most of life's possibilities. The pursuit of wisdom has quite literally bored him to death. The dance which the Philosopher has proposed would have been a moonlight activity; as the Thin Woman explains to her children in a passage added to the sixth tablet, the fairies dance at night because "self-rightous moralities" have driven the creatures of Druidism from the world during the day.[49]

Stephens joins Blake in condemning organized religion and law as evil; and until the end of the novel Angus Óg cannot dance because of his sadness over the world of evil and unhappiness in which his people must live. It is appropriate, then, that the novel ends with a dance performed by Óg and the fairy host as they march in the sunlight to free man from worldly corruption. This final dance is Stephens' version of a fusion of the Zoas, for dance is the body calling forth its senses (Tharmas), it is the beauty of orderly patterns (Urizen), it is a response to love (Luvah), and it is a creation of the imagination (Urthona). Those who dance have attained Blake's fourfold vision.

[46] CG–VI, 28ᵛ:10.

[47] Stephens praises dancing as "freedom in excess" in "Irish Idiosyncracies" 3.

[48] CG–I, 11ᵛ:8–9.

[49] CG–VI, 12ᵛ:10–18^{sub}.

III

The manuscripts of *The Crock of Gold* reveal the author at his craft. The presence of over three thousand revisions on the notebooks' recto pages indicates that he was closely attending to his story. But certain aspects required further reworking. The verso additions were needed to delineate the characters more precisely and make their actions more comprehensible and to more carefully balance a variety of subjects and moods ranging from the whimsical to the solemn. Frequently, the expository passages were amplified because in those sections Stephens wished to further develop certain themes and beliefs found throughout his works; some of this added material, of course, was "stolen" from Blake, but one suspects that the English poet would have approved of the energy and grace with which Stephens adapted his ideas. As a whole, the verso additions provide us with a point of departure for studying the structure and meaning of the novel as well as for demonstrating the craftsmanship that enabled Stephens to perfect his master work of art.

This delightful creature, perhaps a leprecaun leaping in the sunlight, was sketched in ink under Stephens' signature on the inside front cover of Notebook VI of the *Crock of Gold* manuscripts. *Berg Collection*

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THE CENTRAL BUILDING

Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street

CHILDREN'S PAINTINGS FROM MALAYSIA — Room 78

Schoolchildren from Malaysia interpret their world, known and imagined, in paintings and drawings. May 19 through the summer.

FIBER OPTICS — First Floor Corridor North

The versatility of the newly developed technique of fiber optics is shown in books, periodicals, and photographs from the Science and Technology Division. Through May.

RECENT EUROPEAN CITY-PLANS — First Floor Corridor North

A collection of street maps of cities in both Eastern and Western Europe, selected from the holdings of the Map Division. Through September 14.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY REGINALD MARSH — Lobby and Landing Cases

A selection of original drawings in pen and ink, pencil, and color, for the books illustrated by the New York artist, commemorating the gift of Mrs Felicia Meyer Marsh. Through June 16.

BEASTS, BIRDS, BUGS, BOOKS — Second Floor Gallery

An exhibition of books (including rare books), manuscripts, and original watercolors and prints from the Library's collections, marking the centennial of The American Museum of Natural History. Through June.

The Central Building, continued

THE OSSETES AND OSSETIA — SECOND FLOOR CENTRAL CORRIDOR

The history and culture of a little-known people in the Caucasus are described in books and illustrative material from the Slavonic Division. Through August 1.

ASPECTS OF URBAN LIFE — THIRD FLOOR PRINT GALLERY

Prints from the late fifteenth century to the present depict man in his urban surroundings. Through mid-May.

NEW IN THE BERG COLLECTION, 1962–1964 — ROOM 318

Selected acquisitions including the archive of Lady Gregory; such notable items as the manuscripts of Byron's "Nisus and Euryalus" and of Irving's *A Tour on the Prairies*; and material for the study of figures as diverse as J. R. Lowell, Hardy, Conrad, Firbank, Shaw, Forster, Virginia Woolf, Huxley, Day-Lewis, and MacNeice. Through September.

AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL: SCENES FROM THE ARENTS COLLECTION OF BOOKS IN PARTS — ROOM 324

A selection of distinctive illustrations from books in parts, colored as well as black and white, including rare early views of American cities. May 15 through September.

BEADLE'S DIME NOVEL SERIES — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

On display are manuscript materials and printed works by authors published by Erastus Beadle, the New Yorker who helped to fashion a literary revolution. Through September.

* * *

RECENT ACCESSIONS — ROOM 84

A rotating display of books and dustjackets exhibiting materials recently added to the collection of the Jewish Division.

TECHNICAL BOOKS OF THE MONTH — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

A monthly selection of new books received in the Science and Technology Division, and reviewed in *New Technical Books*.

UNITED STATES POSTAGE STAMPS — MAIN LOBBY

An almost complete collection of United States postal issues and airmail stamps, 1847–1926. Permanent exhibition.

HISTORY OF PRINTING — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR

Examples of the recorded word and the graphic arts from Babylonian tablets to modern press work. Permanent exhibition.

WALT WHITMAN — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR

The Oscar Lion Collection of books by and about Whitman, including first editions, manuscripts, letters, portraits, and memorabilia. Permanent exhibition.

WASHINGTON IRVING — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR

Selections from the Seligman and Hellman collections of Irvingiana consisting of first editions, manuscripts, sketchbooks, etc. Permanent exhibition.

AMERICAN VIEWS — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

A selection of prints from the I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection. Permanent exhibition.

THE LIBRARY & MUSEUM OF THE PERFORMING ARTS AT LINCOLN CENTER

111 Amsterdam Avenue

SHELBY CULLOM DAVIS MUSEUM

THE FILMS OF MACK SENNETT — PLAZA GALLERY

A kaleidoscopic showing of Sennett's one reel comedies featuring "The Fatal Glass of Beer," with W. C. Fields. Through the summer.

IRVING BERLIN: WORDS AND MUSIC — PLAZA GALLERY

Scores and sheet music from the Library's Music Division commemorating the achievement of the American composer. Through the summer.

DEATH OF ELIZABETH — PLAZA GALLERY

A mural by the contemporary English artist Leonard Rosoman depicting the colorful events and personalities of England in the period before and after the death of the queen. Through the summer.

OPERA — FROM SCORE TO STAGE — MAIN GALLERY

A major presentation of how an opera comes into being. An animated, three-dimensional, audio-visual complex (40 by 80 feet in area) gives a back-stage view of the 1966 Metropolitan Opera production of Richard Strauss's *Die Frau ohne Schatten*. On view for a two-year period.

DANCE IN GERMANY TODAY — AMSTERDAM GALLERY

An exhibition of photographs of the several German ballet companies performing today, co-sponsored by the Goethe House of New York City. Through July 28.

THE MELODY IS THE MESSAGE: POP SONGS AND THE MEDIA — VINCENT ASTOR GALLERY

Sheet music, memorabilia, and machines (in working order) representing the various media for American popular music from the 1840s to today: minstrel shows, vaudeville, the musical stage, recordings, movies, television. Through June 14.

ISADORA DUNCAN, DANCING REVOLUTIONARY — DANCE COLLECTION

The professional career and the personal life of one of the pioneers of modern dance are described through photographs, original drawings by Grand'jouan, and her own trunk, costumes, and books. Through the fall.

2 3 SEP 1969

DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER

20 West 53rd Street

An exhibition of photographs and memorabilia marking the seventy-fifth anniversary of the New York chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women, on the First Floor. Through May 31.

COUNTEE CULLEN REGIONAL BRANCH

104 West 136th Street

"Focus — Infinity," a group showing, coordinated by Sandy Hall, of works of photographers in the Harlem community. May 14 through June 18.

HUDSON PARK BRANCH

10 Seventh Avenue South

An exhibit of photographs by Paulette Gordon, Larry Newman, and Barry De Jasu. May 14 through June 25.

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION

103 West 135th Street

Contemporary Art by Afro-Americans. On display are prints by the ten artists represented in the book, from a copy of the folio edition presented by the compiler, Louise Jefferson. Through May.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CENTRAL LIBRARY

JUNE 1969

BULLETIN
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BULLETIN OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

VOLUME 73 JUNE 1969 NUMBER 6

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"Look here upon this picture, and on this . . ." — when Edwin Booth spoke these words as Hamlet over a century ago, he took from his breast a locket with the picture of his own father, the actor Junius Brutus Booth. The chain and locket reproduced on this month's cover is the very one he used, part of the new discovery discussed in Front Matter below. The inset photograph of Hamlet with his chain is one of the famous series of studio portraits taken of Edwin Booth in his prime; it is from the Library's Theatre Collection.

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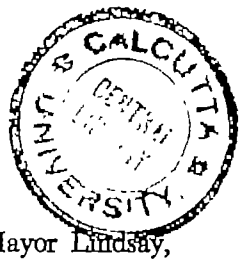

Front Matter

Curtailed Services Restored

Just after we went to press last month a light broke through the clouds of our financial anxiety. Sufficient public funds were assured to reopen on Saturday, May 24, all of the branches of The New York Public Library and to restore services in The Research Libraries on normal summer schedules — now our research facilities will again be available to scholars, students, and the public in the evenings and on weekends.

We are very grateful for the many expressions of support from the public for restoring Library schedules, as well as the response of City officials to this public concern by providing $1.4 million for the operation of The Branch Libraries and $1 million through the City University to The Research Libraries to aid the Library's budgets during the coming fiscal year. This money is most welcome even though it is far less than the amount needed — $3.8 million — and can provide only partial and perhaps temporary relief. We can but hope that the $1 million in support of The Research Libraries will encourage many more private gifts and will also set an example for the State of New York, whose increased financial assistance is still essential if the quantity and quality of the services of The Research Libraries are to be sustained.

The Research Libraries — at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, at Lincoln Center, and in the midtown Annex — have always been largely privately supported, with only token contributions from the City and the State. For many years we have had to draw upon our endowment capital to meet operating deficits this year amounting to $2.8 million. With the $1 million provided through the City University in the coming fiscal year for graduate library service, as announced by Mayor Lindsay, the Library will still have a private funds deficit of more than $2 million which must be offset by economies and by increased private, municipal, and state support. Nevertheless the Library's Trustees have been able to use the new appropriation to restore the services which the public so sorely needs. At the same time they will intensify their efforts to increase both private and public support to insure the continuation, as well as the necessary expansion, of research library services.

Permanent solutions to The Research Libraries' financial problems, however, depend on full implementation of the report prepared by Dr Frederick H. Burkhardt, President of the American Council of Learned Societies. Based on a study jointly commissioned by The New York Public Library, the City University of New York, and the State University of New York, and endorsed by the New York State Education Department, the report, outlined in last month's Front Matter, proposed increased endowment and annual giving from individuals, corporations, foundations, and other private agencies and urged immediate and continuing fiscal support by the City, State, and Federal governments. The City has now recognized The Research Libraries as a legitimate municipal responsibility by its contribution of $1 million — the first step toward providing the $2 million City contribution proposed by the report. A combination of direct State grants and indirect contractual support through the State University was also urged, at levels exceeding $2 million annually.

Of necessity, restoration of The Research Libraries' public service is being undertaken on a "day to day" basis. Continued service depends on final approval of the City offer and other

prompt increases in private and public support.

Even though the City budget restored only $1.4 million of The Branch Libraries' continuing requirement of $1.8 million, normal summer schedules have become effective immediately. Only stringent economies, however, will permit the branches to maintain their usual winter schedules beginning in October.

In the forthcoming months the Library will continue the studies it has been making of user needs and will supply those needs, within its available resources, in the most efficient and economical manner possible, consistent with the standards of quality which must be maintained if The Research Libraries are to retain their preeminent place in the network of local, state, and national research libraries. This preeminence will be assured if other sources of funds respond as generously as the City has done.

A Booth Discovery

The Theatre Collection has recently acquired a surprisingly large and important assemblage of letters and mementos of the actor Edwin Booth. The material was given by Harry C. White of Boca Raton, Florida, whose wife is Booth's great-granddaughter. The memorabilia were discovered in trashcans just before Mr White moved from his home in Millbrook, New York, to Florida. They were deposited in the Collection, where they now have been catalogued and made available for research.

Edwin Booth, who lived from 1833 to 1893, was considered the greatest American actor of his time and one of the most famous Shakespearean tragedians of the century. The new collection provides much new and significant information about him, particularly of the period just before his first wife's death. There are several letters and telegrams to Booth from Dr Erasmus D. Miller of Boston, who was physician to Mary Devlin Booth. Before her death, Dr Miller constantly reassured Booth about his wife's condition, advising him not to make the trip to Boston from New York where he was playing at the time. Booth's absence from his wife's deathbed has often been misinterpreted as a sign of coolness between them. The most substantial part of the acquisition is the more than 500 letters from Booth to his daughter Edwina, dating from 1867, when she was five years old, to 1893, the year he died. With the highly selective method of a proper Victorian, Edwina Booth Grossman used excerpts from these letters for the somewhat idealized biography of her father (marking 87 of them in pencil). The manuscript of the book is also in the gift. Future biographers and others interested in the history of the American theatre may now see the complete letters, with all of the personal passages included.

The new discovery will do much to enrich our knowledge of the famous actor. There are a half-page of large notepaper with Booth's brief start on his autobiography; a manuscript of music used in his plays; 28 letters from Mary Devlin Booth to Edwin, from both before and after their marriage; and an interesting, morocco-bound record book, kept by her after her retirement from the stage, in which she had begun to write "humble" criticisms of her husband's work, including his Hamlet. Among the memorabilia are a lock of her hair; the cross Booth wore in *Richelieu* and the chain & locket for his Hamlet (with a picture in it of his own father Junius Brutus Booth); and daguerreotypes of Edwin, Mary, and John Wilkes Booth, the brother who brought fame of a different sort to the family. There are few reminders, how-

ever, of Edwin Booth's second wife, the actress Mary McVicker. Apparently Edwina disliked her step-mother and destroyed any papers relating to her. But there remains a wealth of material on the tragedian who survives as an illustrious name in the history of the American stage.

Poets Cornered

A volume of anyone's selections from the work of twenty-seven poets singled out by the Academy of American Poets for "distinguished poetic achievement" would arrest our attention. But if these Fellows selected their own favorites from their own writing, and chose photographs of themselves in their favorite bardic pose: exuberant, solemn, informal. . . ?

That is what visitors to the Library will find this summer in the Main Lobby of Central Building, a sort of personnal anthology of manuscript, typescript, and photographic exhibits titled, aptly, "In Honor of Poets," on the occasion of the Academy's 35th anniversary.

Most of the original manuscripts and photographs have been made available to the exhibition through the courtesy of the poets and their families; and publishers and other libraries have sent material. For each of the poets the Library has selected published works from our own holdings, chiefly fine editions from the Rare Book Division's comprehensive private press collection — for example, a signed copy of the Alcestis Press edition (Peru, Vt 1936) of William Carlos Williams' *Adam & Eve & the City*. The Library's Manuscript Division is represented by fair copies of Robert Frost's "The Gift Outright" and of Robinson Jeffers' proudly inhuman masterpiece "Inscription for a Gravestone," and several recent gifts from the poets; the Berg Collection, by a copy of the lovely poem by Padraic Colum "'Calen o costure me'" which recreates the world of an Irish maid whose song was mistranscribed in Shakespeare's *Henry V*; the Spencer Collection, by a handsome illustrated facsimile edition of Marianne Moore's *Eight Poems*.

Some of the photographic material is quite interesting: Frost at his chair-writing-board; Jeffers profiled against the stones of his house in a signed Edward Weston photograph; Oliver St John Gogarty in top hat; Ezra Pound monumental against the Leaning Tower of Pisa; a bearded John Berryman waving his bardic arm in a photograph from the Academy archives. There is artwork too: a signed, untitled watercolor by e. e. cummings lent by the Academy's President and Founder Mrs Hugh Bullock; and photographs of a realistic sketch of Stanley Kunitz by the American artist Philip Guston and of a curious double portrait of Percy MacKaye, aged 6 and 77.

But the emphasis is, of course, on the poem. Poets are an honorable breed, if not always a manageable one — they have a way of biting the dog of the status quo. This year's Fellow, Richard Eberhart, who read at the Library this month at the official ceremony announcing his Fellowship, has chosen for the exhibit worksheets of his poem "Evil" which he first read at Town Hall two years ago in protest against the Vietnam war. Pound sent excerpts written in bold black hand (with a felt-tipped pen) from Cantos 1 and 99, the latter of which

might be taken as a reminder to today's students not to "kid" themselves. And Rolfe Humphries is represented by a poem "42d Street Library" which reminds those who might like to think of our stone Central Building solely as a palace of research that there are people who come to it seeking only warmth or rest: "How many are sad! how few indeed exultant/ On this grave island in this island's heart."

The fellowship of poets is evident in one of Berryman's dream songs showing Pound at T. S. Eliot's funeral and in the earliest typescript of Allen Tate's masterwork, finally titled "Ode to the Confederate Dead," which has manuscript notes by his fellow Fellow, John Crowe Ransom. It is also interesting to see such working manuscripts as Archibald MacLeish's very early notebook (from the Twenties and Paris) and Conrad Aiken's heavily corrected second or third draft of "Lord Zero"; or the copy of Dr Williams' "The Orchestra," one of the favorite poems he used to type with his left hand for exercise after his stroke. Another of Berryman's dream songs is written on a somewhat unlikely background, the reverse of a *Poetry* (Chicago) letterhead, now well stained by coffee or the weather. But Percy MacKaye has by far the most unusual working-sheet, a package of pipe-cleaners (Dill's), on which he wrote a poem on each side, including the date and hour of composition. There is also his last notebook which he was carrying with him at his death.

To add an international flavor, Elizabeth Bishop lent a simple notebook, with a cover of bright tropical colors from her second homeland, Brazil, which includes the manuscript of her "Trollope in Washington." And Mrs Edgar Lee Masters sent two Eastern European editions of her husband's *Spoon River Anthology*: Slovak and Rumanian.

The other poet-Fellows represented in the exhibition are: Edwin Markham, Ridgely Torrence, Louise Townsend Nicholl, Louise Bogan, Léonie Adams, Jesse Stuart, Horace Gregory, and Mark Van Doren. We invite you to stop in the Main Lobby and take a word from our poets.

O'Casey Papers Acquired

The extraordinary outpouring of artistic energy, the Irish Literary Revival, has often been discussed in these *Bulletin* pages. In the Lady Gregory archive our Berg Collection of English and American Literature owns a unique source for the study of that renaissance and its famous Abbey Theatre. Augmenting the Gregory archive are papers, in the Berg Collection and in the Manuscript Division, of William Butler Yeats, James Joyce, John Millington Synge, James Stephens, AE, and others active in the Revival. Sean O'Casey, dramatist, poet, essayist, was one of their number, one whose pen fought unrelentingly in the cause of man's dignity and freedom, whose Irish plays touched off riots in the streets of Dublin, whose works wrung the heartache and passion and beauty from the everyday experiences of his fellows' lives — war, love, poverty, religion. O'Casey was a prolific writer, and his plays are produced all over the world and his works published not only in individual editions but also in a vast number of newspapers and magazines. At his death in 1964 at the age of 84, he left a substantial amount of manuscript and other material used in his writing. We are happy to announce the recent acquisition by the Berg Collection of O'Casey's literary papers.

Twenty-five manuscript notebooks in O'Casey's hand, twenty-seven packages of typescripts, some typed by O'Casey and some professionally typed although corrected and altered by him, and a large amount of corrected page and

galley proof comprise the new acquisition. The manuscript notebooks — many are books of ruled paper such as used for school exercises — date from as early as 1918 to as late as 1962 — almost the entire period of O'Casey's long career. Because much of the writer's early work was destroyed by a fire, several exercise books and notebooks he used as a youth in Dublin are among the most important items acquired by the Berg Collection. One such notebook, on which "The Crimson Cornkrakes" is written on the first page and "Sean O'Cathasaigh. 18 Abercorn Road, North Wall, Dublin, March 1918" on the second, appear to contain the earliest writings of O'Casey now extant. Typically, O'Casey used the notebook at various times over a number of years for a great many different purposes. For example, the "Crimson Cornkrakes" notebook contains a discussion about Bernard Shaw written in the form of a dialogue, among shorthand exercises, financial accounts, other dialogues, notes, and a four-page outline entitled "The Harvest Festival: Play." Another early manuscript, also signed with the Gaelic form of his name that O'Casey used for all his early publications, is almost certainly the only copy of the manuscript (O'Casey had no typewriter at the time) of three acts of "The Harvest Festival." The play, which in theme and subject matter has much in common with *Red Roses for Me*, had been submitted to the Abbey Theatre at the end of 1919 and was rejected. It has never been produced or printed. The fifty-six-page manuscript we now have is closely but legibly handwritten in ink on separate sheets of ruled exercise paper. In addition, there is an unfinished draft of most of Act I, a revised and expanded version probably written after the Abbey's rejection of the play.

In 1926, convinced that he could not write freely in Ireland and unhappy with his treatment by the directors of the Abbey, O'Casey moved to London. There he wrote *The Silver Tassie*, which also was rejected by the Abbey and was first produced in London in 1929. There are notes and drafts of this play, including a long draft of three acts of the play, in four different places in the new material in the Berg Collection. The various drafts show much unpublished dialogue and many changes made by O'Casey, including the rough draft of a song not included in the printed text. In another manuscript notebook there is a fragmentary draft of the same play, written in ink and pencil on the backs of letters and on odd scraps of paper, some crossed out, which were most likely O'Casey's earliest notes and dialogue for the play. Among these notes are six sketches of scenes from Act II and Act IV.

Besides *The Silver Tassie*, best represented of O'Casey's full-length plays in the new acquisition are: *Within the Gates, The Star Turns Red, Red Roses for Me*, and *The Drums of Father Ned*. The manuscript draft of *Red Roses for Me* is a complete one and differs considerably from the published version; several typescript drafts reflect changes O'Casey made after the play's first publication in 1942. *The Drums of Father Ned*, entitled variously "The Night Is Whispering," "Green Geese," and "The Rainbow Ends" in typescript drafts, was scheduled for presentation at the Dublin International Theatre Festival of 1958, but was withdrawn by the Dublin Tostal Council. O'Casey thereupon banned all performances of his plays in Ireland.

Material for seven of O'Casey's one-act plays is also in the collection: manuscript notes and drafts within one exercise book, and typescripts including carbon copies of the original drafts, for the two earliest, *Kathleen Listens In* and *Nannie's Night Out* (the latter is

entitled "Irish Nannie Passes" in the typescripts); and manuscript drafts of *A Pound on Demand; The End of the Beginning* (early title — "Power House God"); *Hall of Healing; Bedtime Story;* and *Time to Go.* There are also longhand and typescript drafts of several early poems (1918–1922), some of which still remain unpublished. For *Juno and the Paycock*, perhaps O'Casey's most famous drama, there are three pages of fragmentary dialogue in the exercise book which also contains the drafts of *Nannie's Night Out* and *Kathleen Listens In*, along with a page of caricatures sketched by the writer and drafts for various pieces of the many literary forms he employed: biography, short story, song, poetry, essay, and letters.

The notebook for *Nannie's Night Out* and *Kathleen Listens In* is similar in appearance to a number of the others. On the inside front and back covers O'Casey often pasted newspaper clippings, sometimes whole articles and sometimes just parts of stories, without headlines or endings. These snatches of newspaper show the watchful eye and ear of the dramatist and humanist at work, mulling over the foibles and follies of man, finding bits and pieces to use in his own writing. One clipping tells of the hoax perpetrated upon a gullible public who believed the mound of a cat's grave to be in fact Hamlet's burial-place. Another gives the composer Arthur Bliss's color scheme for his *Colour Symphony*. Next to it O'Casey made notes relating colors to act numbers, presumably for one of his own plays. Still another clipping presents the "Pope's Advice to an English Bishop": "What you ought to do in England is to popularise your martyrs. Let the people know them better and we will make them saints." The pages of the notebooks are filled with writing — two lines of script for each ruled line — and often O'Casey started from both the front and back of the notebook, so that when the two parts met the notebook was filled. When finished with a particular segment, O'Casey would draw bold, jagged lines in colored crayon — green, blue, red, orange — down the length of the page.

The six volumes of O'Casey's autobiography published between 1939 and 1954 are present in the acquisition in manuscript form and in typescripts, and in page and galley proofs. One notebook contains probably the earliest autobiographical writings by O'Casey, which appear to date from 1929 or 1930. This earliest draft of *I Knock at the Door* is a continuous narrative, written in the first person, and in it there are many details of Johnny's life which were omitted from the published version. Other notebooks contain drafts, with significant differences from the printed texts, for chapters in *Drums Under the Window, Inishfallen Fare Thee Well, Pictures in the Hallway, Rose and Crown*, and *Sunset and Evening Star*, often interspersed with diary entries, notes and drafts for the plays, essays, and reviews, and occasional drawings and sketches. The materials taken together show O'Casey at work in the long and complex process of writing, from preliminary conception through printed work, and indeed, beyond, to revision after publication.

We are fortunate to be able to publish in this issue an essay by Professor Ronald Ayling, a guide to the manuscripts and an exploration and definition of O'Casey the writer, which should help give scholars their bearings as they study and evaluate the new materials in our Berg Collection.

A Note on Sean O'Casey's Manuscripts and His Working Methods*

By Ronald Ayling
University of Alberta

I

Sean O'Casey bequeathed to his wife a rich and varied store of literary material. Despite requests from private individuals, libraries, and institutions during his lifetime, the playwright refused to sell any of his manuscripts. Some of his replies to book dealers and collectors give the impression that he was completely indifferent to the literary or financial value of manuscripts and first editions; this is certainly not true, although he himself saw little point in the collection of first editions as such. He did not keep copies of first editions of his works, but he did present inscribed copies of each new work to his wife and to his children.

Mrs O'Casey has said that it was Bernard Shaw who told the O'Caseys, presumably in the 1930s, that they must preserve every scrap of manuscript material, since it would, in time, acquire financial value. Thereafter, she added, "we put everything that would be worth keeping in a large chest reserved especially for that purpose." This is only part of the truth, however, for a survey of the material now in the Berg Collection of The New York Public Library makes it quite plain that O'Casey had hoarded material long before he became friendly with G.B.S. Amongst his papers are several exercise books and notebooks that he had used in Dublin. One book of rough jottings is dated 1918, and there is also a complete holograph draft on separate sheets of ruled paper of *The Harvest Festival*, a three-act drama which was submitted to the Abbey Theatre at the end of 1919; with the latter is also a substantially altered thirteen-page holograph of most of Act I of the play, fragment of a revised draft probably written after the Abbey's rejection of the work early in 1920. Notes for, and drafts of, *Nannie's Night Out* and *Kathleen Listens In* are included among the papers, and there are longhand and typescript versions of several early poems, some of which remain unpublished and appear to date from the period 1918 to 1922. Another valuable part of the collection is that which contains the various typescript drafts of *Within the Gates* and

* This note was originally written in June 1965 as an introduction to a list (prepared by the present writer) of the papers then in the possession of the O'Casey Trustees and since acquired by the Berg Collection of English and American Literature in The New York Public Library. It should be made clear that all value judgments like "rich store" and "valuable" relate to the *literary* and not *monetary* value of the collection.

The Silver Tassie, showing in great detail the evolution and extensive revision of these two plays.

Of O'Casey's full-length plays, *The Silver Tassie, Within the Gates, The Star Turns Red, Red Roses for Me*, and *The Drums of Father Ned* are best represented in the manuscript material now in the possession of The New York Public Library. There are notes and drafts of *The Silver Tassie* in four collections of material, *Within the Gates* in six, *The Star Turns Red* in three, *The Drums of Father Ned* in four; and though *Red Roses for Me* appears in only one exercise book, it is a very full draft of all four acts. The one-act plays are also well represented: of the eight, only one is not among the manuscript material, and that is the last, *The Moon Shines on Kylenamoe*. Drafts of the two earliest staged one-acters, *Kathleen Listens In* and *Nannie's Night Out*, are to be found within one exercise book, and each of the other five works — *A Pound on Demand, The End of the Beginning, Hall of Healing, Bedtime Story*, and *Time to Go* — appears in a relatively full draft.

No trace of *The Frost in the Flower* or *The Crimson in the Tri-colour* is to be found. Nor are there among these papers any longhand writings connected with *Oak Leaves and Lavender, The Bishop's Bonfire, Behind the Green Curtains*, or *Figuro in the Night*. There is only a fragment of part of Act I of *The Shadow of a Gunman*, two very short snatches of *Juno and the Paycock*, and one page of revisions for *The Plough and the Stars*. There are two brief early fragments of *Purple Dust* and a mere snatch of dialogue for *Cock-a-Doodle Dandy*.

It is interesting that several typescript copies of *Kathleen Listens In* (1923) and *Nannie's Night Out* (1924) were among O'Casey's papers, for he had long denied knowledge of their whereabouts. It is true that the former was first published in June 1961, thirty-eight years after its stage premiere in Dublin, in the pages of the *Tulane Drama Review*; and the following year both sketches were printed in Robert Hogan's collection of the dramatist's early writings, *Feathers from the Green Crow*. Yet in neither case did the author provide the texts, and he was only reluctantly persuaded to allow them to be printed because the editors stressed their historical interest for O'Casey scholars. Of the typescript copies of them among his papers it is likely that one or more were presented to him by students who had pieced together a text from fragmentary acting scripts extant in the Abbey Theatre library; but there are also carbon copies of the original typescripts of both works together with changes that were made for their stage presentation in Dublin.

The six volumes of *Autobiographies* are very well represented. One exercise book reveals that in October 1930 O'Casey planned a book of seventeen short stories, and the ideas for some if not all of them were clearly autobiographical. From 1930 onwards he was engaged in writing what he called "biographical sketches" or, in the words in which he described the first volume of memoirs, writing "stories" about "what I saw and heard and felt during the first eleven or twelve years of my life." Often, these stories or events appear in one continuous narrative in the exercise books, undivided by chapter or title. Sometimes there is no break at what is, in the published version, the end of a volume. In one exercise book, for instance, the unbroken narrative sequence contains the final chapters of *I Knock at the Door* and the opening ones of *Pictures in the Hallway*. Similarly, another notebook contains a long draft which eventually was to become nine chapters in *Rose and Crown* and ten chapters in the following volume *Sunset and Evening Star*. As in the case of the dramas, drafts of each autobiographical book appear in several places: *I Knock at the Door* in five exercise books, *Pictures in the Hallway* in four, *Drums Under the Windows* in two long drafts, with material for *Inishfallen, Fare Thee Well* to be found in three exercise books, for *Rose and Crown* in five. Ideas and drafts of *Sunset and Evening Star* also appear in five places.

We may thus see that a considerable volume of O'Casey's work exists in longhand and in typescript. The survival of this material is almost certainly not the result of Shaw's advice, though that may have made O'Casey more careful in keeping successive typescript drafts of later works and also galley and page proofs, none of which can be found for his earlier published plays. It is certain, though, that at various times in his life he had a good deal more documentary material than has eventually survived. An Appendix to his early pamphlet *The Story of the Irish Citizen Army*, published in 1919, reproduces the texts of several documents which were most probably drafted by the author when he served as Honorary Secretary of the workers' militia. They include a manifesto announcing the reorganization of the I.C.A., the first handbill issued by that body, an early membership card dated 1913, a transcript of the army's Constitution, and details quoted from the first poster printed by the Citizen Army Council in 1914. In the text itself O'Casey described his aims in the book as follows:

> Incidents are generally recorded as they occur [chronologically], and few attempts are made critically to consider the circumstances that evolve them. The author hopes that the materials, carefully gathered together from original manuscripts in his possession, from notes recorded

> during the organising period of the Army, and from the contemplation of events in which the author participated, will be of use for incorporation in whatever history may be written around the events which culminated in the dramatic rising of Easter Week.

These original documents must have been lost or deliberately destroyed in the years from 1918 to 1922 when, at a time of guerilla warfare and of arbitrary armed raids and arrests, any evidence of nationalist or revolutionary sympathies was highly dangerous. We know that the writer changed his address several times during this period and that he was several times raided by Black and Tans and Auxiliary forces. Yet subsequent evidence suggests that at least some notes from these years remained in his possession in later years. Reviewing *Drums Under the Windows* in 1945 St John Ervine, who was extremely hostile to the work's portrayal of Irish nationalism in the years leading up to 1916, took occasion to question its accuracy. O'Casey replied immediately in a letter to the *Spectator* (Nov 23 1945), in the course of which he declared:

> When Mr. Ervine says that neither O'Casey nor anyone else could remember "conversations that took place thirty years ago," he seems to be ignorant of the fact that O'Casey was writing of these very things in Gaelic League and Sinn Fein Manuscript journals, in the *Irish Worker* and in *The Irish Nation.*

This statement suggests that the author had some of these writings — or, more likely, notes used in preparing them — at hand when writing the early part of his life story, but they have not survived. Pasted into several notebooks among his existing papers are press cuttings relating to social and political events in Ireland in those years (as well as later reviews of his own work), and no doubt even more material of this kind was in his possession while he was writing the first four books of autobiography.

As a young man O'Casey drew and painted a good deal when he could afford the necessary materials. He had wanted at first to be an artist and, though bad eyesight dissuaded him from pursuing art as a career, he continued to sketch occasionally throughout his life. Many of his letters were illustrated, especially those to his children when they were young; these drawings, of people, natural scenes, butterflies and so on, were often brightly coloured in crayon or pencil. His correspondence also featured cartoons and satirical sketches, some of them executed with considerable skill. I have seen several of the playwright in comic situations: two really delightful ones, showing completely different facets of his life, come readily to mind. The first, done in 1928 at the time *The Silver Tassie* was rejected by the Abbey Theatre directors, portrays O'Casey being unceremoniously kicked out of that theatre's front en-

trance by the august boot of W. B. Yeats, with Lennox Robinson looking on. The other is an amusing back view of the dramatist as an old man, wearing an apron and with his shirt sleeves rolled high up his arms, washing up an enormous pile of dirty dishes.

Once, browsing through the books in his Torquay study, I came across a large folded envelope which had evidently been used as a bookmark. On its reverse side was a fine drawing of a young man and woman — her skirts flying — engaged in a whirling dance. A man playing an accordion, street vendors with their baskets, and several men lounging on a parapet made up the middle distance of the picture, with a vague suggestion of tenement buildings and a steeple in the far distance. It was clearly the setting for what one might call the "epiphany" scene in Act III of *Red Roses for Me*. The writer confirmed in subsequent conversation that a number of the ideas for scenes in his books started on paper, not as lines of dialogue or stage directions but as sketches. He first saw the action or setting in visual terms in his mind's eye, then made a sketch or series of sketches of it, and afterwards attempted to translate it into words. Yet, though his notebooks do contain a few caricatures of characters in plays or autobiographical episodes and though there are some scene settings for particular plays in them, there are on the whole disappointingly few drawings in the collection of manuscripts. One can only guess that many of his initial sketches, like the one for *Red Roses for Me*, were made on odd scraps of paper that have since been lost or mislaid. Fortunately, in one of the earliest drafted series of jottings made for *The Silver Tassie* (now in the Berg Collection), several sketches have been preserved. Drawn in ink on printed notepaper (headed "7 St. Andrew's Mansions, Dorset Street, London, W. 1") are four scenes from Act II and one from Act IV of the play, accompanied by notes and fragmentary dialogue. The sketch for Act IV is merely a rough outline of the stage set, but the other four possess considerable graphic interest. Two depict the overall design for the war scene in Flanders, with a huge howitzer (centre mid-stage) dominating the picture, flanked by a large crucifix on the left and a man strapped to a gunwheel on the right. Directly in front of the howitzer, and centre forestage, is a brazier. The other two drawings concern the action taking place around the brazier when the Visitor and Corporal first come on-stage. In both the Croucher is huddled near the fire, four soldiers lie in various inert positions round about, while one in full uniform is lashed to the wheel close by. The sketches are especially interesting in that, with a few lines from the pen, O'Casey has here strikingly captured the men's war-weariness and physical exhaustion.

II

In old age the playwright refused various offers to buy his manuscript material, declaring on several occasions that he did not know himself just what he possessed and that it was difficult for him with very poor sight to locate manuscripts amongst the mass of material that had accumulated with the years. It is quite likely that he really did not know in any detail the contents of his workroom; what is equally certain, however, is that if he had really wanted to dispose of his manuscripts he could easily have done so, as the exercise books which contain most of his longhand material were easily found among his papers — indeed several of them were not kept in the chest which housed most of the papers, but were freely available on his bookshelves. It is clear that he had other more important reasons for wishing to retain this material, even though in earlier times, particularly during the Second World War and for ten years afterwards, he badly needed the money which they would have provided.

I think there were two main reasons for his refusal to sell. There is no doubt that he wished to leave his wife something concrete in addition to royalties, which are a hazardous inheritance at the best of times. For several years before his death he had been anxious about providing for Eileen's future, and he knew that his papers were the only realizable assets that he possessed. Secondly, the nature of his working methods meant that even his old notebooks and exercise books were a possible source of fresh material for new work. Again and again in his work he returns to ideas and characters and snatches of dialogue that he had recorded in the past. Thus his notebooks are full of a heterogeneous collection of material gathered and worked over at widely different times. This does not mean that his invention failed in later years for, on the evidence of his papers, this method had always been a characteristic of his work from his earlier days. Indeed it is probably as true as any generalization to say that most writers work in this way, continually drawing upon past experience, if not actual past manuscripts, to modify and reinforce present experience.

Moreover, when we bear in mind that from 1930 or thereabouts until his death the playwright — in writing his autobiography — was engaged in taking, as he put it in the sub-title to the first volume, "swift glances back at things that made me," it is not difficult to understand why he should have had recourse to his old notebooks as well as to his memory. Even after the completion of his last volume of autobiography in 1954 he continued to use autobiographical material, as in the fine sketch, "An Army with Banners,"

in *Under a Colored Cap* (1963). The mass of material relating to the autobiographies in the Berg Collection certainly exposes the falsity of the following judgment in a recent essay [1] on "The Autobiographies of Sean O'Casey":

> Outside Ireland, O'Casey doesn't seem to have been a complete person. He didn't possess the massive portmanteau of notes and freak, blotting-paper memory for dialogue that Joyce carried with him into exile, virtually bringing Dublin with him.[2]

In no respect is this true, for quite apart from the copious Dublin jottings to be found in his papers, O'Casey also possessed a remarkable ear for dialogue and a fine memory, both of which (as in the case of Joyce himself) were sharpened by his having very poor sight.

It is perhaps advisable to give one particular instance drawn from O'Casey's notebooks to illustrate his working habits. As early as the 1920s (if not earlier, for it is difficult to date some entries precisely) O'Casey had planned to write a play concerned with the railway, no doubt drawing upon his own knowedge of working for the G.N.R.I. He wrote several pages of recollections of his work on the railway, which, though obviously intended for inclusion in one of the autobiographical books, progressed no further than an early typescript stage. In one note he thought of "The Signal" as a possible title for a play. In another entry he mentions the possibility of using a man named Rankin, a building worker with whom he worked on the railway, as a character in a play. Yet though these entries were made in the 1920s, it is not until the early 1940s that he uses the railway as a background to a play. That is in *Red Roses for Me* (published 1942), in which the protagonist is a railwayman and the setting is a house near a shunting yard; the top of a railway signal can be seen through the window and the noise of steam engines can occasionally be heard. Later, in *The Moon Shines on Kylenamoe*, published in 1961, the entire setting of the action is a railway station. It is not until 1955, when *The Bishop's Bonfire* was published, that the figure of Rankin was used in a play; here, the dramatic creation appears similar in character to that of the Rankin that O'Casey knew round about 1907, but though he is still a building worker, he is not connected with the railway. In this way, we see O'Casey returning to earlier ideas and adapting them for different purposes later in life.

[1] Article by Ulick O'Connor in *The World of Sean O'Casey* ed Sean McCann (London 1966) 235–239.

[2] O'Connor 238–239.

This working method complicates the task of cataloguing O'Casey's manuscripts. It is sometimes difficult to date entries, for instance, and when, in addition, the exercise books often contain material from widely divergent periods of his life, and when drafts of the same work are to be found in several books, the difficulties multiply. A hypothetical case may be given as an example. One exercise book will contain the ideas for, and the rough scenario outline of, one particular play, followed by the rough draft of several scenes from another which was written some years later; the book will then have lain unused for twenty years until O'Casey took it up again to jot down some ideas for, and perhaps write whole drafts of, chapters for one or more of the autobiographical volumes.

The sequence of chapters in the manuscripts of the autobiographical volumes is not always the same as that which it takes in the printed form, so that material used in chapters in, say, *Drums Under the Windows* and *Inishfallen, Fare Thee Well* may well appear in the same place in one of the notebooks. In addition, O'Casey often writes entries at both ends of a notebook, and sometimes the narratives of two separate drafts will overlap in the centre of a book. The result is described in a letter from the playwright to an American book dealer, dated January 30 1955:

> My MS — what I have of it — is a curious sight! I don't think I've a single MS word of my first three plays [this is inaccurate as my earlier reference shows], though here and there, on widely differing notes on differing subjects, there may be a paragraph that came into my head suddenly, and was jotted down for future use. My first writings of plays and biographies are scattered about on various slips, in various books, among many things, and even the rough typescript of the first draft is a scattered thing, very different from the last thing decided. Many have asked me about this, and one script is in either Harvard or Yale.[3] A number of Universities — why, God only knows — have asked me for MS, but up to now, I have had no time to look about me to see what I have."

Earlier, in a short article written for the New York *Herald Tribune* and published on October 19 1952, O'Casey described his working procedure in greater detail:

> All [my] work is first written down in longhand, then a rough script is typed from this, changing, adding, and taking away (making the script

[3] I think O'Casey's memory is at fault here: the reference is to a typescript of *Within the Gates* given to The New York Public Library at the time that the play was first presented in that city. There certainly were no O'Casey manuscripts or typescripts at either Yale or Harvard in 1955.

> better, and sometimes making it worse), till the whole work is roughly done; a second draft is then done, changing, adding, and removing again, and from this what is thought to be a final copy is typed, which as the days pass, and new thoughts come, proves to be unsatisfactory in many places, for a lot of changes are made in the galley-proofs, and some, even, in the page-proofs, before they are passed for printing. Work? Ay, manalive, it is, and I don't like it, and never shall!

There is little to add to this description, except to note that, in some cases, O'Casey's revision did not stop with the galley or page proofs of the first edition. Three plays — *Within the Gates, Purple Dust*, and *Red Roses for Me* — were revised quite extensively *after* their first publication, so that subsequent editions differ radically from the first published text. *The Silver Tassie* also underwent some important changes when it was reissued in the second volume of his *Collected Plays* twenty-one years after the work's first publication. One might add a further postscript to O'Casey's description of his manuscripts. On examination, it will be seen that his first longhand drafts are overlaid by zigzag cancellation marks made by red and blue and sometimes brown and mauve colored pencils — so that, in appearance, the pages look struck by forked lightning! In this way it is possible to see what material has been used in the first typewritten draft, for once a passage has been thus used, the original handwritten draft is cancelled in colored pencil.

Critics have for years reiterated the charge that, in the words of P. S. O'Hegarty, the dramatist was "not an artist, but a propagandist" [4] or — if artistry was allowed him — merely a "photographic artist," as A. E. Malone declared.[5] While realism and propaganda indubitably exist in O'Casey's work — and it is not necessarily the worse for either — his notebooks make clear that he was, above all else, a literary craftsman in his working habits. Throughout his long writing career he searched assiduously for the right words in the right order and for the most effective organizing of his material. He was a poet by method as well as nature, taking infinite trouble over details and writing many drafts, correcting and revising each time. Future detailed analysis will reveal and evaluate the exact nature of his deliberate and painstaking artistry, but even a less-than-thorough examination of the manuscript and typescript material in the Berg Collection affords fascinating insight into the creative processes of a writer whose literary discrimination and self-criticism are plainly apparent in his working methods.

[4] "A Dramatist of New-Born Ireland" *North American Review* CCXXIV (1927) 322.
[5] *The Irish Drama* (London 1929) 210.

Washington Irving's British Edition of Slidell's *A Year in Spain*

By Ben Harris McClary

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ONE MUST search in vain for a better literary Samaritan than Washington Irving. As an established figure in the world of letters, he gave freely of his time and energy to further the individual reputations of aspiring fellow writers.[1] A previously uncelebrated instance of his "charity work" was perhaps his most time-consuming effort and resulted in an edition which must be considered in any complete study of his works.

In Spain Irving had become well acquainted during 1826 with a young lieutenant, Alexander Slidell (later he took the surname of Mackenzie),[2] who was spending an extended leave from the U. S. Navy on the Iberian Peninsula. Slidell kept voluminous records of his travel experiences which in 1829 he turned into *A Year in Spain* "by a Young American" (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins).[3] This was followed the next year by a second edition, published as two volumes in one (New York: G. & C. & H. Carvill), to which he added several illustrative passages and made numerous typographical corrections.

It was this edition which Slidell forwarded to Washington Irving, then Secretary of the U. S. Legation in London, during the fall of 1830, requesting that he secure a British publisher for the work. The illustrious John Murray (Irving's publisher and frequent social companion at that time) agreed to accept the work if Irving would edit it properly for the British market, correct the proofsheets, and write an article relating to the work for Murray's *Quarterly Review*. In spite of the many demands of the business at the Legation and his own literary problems (he had at least three projects on the composition table), Irving agreed to the publisher's conditions. His

[1] I have discussed this aspect of Irving's career in "WI's Literary Midwifery: Five Unpublished Letters from British Repositories" *Philological Quarterly* XLVI (April 1967) 277–283.

This present article is part of a research project made possible by a grant from the American Philosophical Society for Summer 1967.

[2] See *Dictionary of American Biography* XII 90–91.

[3] The four editions used in making this collation are in the Information Division of The New York Public Library (catalogued under Mackenzie). The first edition has a slender slip tipped in between p viii and 9 which says: "In consequence of its not having been convenient for the author to attend to the press, several misconceptions of his manuscript have occurred, especially in the Spanish phrases and proper names, for which indulgence is asked."

progress on this triple assignment can be traced through his letters to the House of Murray, running from December 18 1830 to April 6 1831.[4]

A collation of the 1830 and 1831 editions offers a unique opportunity to observe Irving's editorial process, to see him shape a book intended for the American public into a form palatable to the developing British Victorian taste. The numerous accidentals are of little importance. These mainly take the form of italics (or lack of italics) which, after all, may represent the caprice or policy of printer Thomas Davison's typesetters.[5] The substantive changes, however, are accountably the work of Irving, and with no obvious exceptions fall into categories which can be explained in terms of Irving's experiences and his knowledge of John Murray's clientele. If gauged by wordage, the major differences in the texts result from omissions; Irving's quill struck out great and small sections for various reasons. There was, he told John Murray III, too much "heavy gazeteer material," [6] Spainsh history and geography available from a multitude of other sources and already in the realm of the general knowledge of the literate British public, a public acutely aware of the background and terrain of its ally from the Napoleonic War. It smacked of pedantry and detracted from the continuity of the lively experiences of the young traveller.[7]

In addition to pruning the text by throwing out what he considered to be unnecessary trappings, Irving attempted to soften some of Slidell's youthful exuberance. When the young man rhapsodized over a painting by Murillo,

[4] Pierre M. Irving, in his *Life and Letters of WI* (New York 1864) II 450, included a letter which indicated that WI had been responsible for Murray's publishing the book: "I send a copy of Slidell's Year in Spain, which I corrected for the press, and got Murray to publish in a very creditable style. It will give the lieutenant a complete launch in literature." The evidence of WI's careful editorship, however, has been buried in unpublished letters still preserved by the House of Murray, 50 Albermarle Street, London, W 1, and in the actual texts. The full Irving-Murray correspondence, from which occasional quotations will be taken for this article, will be published by the University of Tennessee Press later this year as part of my study of this author-publisher relationship. All quotations are used with the kind permission of the late Sir John Murray, K.C.V.O., D.S.O.

[5] Thomas Davison, Lombard Street, Whitefriars, did much of Murray's quality printing. For a study of Davison and his work, see C. H. Timperley *Dictionary of Printers and Printing* (London 1839) 919–920.

[6] WI to John Murray III, Dec 23 1830.

[7] Compare the following passages in the 1830 and 1831 editions: 1830 I 66–67, 1831 I 76; 1830 I 89–90, 1831 I 107; 1830 I 165, 1831 I 206; 1830 I 173, 1831 I 216; 1830 I 188–189, 1831 I 236; 1830 I 321–322, 1831 I 408; 1830 II 29–31, 1831 II 22; 1830 II 32, 1831 II 24; 1830 II 33, 1831 II 25; 1830 II 41, 1831 II 35; 1830 II 47–48, 1831 II 42–43; 1830 II 51–52, 1831 II 46–47; 1830 II 93–94, 1831 II 103; 1830 II 96–98, 1831 II 107; 1830 II 100–101, 1831 II 108, 1830 II 145–148, 1831 II 165; 1830 II 154–155, 1831 II 175; 1830 II 159–161, 1831 II 177; 1830 II 162–164, 1831 II 177; 1830 II 182–184, 1831 II 201; 1830 II 197, 1831 II 218; 1830 II 214, 1831 II 240; 1830 II 220–224, 1831 II 248; 1830 II 243, 1831 II 272; 1830 II 312–313, 1831 II 360.

calling it "the most perfect imitation of life which exists on canvass [sic]" (1830 I 184), Irving cut out his extravagant estimation of the merits of the art work (1831 I 230) — though Slidell doggedly stuck to his belief when he brought out a third American edition (New York: Harper & Brothers 1836 I 172). Later Slidell was carried away by the thoughts of the superlative beauty of the Prado in Madrid (1830 I 237–238), the description of which Irving tempered with his own knowledge (1831 I 297). This change Slidell respected (1836 I 221). Irving's mature appreciation of Spanish actresses resulted in the cutting of the younger man's sweeping generalization about them: "they are no longer young and beautiful as in the days of Gil Blas and Laura, but have all grown old, fat, and ugly. Can anything be more repulsive than to see a waddling, hackneyed old sinner, pleading the cause of injured innocence and endangered chastity" (1830 I 208; omitted 1831 I 259).

Aside from these personal aspects, the literary diplomat had to keep in mind the all-important public for which his edition was intended. Nationalism had to be appeased; consequently sly references to Britain's right to hold Gibraltar (1830 II 189) and snide remarks about the dress and deportment of British troops (1830 II 235–236) were omitted (1831 I 208, 263). By the same token, references to the United States, both laudatory and derogatory, were dropped. A flag-waving description of a visit of the *U.S.S. North Carolina* to Gibraltar (1830 II 246–249) and a long passage deprecating the fact that the United States did not have an hydrographic office (1830 I 194–195) were slashed from the text (1831 II 276; I 242). Because British readers would have had little access to the American periodical or perhaps out of deference to Murray's *Quarterly Review*, a footnote referring to an article in the *North American Quarterly* was removed (1830 I 202; 1831 I 251). A countryman could be critical of American ways, but Washington Irving did not let his foreign readers share Slidell's evaluation of Knickerbocker manners. In discussing the eating habits of Catalans, the young man had written: "I thought that I had never before seen people behave so ill at table, unless it had been on board of a steamboat on our Hudson . . ." (1830 I 71; omitted 1831 I 83). When whole sections could not easily be eliminated, the process of de-Americanization involved substituting adjectives for pronouns (for example, "red inhabitants of our forest" [1830 I 69] became "red inhabitants of the American forest" [1831 I 80]) or allowing British species to fill in for Slidell's American originals (i.e., the nightingale replaced the mockingbird [1830 II 210; 1831 II 236]).

Concessions had to be made to British piousness. The review of Irving's *Tales of a Traveller* in 1824 had taught him the perils of references which could — even though with difficulty — be turned into bawdiness. Thus the sections on nude artists' models (1830 I 182) and "women of pleasure" of Cadiz who "understand the art of making a gallant happy, better than any others in Europe" (1830 II 195 fn) were omitted (1831 I 228; II 215). Slidell's fandango dancer who danced "in every muscle" (1830 I 212) was replaced by Irving's señorita who moved "with the graceful inflexions of her body" (1831 I 263). Nor did the budding Victorians have an opportunity for their religious sensibilities to be insulted by Slidell's American frontier-type humorous ending to a rather grotesque description of the death of an inebriated British soldier while chasing Gibraltar monkeys: "Poor fellow! if he had not died drunk, I certainly should have pitied him." (1830 II 246; omitted 1831 II 276). But perhaps Irving's ultimate timely act of bowdlerization was in converting "damned" (1830 I 256) to "d ____ d" (1831 I 321).[8]

Always the polisher, with his quill in hand, Irving made occasional small changes, sometimes modifying a spelling such as "*mustaches*" [1830 I 37] to "*mustachoes*" [1831 I 35], "armour" [the usual British spelling!] to "armor" [1831 I 233]; almost consistently translating or modifying Slidell's translations of Spanish phrases and quotations within the text; [9] and making minor word changes to suit his inclinations (i.e., "Private Houses" [1830 II (v)] became "Private Habitations" [1831 II v]; "fugitives" [1830 I 143] became "soldiery" [1831 I 178]; "singular spectacle" [1830 I 174] became "raree show" [1831 I 217]; "grogshop quarrel" [1830 II 227] became "drunken quarrel" [1831 II 252].) By adding quotation marks to Slidell's reference concerning a "stout gentleman" (1830 I 267; 1831 I 335), Irving turned the sentence into an allusion to one of the best-loved episodes in *The Sketch Book*.

Occasionally Irving saw reason to revise Slidell's wording for clarity of meaning or to develop transitions between cut sections. Some examples will illustrate this aspect of his editorship.

[8] WI's *Tales of a Traveller* had been painfully bowdlerized by one of Murray's armchair advisors. See WI to John Murray II, Aug 5 1824. Stanley T. Williams discussed English critics' charges that this book was "offensive to the chastity of the Georgian home" *The Life of WI* (New York 1935) I 276–278.

[9] Compare the following passages: 1830 I 51, 1831 I 54; 1830 I 77, 1831 I 90; 1830 I 96, 1831 I 113; 1830 I 153, 1831 I 191; 1830 I 169, 1831 I 210; 1830 I 305, 1831 I 386; 1830 II 54, 1831 II 50; 1830 II 131, 1831 II 144.

1830 I 51	1831 I 54–55
. . . our diligence ceased to be stationary. . . .	. . . our ponderous diligence heaved itself into motion, as it were, with a universal groan. . . .
1830 I 84	1831 I 100
. . . the inhabitants were up in arms at the unusual detention of the diligence. . . .	. . . the inhabitants were in a buzz of anxious curiosity, at the unusual detention of the diligence. . . .
1830 I 137	1831 I 170
Don Diego was doing the honors of his country to a stranger; he got presently into a terrible rage, foamed greatly at the mouth, and called her *tunante*.	Don Diego, who was doing the honors of his country to a stranger, felt his Spanish pride grievously insulted. He flew into a terrible rage, foamed at the mouth, and called her *tunante*, or vagabond, an epithet peculiarly odious to Spanish ears, perhaps because too often merited.
1830 I 139	1831 I 174
. . . a stranger may come here and see pass in review the whole capital. . . .	. . . a stranger may come here and see the population of the whole capital passing, as it were, in review before him. . . .
1830 I 175	1831 I 218
He was imbecile in character, and of mean appearance.	He was imbecile in character and mean in appearance.
1830 I 176	1831 I 220
. . . darkness, which is ever carefully maintained within the walls of the temple.	. . . darkness, which generally prevails within the walls of the church.
1830 II 108–110	1831 II 117
[long history section condensed to one sentence]	The prosperity of Cordova declined when the Arab power in Spain became broken up into petty kingdoms; and it received a fatal blow when reconquered by Fernando the Saint, who banished all of the Moslem inhabitants.

Of most interest, however, are Washington Irving's outright additions, which are based entirely on his knowledge and consequently are bits of himself placed in Slidell's work. Though some of these are short, they represent, in effect, new contributions to the Irving canon. These slips of Irvingiana are listed below.

An explanatory footnote I *81:*

* The carob tree, or St. John's bread. Ceratonia siliqua.

Addition to a long footnote by Slidell concerning the Spanish taste for pork I *82:*

It must be acknowledged, however, that the pork throughout Spain is excellent, and superior to most of its [sic] butcher's meats.

A footnote explaining why a "fair Valenciana" accepted portions of apples from all the men at the table "as if usage rendered it obligatory" I *83:*

* It is in some degree obligatory, according to the old, and popular usage of Spain. In the same way the Spaniard, particularly of the lower classes, offers the cup from which he is drinking to the bystander, and rather thinks his offer slighted if the cup be not at least touched to the lips. It is a custom of hospitable origin, and worthy of respect.

A transitional sentence to fill a gap left in the story by Slidell I *108:*

The country had grown more and more populous throughout our morning's drive, and as we drew near Valencia, the villages became almost continuous.

Information added to text, concerning Convent of Our Lady of Atocha I *299:*

In this convent lie the bones of the good Las Casas, the apostle of South America, but without either monument or inscription to mark their resting place.

Sarcastic comment added to Slidell's description of a pathetic-looking beggar girl I *319:*

Many were the contributions she thus raised upon the charitable, but the winter wore away and still she went about barefooted, and still she begged for money to buy shoes.

Footnote concerning Slidell's embarrassment caused by the popular salutation in Toledo II *37:*

* This salutation is in fact universal throughout Spain; and the mode of summoning the inhabitants of a house is to shout "Ave Maria" at the portal, or in the vacant chambers.

It is safe to suppose that Irving had a hand in the selection of the unsigned graphic illustrations which were apparently commissioned for the Murray edition. Twelve line drawings depicting Spanish historical sites or local color complemented the text; the two previous editions had no illustrations. Paper of the best quality, clear print, wide margins, and the neat sketches made up a handsome finished product of which publisher Murray, author Slidell, and editor Irving could be proud.

The proofsheets read and corrected, the book through the presses, there was still work for Irving to do. His "puff" he finished in due course, and it

found interested readers in the *Quarterly Review*.[10] Not surprisingly, Irving recommended Slidell's book without reservations.

Slidell's attitude toward the new edition must have been favorable. When, in 1836, he brought out his new edition of *A Year in Spain*, he kept virtually all of Irving's stylistic revisions and additions. The graceful charm of the Irving edition, however, was swamped when Slidell reinserted the pages of "gazeteer material" and even added a great bulk of new copyings from his notebooks, making three weighty volumes.

Slidell seems never to have realized any financial advantage from the London publication. On April 6 1831 Irving reminded young John Murray that his father had promised to do the "handsome thing" for Slidell "prior to my preparing the work for the press." [11] Seven months later he was still lamenting the fact that the author had not been given "a farthing" by the publisher.[12] As for Irving, who had been promised nothing, he received nothing, a fact he pointedly recalled for the elder Murray when they separated their business affairs in the fall of 1831.[13] The work was, as Irving told his brother, a "creditable" production,[14] and when compared with the earlier versions, it is clear that Irving's experienced pen was responsible for the improved quality of the text of the Murray edition.

[10] XLIV (Feb 1831) 319–342. The manuscript of this review, which differs considerably from the printed version, is still among the WI Papers in the possession of the House of Murray. This review with its variant readings will be included in the Miscellaneous volume of the University of Wisconsin Press edition of WI's writings, now in progress. This particular volume will be under the editorship of Richard Beale Davis and myself.

[11] WI to John Murray III, April 6 1831.

[12] WI to Thomas Aspinwall, Oct 22 1831. Barrett Collection, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

[13] See WI to John Murray II, Oct 29 1831.

[14] Quoted in *Life and Letters of WI* II 450.

John Holmes: A Bibliography of Published and Unpublished Writings in the Special Collections of the Tufts University Library*

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THIS BIBLIOGRAPHY has grown out of the process of organizing, recording, and establishing bibliographical control over the John Holmes Collection of the Tufts University Library. The scope and contents of the bibliography is primarily determined by the present collection of published and unpublished Holmesiana in the Tufts Library's special collections and the University archives. Similarly, the bibliographical information given is also based on and generally limited by the data available from the documents in those collections.

The section of published writings (I) primarily reflects an accumulation of clippings from periodicals, newspapers, pamphlets, and programs. The bibliographical information provided for items in this section was taken from the clippings and from accompanying notes, if any. The name of the source, author, title, date, and paging were available only for a small number of documents. Many clippings have no bibliographical information whatsoever; and in some cases one could not even determine whether they were from periodicals or newspapers. Since it did not seem advisable to make an extensive outside bibliographical search for completing the data, it was decided that the materials should be listed with whatever information was in our possession. Even if the information is minimal, the entry will indicate the existence and availability of the particular document. Excluded were, however, all items which had been listed in Alan Seaburg's bibliography. In fact, section I ("Published Writings by and about Holmes") of the present list is meant to supplement Seaburg's bibliography, and they should be used together.

Sections II ("Unpublished Writings by and about Holmes") and III ("Communications to and about Holmes") include manuscripts for which no indications or proofs of ever having been published have been found. However, since Holmes had occasionally changed wordings of titles sent in

* Supplementing Alan Seaburg's "John Holmes: A Bibliography" *Bulletin of The New York Public Library* LXXI (May 1967) 306–335.

for publication, and, secondly, since he had sent out many of his poems and other compositions to dozens of little known and unindexed periodicals, it is entirely possible that some of the listed items had appeared in print. Throughout these sections asterisks are employed to indicate holographic documents as distinguished from typescripts.

The order of the entries under the various headings differ depending upon the nature of the materials, the quantity of items, and the available data. In some cases a straight alphabetical sequence was adopted, in some others separate alphabetical subgroups, in a few chronological arrangement or a combination of all these seemed to be desirable.

Certain classes of materials, for example, photographs, personal documents, advertisements, etc, and a great amount of miscellaneous trivia have not been included in the bibliography. All relevant materials will, however, be listed in the card catalog of the collection and will be accessible for research purposes.

Finally, the compiler wishes to express his gratitude for the advice and help extended to him by Mrs Doris Holmes, the widow of John Holmes, Miss Ruth V. Hewlett, Reference Librarian at Tufts, and to Mrs Doris E. Pitts for providing the typescript.

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II *Unpublished Writings by and about Holmes*

Writings by Holmes

POEMS

(*An asterisk signifies a manuscript rather than a typescript.*)

"Advice" (Feb 9 1936), "Advice in Vain," "Advice on Success in Writing Poetry," "Against Growing Old," "All the Dead and Some Poets," "All We Make," "Almanac," "The Angel of Love" (July 1924), *"The Answer Afterwards" (April 1926), "The Apple," "An April Afternoon," "At Home Abroad," "At Home: My Room" (1926), "At Symphony — Moment Grotesque" (1926), "At the End" (May 4 1924), "At Thirty-Five" (also entitled "People in the Street"), "Autumn" (Oct 1923), "Average Reader," "Aware of Legends," "Awful Responsibility" [1932?], "The Ballad of Albert Woolson" (Aug 19 1956), "Belladonna," "Bewilderment in Church," "Big Girl Now" [1958], "Birth of a Best-Seller," "Birthday Poem to Robert from All of the Rest of Us" [1934?], "Black Thread in the Pattern" [1929?], "The Boat" (Nov 15 1923), "Book-Review" [1929?] "Books" (1926), "Books and Birds" [1929?], "Bumps in the Night" (Mar 1962), "Boy" (June 1940), *"Burn" [1929?], "Candles," "Carpenter's Grandson," "The Carver and the Wood," "Cazevieille Part Four: Things There Are Only One Of," "The Chest of Time," "The Child on the Other Shore," "A Childish Chant," "Children Try," "Christmas Card to Myself" (1948), "Christmas Letter" (1944), "Clouds on a Summer Night," "The Cold Shadow," "Color," "Come and Play," "Conrad Has an Evening," "The Constant Battle," "The Cottage of Broken Dreams," "Counsel from a Poet, Middle-Aged" (1926), "Country Quiet Remembered," "Curse," "The Day's News," "The Dead Fish" [1932?], "Death of a Leaf," "Deep Mountain" [1929?], "Deep Shore," "Deep Tide," "Definition" [1929?], "Demand," "Departure" (May 4 1924), "Design for a Skyscraper," "The Difference" [1932?], "Direction," "Diver," "Do You Remember," "Dorothy" (Apr 23 1962), "Downtown Ritual" [1929?], "Dream" (Dec 1926), "The Druids" (Feb 1946), *"Dutch Dream" [1929], *"Einsteinian" [1929?], "The End of Day" (July 1924), "Epilog — Plainly Said," *"Epitaph — and a very sad case too; Four elegiac stanzas" [1928 or 29?], Epitaph for Peter If He Should Die," "Essay on Saints" (Sept 20 1948), "Even Now" (Jan 14 1935), "Evening," "Every Day My Guide" [1931?], "Examination" (Oct 9 1945), "An Exercise in Humility" (Oct 22 1949), "The Eyesore" (May 4 1924), "Ezra Pound," "Fable," "The Face" Feb 1933), "Fall in Massachusetts," "A Fancy" (May 4 1924), "Fears" [1932?], "Figure of Speech," "The Fifty-First," "A Fireplace in December" (July 1924), *"First Love Recalled," "The Flaming Lights" (Apr 24 1925), "The Flowers (first version)" (1961), "Fog," "For a Bestiary" (other versions entitled: "An Objection"; "The Thrifty Elephant"), "For a Birthday Poem," "For DH" (1925), "For Karl Magnus Armens," "For Sam Moses, Printer," *"The Forgotten Hero," "Forty-six," "Four Friends," "Fragment from the New Long Poem" (Feb 9 1936), "From Everlasting unto Everlasting," *"From the Tower," "Gathering Poem" (Apr 15 1949), "Gifts," "The Gleam" (May 4 1924), "Going to Sleep" (Aug 1948), "Golden Egg" (Mar 14 1954), "The Good Guys and the Bad Guys" [196–?], "Green Things Growing" (1928), "Group Photograph," "Hail Ballou," "The Hamlet" (Apr 1949), "He

Knows It Is Safe," "Hearing Them Speak," "Hello," "Hello Ballou," "Hello! How Are You?" (Oct 9 1944), *"Here We Go Round!" [1929?], "The High Heart," "High Point," "His Dazzled Look," "Holy Ballou," "House-Leaf" (June 1961), "How Are They Treating You?" (Dec 1944), "How Do I Love Thee?" "Hullaballou," "Hush," "I Always Did," "I Am Very Near," "I Asked Myself What Hour," "I Do It Myself" (Oct 14 1955), "I Can Never Be Alone," "I Bid Four Spades" [1932?], "I Love the Hillside Hardware and Paint Co." (Mar 28 1953), "I Sing," *"I Wish You Might Have Known" [1929?], "Ideals," "If I Were Old," "If This Were the Last," *"Il Penseroso (To R. L.)," "In a Dark Wood" (Feb 24 1955), "In a Time of Misunderstanding," "In Cities," "In the Arbor" (July 1924), "In the Days When the Eternal Hills Go Down," "In the Gardner Museum," "In This Moment," "Incoming Mail" (Sept 1953), *"Incredulous," "The Inefficacious Egg" [1932?], "Interior," "Is Calm the Thing" (June 1927), "It Says in the Book," "Jonathan Bing" [1932?], "A Kind of Prayer" (Dec 1942), "A Kind of Silence," *"King Time" (Aug 1955), "Ladies and Gentlemen," "Lament for the Dead" (Feb 1940), "Languor," "Last Look Around" (Sept 1946), "Last Night," "Laughter," "The Launching" [1929?], "Laus Perennis" (July 1924), "The Leaf," "Let It Be Said," "Let the Joyful Speak" (Dec 1941), "A Letter" (Dec 1944), "Letter from an Exile," "Letter from Vermont" (Aug 1946), "A Letter in March," "Letter to a Young Poet" (Winter 1960), "Letter to S. V. B.," "Letters: A Metaphor" (Apr 22 1962), "Life" (1926), "Lift Me" (1926), "Lines Consecrating the Empty Volume to Its Contents" (Oct 17 1933), "The Little Street," "L'Omnipotent" (hymn), "Lonely," "The Look" (Dec 1957), "Look East, Look West" (Mar 1958), "Love-Child," "Love Poems," "Low Fog," "The Lower Middle Classes," "Make Yourself a Way," *"Man," "Man to Man," "A Man Who Came Home Late at Night," "March 17, 1929," *"Marchers in the Shadow" Nov 1925, "Margaret" (July 31 1954), "Mary & Lamb" [1932?], "Maybe Tomorrow" (Feb 1933), "Maybe You," "Message to be Found a Hundred Years Hence" (May 6 1924), *"Miracle" [1929?], "A Misunderstanding" (another version entitled: "In a Time of Misunderstanding") (July 1924), "Moment," "Moment Grotesque: Symphony," "Montaigne" (Jan 1947), "Monument," "The Moon," "Moonrise," "Mothers and Children [1929?], *"Motor-car at Midnight" [1928–29?], "The Mountain Farm," "Mowing" (July 1925), "Music to Me" (Mar 16 1954), "My Passenger," "My Sorrow" [1932?], "My Tree," "My Wife's Grandfather's Ring" (Sept 1953), "New Arrangements," "New England Names," "New Moon Rising," "New Name (A British writer recently named his sons Crecy and Agincourt)," "The New Porch" (1961), "New Woman in the House" (Sept 7 1954), "Next Year's Music" (Feb 16 1948), "Nine O'Clock," "Nineteen Fifty One" (Jan 1951), "No More Music" (Mar 14 1954), "No Sign" (Oct 3 1949," "Nocturne Nostalgiac" [1932?], "Noon," "Not You Like Music," "Notes on a Word," "O Time" (1926), "October Dusk" (1926), "Ode, for Scene I, Hullaballou," "Ode for the Hundredth Birthday of William Upham," "The Old Men," "Old, Old Man," "An Old Song with a New Refrain," "Old Wall," "On Finding Certain Marked Lines in the Santyana Sonnets (Sonnets VI and VII, first sequence)," *"On Going to Bed," *"On the Contemplation of Vastness," "On the New Moon" (June 23 [1925]), "One Act Play," "One Beautiful Moment," "One Sound" (Apr 1947), "One Way of Waking," "Once in August," "Open Letter," "Overture," "Page in a Diary: For Doris to Remember the Day By" (Aug 1953), "Pageant" (July 1924), "Pain I Gave You" (1926), "A Pale Lady Looks in a Deep Well," *"The Passing King," "Past Understanding," "Peace of Mind," *"Penny for Your Thoughts," "A Penny Poem," "People at Parties," "Perfectly Deathless Poem to Betty Rosenthal from John Holmes on Receiving a Necktie," "Perplexed" [1932?], *"Peter Reads Far Into the Night," "Peter Sleeping," "Petulant," "The Philosopher at Home," "Photographer's Sunday" [196–?], "Pierrot," "Plainly Said" (Dec 16 1928), "Plato's Table" (July 1961), "Poem" (first line: "Oh — oh — I am torn and twisted") (1926), "Poem" (first line: "Once I walked out in the moonlight") (Nov 15 1923), "Poem" (first line: "A poem can tell") (1928), "A Poem for Doris and Carol Burr, in This Case, with Love, to Memoralize Some Work Their Husbands Did for Them on May the 30th, 1952" (June 2 1952), "Poem for My 32nd Birthday," "Poem for the Crazy and Wonderful People in English 22, Spring Term, 1952" (1952), *"Poem for This Book" [1929?], "Poem for This Picture" (first line: "I want to make a poem for this picture"), [1930?], "Poem for This Picture" (first line: "She ran, she said, after she left"), [1929?], "Poem for This Picture" (first line: "This was the page reserved for certain words")

Poems, continued

(Aug 1932), "The Poem of Ah," "Poem to Be Read with a Steely Glitter in the Eye" [1932?], "Poem with Picture" (first line: "Moses with a camera came"), "Poems on Pictures" (July 1924), "Poetry" (Jan or Feb 1933), "Portrait Two," "Prayer," "Prayer against Blindness" (July 1924), "Prayer for Tomorrow" (Dec 1926), "Preface, in First Person Singular" [Dec 1931], "The Preface to the Book" [1950?], "Prelude to the Book" [1929], "The President," "Program Note," "Prolog — Whatever Winds" (also entitled: "Whatever Winds"?), "Proverbs" (Sept 1946), "Provided However Except" [1932?], "Pure Envy" [1932?], "The Pure of Heart" (July 1924), *"Rain," "Rather Than This," "Reading Sonnets Late at Night" Oct 1923), "Real-Love Poem" [1932?], "Reflection of a Shadow" (Sept 1 1928), "Relief," "Religious Theme Song" [1932?], "Remembered Nights," "Remembering" (1926), "Renewal," "The Responsibles" (Mar 1950), "The Reverent Lover," "Rhyme of Going to the Store," *"The Right Word . . ." [1929?], "Sacrament" [1929?], "A Sacrifice to the Sun," *"Sailing," "Sally," *"A Salty Nautical Ballad" [1929?], "Scientific" [1932?], "The Secret Epilogue," "Servants of the Heart," "Shake Well, Throw Away" (Sept 1946), "Sheep Poem" [1932?], "A Shield and a Strong Defense," "The Shining Road," "Shipped before the Mast" [1929?], "A Ship's Figure-Head," *"Ships in the Night" [1929?], "The Shore," *"Should I?" "The Sickle" (May 1952), "Silhouette in Words" [1929?], "Singing Bush," "Sky Once More," "The Snow Child," "So You Will Know," "Some in Dreams," *"Somehow, Sometime, Somewhere," "Something from the Soft Wind," "Something Out There," "Song" (Aug 1948), "Song to be Said to My Pillow," "Sonnet" (first line: "And are you always cold, precise, like this"), "Sonnet" (first line: "I write and throw my writings carelessly"), "Sonnet" (first line: "Now, thinking back to golden days and eves") [1926?], "Sonnet to a Dancing Partner," "Sonnet to a Friend Twice My Age," "Sort of a Spring Song, with Ah!" (Apr 12 1954), "Sounds," "The Source," "Special Performance" [1929?], "Speed John Smith," "Splendid and Terrible," "Spring: A Sermon" (Apr 1947), "Spring Morning," "Steps" (July 1924), "Street Scene," "Subject for a Poem," "Suddenly Birds," "Suddenly I Knew" [1924?] "The Summer After," "Summer Valentine," *"Sun Worshipper" [1929?], *"Swinging," "Sword and Pen" [196–?], "Sword on the Wall," "Take a Lot of People" (Aug 28 1954), "The Talking Mirror," "The Tall Men" (Aug 29 1950), "Teacher" [1932?], "That Is the Way You Look," "These Conditions" (Sept 1936), "These Ghosts," "A Thing to Say," "Things I Love" (May 19 1930), "This Is the Picture" [1932?], "This Is the Way You Look," "Though You Had Gone," "Tia Na N'og," *"Time" (Aug 30 1931), "The Time Is Good," "Times' Noise" [196–?], "A Timid Lover" (May 6 1924), "The Tireless Testament" (Aug 1934), "To a Desert Island" [196–?], "To a Friend Too Kind," "To a Player at the Globe Theater" (July 1924), "To a Small Boy Learning to Read" (Oct 1923), *"To a Statuette of a Little Girl," "To a Waverer" (also entitled: "To Hamlet"), *"To a Youth," "To Be Forty," "To Be Tacked on the Bulletin Board at Any Writer's Conference," "To Isabel with Some Poems" (Sept 21 1933), "To Losers," "To Members of the Vicinity Poetry Circle, Hostesses to the Writers' Workshop at its First Tea, 1950," "To My Cousin, H. R. B." (Nov 15 1923), "To Myself, Christmas 1948," "To One Gone," *"To One I Dislike," "To Peter, Who Is Not a Real Person," "Tower of Glass," "Trees in the Wind," "True Murder," "True Murder's Course," "Twelfth Night Dream" (1933), "Twenty Eight Billingham Street" (Mar 9 1956), "Twenty Seventh Birthday Poem" (1932), "Twice-Born," "Two Men Talking" (Feb 14 1940), "Two O'Clock" (May 4 1924), "Type-Ornament Tree" (Aug 1931), "Understandable Poem" [196–?], "Unfinished Poem for Doris" (Apr 1952), "Various Loyalties," *"The Violinist," "The Visiting Poets," "The Visitor," "Voices in a New World," "Walking Home at Night," "Walking in the Rain," "Wallpaper Poem," "Wars That Rage: Sonnet" (1926), "Watcher in the Street," "We Are Waiting" (Nov 1953), "Weather-Wise" (June 26 1954), "Weave a Circle Round Him" (Dec 16 1928), "The Weight" (1949), "What Matters" (1926), "What Poetry Is" (May 4 1924), "What the Book Salesman Said," "What Things Shall We Remember" [1928?], "What to Keep, What to Lose," "What We Hate Most," "Where More Is Meant" [1932?], "Wherever You Lie," "Who Has Not Known" (July 1924), "The Willow Tree," "Wind in the Night" (Sept 1925), "Wind Like Music," "Wind on a Hill" (May 4 1924), "Window" (Aug 1946), *"Wings," "The Winter" (Dec 1926), "Within the Skull," "The Woman Who Would Not Close Her Eyes," "Woodrow-Wilson-Was-a-Hero-," "The Word"

(also entitled: "Bird of the Morning Sea"), "Word from the West" (Oct 9 1945), "Words about the Carver," "Words Are So Exciting," "Words for a Hymn" (Jan 27 1949), "Words of a Hymn," "Workman," "The World in a Box," "You Living Look," *"You, Who Understood," "The Young Men Speaking" (Apr 1934), "Young Promise," "Your Move" (Mar 6 1962), "Youth and Age" (Feb 1940)

UNTITLED POEMS — FIRST LINES

"Ahg, you gluttons, my peasant patriarchs . . ."; "At Duxbury, there is a long dry-planned bridge to the beach"; "Clear afternoons when I was young"; "Donald, old Hackett old"; "Endlessly ran and fell the waves . . ." (June 1925); "From where I stood, or so it seemed"; "The generous heart, for all its love"; "The great Bishop Berkeley"; "Great rock swung up through dark and space" (a fragment); "Here lies all that was mortal of John Albert Holmes Jr."; "I cannot forgive you that you do not know"; "I couldn't see until" [1958?]; "I walk in my age looking for the one"; "If I knew what you are thinking"; "If I should wake again"; "If you make a mistake, and of course you mustn't"; "In my Rudyard-Kipling-simple years I read"; "In the night and the rain"; "The infinite orderliness of the natural world"; "The laurels, the laurels all are cut"; *"Listening in a high green place I heard"; *"A little while"; "Long around a rolled-up postcard from Naples" [1960?]; "Look! That kind of gasoline flies flags!"; "Love is like a leaf" [1930?]; "Memnon"; "Merely because we've stayed up, that's no reason"; "My father's father worked with wood"; "My mother and my father were buried at Woodlawn" (Jan 1960); "No northerner in reminiscent speeches asserts pride in being of the old North"; "Nothing can take away the sad, proud"; "Old Bill Carton was a merry old soul" (Aug 26 1959); "On with the dance. It has gone on"; *"One after one the old props go"; "One faces east, into bright sun and wind, long strong-legged"; *"One of the kinds of gasoline flies flags . . ."; "One who watched, saw how a window square . . ." (Aug 1926); "The other night, like a great ring of pure and endless light" [1961?]; "Out of the sea, flying to me . . ." [Jan 1930]; *"Prepare thyself for change" [1932?]; "Ready with meaning in the pulpit of today" (Apr 6 1947); "She is my stranger every day. She is wretched"; "Ships, ships, I will descrie you"; *"Sing me again that song that hears", "The Society for the Destruction of New England Antiquities"; "Some of the tall girls part their yellow hair"; "Take for your joy this green earth, hung with air"; "Temper rattles in the tiredness, the skull stretches"; "They call at Cumberland Street bringing pictures or tusks"; "Thinking of land that lies behind me now"; "This is the bordering moment, time to cross over . . ." "This light is the very flush of spring; it is innocent and warm" [1932?]; "This old brook dies within its bed" [1932?]; *"The untroubled ones, nimble and bold"; "Villains as fat, local rascals small"; "Walking up Edison Avenue, the short street where I live"; "We sleep after landfall and exploration" [196–?]; "When I saw autumn rich upon a hill"; *"Wishing to build a bookcase of knotty pine" (Oct 14 1955)

ESSAYS AND ARTICLES

"An Account of a Dream" [1954?], "Archibald MacLeish" (Oct 20 1958) 3 p, "Archibald MacLeish, Steinman Poetry Lecturer at Tufts University, Oct 20 1958," "Authors in the Ads" 6 p, "The Care and Feeding of Poets; With Some Consideration of Library Lecturers, Their Prevention and Cure," "Island Town Report" (Oct 6 1953) 8 p, "John Donne's Imagery and the Language of Power" 73 p, "My Relations with Labor" 4 p, "A Poem Is Made" (fragment) 14 p, "Richard Wilbur" (Feb 16 1959) 4 p, "A Santa Maria for Robert Frost" 2 p, "Some Definitions" [1929?], "Selected Poems" by Robert Frost (about the English edition and its four new prefaces by Cecil D. Lewis, W. H. Auden, Edwin Muir, Paul Engle) 14 p, "To Members of the Tufts Writers Workshop, 3rd session, Summer 1954" 2 p, "To the Members of the Tufts Writers Workshop, Third Session, Summer 1954" 2 p, "Ultimate Book (after reading the publishers' fall catalogs)" 5 p, "You Mean I Have to Pay?" 4 p, no title, first line: "When Stuart P. Sherman died as a leader round whom the younger generation . . ." (fragment) 7 p

REVIEWS

Bloom "Poetic Analysis, Its Aims and Methods", by Bloom, Philbrick, and Blistein (a "Readers Report" for Houghton Mifflin Co) (May 6 1955) 5 p; Iris, Scharmel "Bread Out of Stone" (and "The Year One" by Kathleen Raine) [1952?] 3 p; MacLeish, Archibald "The Hamlet" 16 p; Moore, Merrill "Six Sides to a Man" 3 p; Mullins, Eustace *see* Norman, Charles; Norman, Charles "Ezra Pound" (and "This Difficult Individual, Ezra Pound" by Eustace Mullins) 4 p; Raine, Kathleen *see* Iris, Scharmel

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL MATERIALS

Journal: Oct 14 – Nov 24 [1950] 13 p; "My Life and Limitations" [1950] 4 p; Notebooks, 17 v: July 18 – Dec 16 1924, Dec 4 1924 – May 12 1925, Feb 11 – May 7 1925, Feb 11 1925 – Jan 19 1926, Sept 24 1925 – Oct 17 1933, June 1 – Sept 12 1926, Sept 30 1926 – Dec 31 1927, Jan 20 – May 17 1928, June 1928 – Feb 5 1929, Nov 23 1929 – Sept 25 1930, Oct 18 1930 – Sept 1 1932, Nov 1 1932 – July 2 1933, Nov 24 1932 – Apr 19 1935, July 25 1930 – Dec 12 1937, Jan 6 1938 – Feb 3 1947, May 11 1949 – Apr 28 1962, May 1 1960 – Oct 27 1961; Summer Journal: June 27 – Aug 2 1952, 5 p; Diary: Sept 20 – Dec 29 [1958?] 14 p; Vita of John Holmes: Dec 1 1960, 2 p; no title, first line: "When my father built something, it stayed built" 6 p

HUMOROUS WRITINGS

"Dear Sir"; "Evan Kirk Holmes; the Biography of a Real Person (I Think). Written by His Father Who Not Only Writes but Speaks English" [1950] 10 p; "First Annual Baby Day"; "The Letters of the Twentieth Century, Arranged by Types, Reflecting All Life" (23 p): "Dear Thorp," "Dear Mr. Hindus," "Dear Mr. Baker," "Dear Shapiro," "Dear Ben," "Acme Antiques, Inc. Dear Sirs," "Dear Sadie," "My dear Burr," "My dear Dylan Thomas" signed Gray Burr, "Dear Sir," "Your Excellency," "Mister," "Darling, Oh Darling," "Dear Heaviside," signed George V. Bandlegs, Dean, "Dear George," "Dear Thorp," "Dear Dean Wrightwork," "Dear Professor," "Dearest Florence," "Dear Prof. and Mrs. Greene," "Dear Daughter in Rhi Pi Delta" signed Charles Greene, "Dear Professor Greene," "Dear Mike," "Dear Yeats" signed Eberhart, "Dear Editor" (*St. Nicholas Magazine*) signed Richard Wilbur, "Dear Angelo" signed Ciardi, "Dear Mr. Pound" signed John Holmes, "Dear Mr. Edgett" signed R. Eberhart, "Dear Henry" signed Ciardi, "Dear Mr. Holmes" signed R. Wilbur, "Dear John" signed Ted, "Dear Mr. Weeks" signed May Sarton, "Dear Ted" signed Dick Eberhart, "Dear Mr. Eberhart" signed R. Wilbur, "Dear John" signed Henry Wallace, "Dear Henry Wallace" signed Joseph Stalin, "Dear Dick Eberhart" signed R. Wilbur, "Dear Mr. Wilbur" signed John Holmes, "Dear Wilbur" signed R. Eberhart, "Dear John" signed J. C., "Dear Dr. Sewall" signed John Holmes, "Dear Dr. Grobeck" signed R. Eberhart, "Dear Virginia" signed May Sarton, "Dear Mr. Conant" signed Richard Wilbur, "Dear Dudley Fitts" signed P. P. Blackmur, "Dear Macmillan" signed Gray Burr; "Notorious Bandit Led Double Life" 4 p; "Professors Are People" 172 p (abridged version published under title: "Are Professors People?" *Saturday Evening Post* Mar 20 1948, 164–166); "Qwertyuiop" 6 p; "A Rosy Wreath of Baby Poems" 3 p; "To Evan Kirk Holmes, an Old Man of Two" (July 9 1952); "To God" 3 p; "The Viereck Cantad" 7 p

PLAYS

"An Arden Forest" 7 p; "Peter" 20 p; "Something Is Going on Here" (1950) 9 p; "This Bill Is Long Overdue Kindly Remit" (1950) 30 p

STORIES

"Morning with David" 6 p; "The Quarrel" [Oct 1929], "The Thoughtful Guest" 6 p

NOTES

"Lapis Lazuli" 2 p; "Notes" 6 p; "Remarks Made at the Dedication of the Alpha Epsilon Pi Living Room and Dining Room to the Memory of Lt. Robert Atlas" (Dec 5 1948) 7 p; no title: notes about a Sandburg reading (Apr 17 [1929]); no title: notes about "Eliot's definition of originality"; no title: notes about poems; no title: notes about the Tenniel drawing for "Alice in Wonderland" [1928–29?]; no title: notes re proposed poetry appreciation lectures.

LETTERS FROM HOLMES

(*arranged alphabetically by recipient*)

T. Berry Brazelton, July 28 1954
H. S. Burack, Apr 8 1960
Lynwood Bryant, July 22 1958
Leonard Carmichael, Apr 16 1952
Saxe Commins, Jan 8 1958
John A. Cousens, June 20 1925; *Feb 25 [1928?]; *Aug 2, Dec 21 1928; July 12, Oct 13, Nov 25 1929; Feb 3, 21, Mar 5, 12, June 8, Nov 14 1930; Jan 17, Feb 2, Mar 8 1931; Apr 21, Sept 29 1932; Jan 20, Mar 3, 9, *21, Apr 1, May 5, June 28, Aug 10, *Oct 6, 24 1933; Jan 12, Apr 6, Oct 9, 12 1934; May 23, Oct 27, 29 1935; Apr 26 1936; Apr 7, 19, 22, June 9 1937
Louise Eaton, June 9, Aug 4, Sept 1 1958; Feb 24 1959
Norma Farber, Oct 27 1958
Dudley Fitts, no date: 1 letter
Charlie May Fletcher (Mrs), June 1 1952
Frances Frost, Oct 1, 6, Nov 4 1933
Robert Frost, Sept 27 1952
Robert T. Gaus, May 1 1958
Dorothy Gordon, *July 2, *Sept 11 1925; *May 29 1927; *June 11 1928; *Jan 11 1929; Jan 1, June 20, *Sept 11, *Oct 6 1930, exact date unknown: [1930]; *Apr 5, *May 11, Aug 16, Oct 16, Nov 25, Dec 2 1931; *July 26, *Aug 7, 15, *30, Sept 1, *25, *Oct 6, Nov 4, Dec 16 1932; exact date unknown: 1932; Jan 5, 13, 14, Mar 11, *Apr 6, May 30, *June 8, *17, 18, July 2, Aug 31, 31, Nov 9, 18 1933; Jan 26, Feb 28, Mar 13, July 18, Oct 15 1934; *Jan 9, Mar 14 1935; Feb 9, Apr 18, June 10, Dec 27 1936; Jan 28, Aug 12, Sept 10 1937; Mar 19, May 4, 8, 25, June 29, Aug 26, Sept 13 1938; May 1, 21, June 16, 26, July 5, 13, Oct 16, Nov 5 1939; Feb 1, 14, June 25, 29, July 6, Aug 19, Oct 5 1940; June 22, 28, July 8, 21, 28 1941; Feb 16, 27, Mar 11, 28, Apr 6, 24, May 19, 23, June 6, 20, July 18, 31, Aug 17, Sept 14, 17, 27, Oct 6, 12, 26, 31, Nov 8, 15, Dec 20 1942; Jan 1, 8, Feb 14, 27, Mar 7, 13, 18, 20, May 20, June 20, 25, July 4, Aug 5, Sept 28, Oct 10, 15, Dec 17 1943; Jan 12, 20, Mar 29, May 4, Dec 9 1944, Mar 17, 29, Oct 17 1945; Mar 17, 23, June 26, Oct 10 1946; Feb 22, Mar 9, June 10, July 12, 22, Aug 2, 4, 9, 29, Sept 2, 6, 23, 24, Nov 12 1947; exact date unknown: [July?] [Aug?] 1947; Jan 18, 31, Mar 12 1948; July 22, Sept 13; May 7, 13, Oct 2 1950; May 5, 10, Nov 24, Dec 21, 23 1951, exact date unknown: [Autumn 1951?]; Feb 16, 25, Mar 22, Apr 12, 28, May 9, June 2, 2, 19, Sept 5, 26, Nov 5, 20 1952; June 15, 15, Sept 26, 26 1953; Mar 22, 22, June 4, July 30, Aug 4, 24 1954; Dec 2 1958; Apr 22 1959; May 2, June 7 1961; no year: Sept 1, Oct 20
George Heels, July 27, 27 1954
— Hersey, Feb 24 1937
J. Albert Holmes Sr, *Dec 8 1928
Doris Holmes (Mrs John), no year: May 28, *Dec 24
John L. Holmes, no year: Jan 4, Mar 3
Robert Holmes (and family), Sept 28 1930; exact date unknown: [1930 or 31?]; *Jan 6, *Feb 16, Mar 9, May 10, Nov 13, *Dec 18 1931; June 3, Aug 23, Sept 7, 20, 30, Nov 11 1932, exact date unknown: [between June & Sept 1932?]; Mar 18, Apr 27, May 11, 29, June 6, 9, 20, *24, July 5, *12, Aug 1, *22, 27, Sept 30, *Oct 3, *4, *6, 19, 25, 30, Nov 1, 13, 13, 25, Dec 1, 14 1933, exact date unknown: *Jan 1933, [May 1933?], [*Aug 1933?], [Sept 1933] [Sept 1933?] [Sept 1933?], [*Sept 1933?], [Dec 1933?], [1933?], [1933?]; Jan 1, 9, 27, Feb 1, 10, *13, 17, 20, 23, 27, Mar 3, 13, 24, 30, Apr 5, 19, 20, May 13, 17, June 8, July 7, 11, 15, 30, Aug 2, 4, *11, 12 *12, 17, 22, 31, Sept 6, 6, 11, 14, 20, Oct 3, 11, 21, 28, Nov 14, 15, 28, Dec 4, 14, 16 1934, exact date unknown: [*Feb 1934], [June 1934], [July 1934?], [Oct 1934?]; Jan 14, 20, 26, Feb 7, 18, 25, Mar 2, 10, 18, 22, May 1, 14, 17, June 4, 21, July 12, 24, 30, Aug 13, 16, 28, Oct 1, 5, 11, 20, Nov 10, Dec 3, 24, 31 1935, exact date unknown: Sept 1935; Jan 7, 16, Feb 4, 23, Mar 7, 9, 22, 27, 29, Apr 8, 23, May 10, July 17, Aug 4, 15, Sept 29, Oct 12, 22, Nov 29, 29, Dec 24 1936, exact date unknown: [1936], [May – July 1936?]; Jan 5,

Letters from Holmes, continued

27, 29, Feb 12, Mar 26, 30, Apr 3, 16, May 11, June 4, 6, July 2, 8, 27, Aug 5, Sept 14, Oct 2, 26 1937, exact date unknown: [April 1937?], [April 1937?], [Sept 1937?]; June 17, Aug 22 1938; exact date unknown: [1938–0?]; July 6 1939; Dec 6, 25 1940; Feb 16, 26, Apr 1, 8, May 3, 19, June 25, July 12 or 13, 29, Aug 11, 21, Sept 9, 10, Oct 9, 26 1941, no date: 2 letters [1941]

Rolfe Humphries, July 30 1934; Feb 10, June 17, July 2, Aug 17, 22, Dec 11 1942; Feb 16, June 4, Aug 22, 30, Sept 7, Nov 27, Dec 17, 26 1943; Jan 12, 22, May 16, July 3, Aug 27, Sept 3, Oct 10, Dec 24 1944; Jan 7, 11, 17, Feb 3, 13, Mar 11, 22, May 5, 9, 31, July 3, 15, 28, *Aug 21, *23, *26, *27, Sept 2, 9, 14, 23, Oct 6, 10, 16, 30, Nov 10, Dec 13 1945, exact date unknown: [Apr 1945?]; Jan 1, 13, 28, Feb 8, 12, 13, 16, 19, 23, Mar 2, 10, 16, 22, Apr 3, 11, 17, 23, May 3, 9, 16, June 28, July 7, 11, 14, 25, Aug 10, 27, 30, Sept 1, 22, 28, Oct 5 1946; Jan 4, 23, 31, Apr 9, 19, 22, May 1, 7, June 1, 18, Aug 13, 26, 31, Sept 5, 12, 22, Nov 12, 19, Dec 7, 14 1947, exact date unknown: [Aug 1947?]; Mar 5, Aug 1 1948; May 23 1949; Sept 17 1954; Apr 6 1957, exact date unknown: Aug 13 [1957?]

Ella Lithgow, Nov 23 1950

Archibald MacLeish, Dec 28 1947; Oct 20 1950; Aug 25 1958

Malcolm McLeod, Apr 22 1952

Merrill Moore, Dec 14 1934

Mabel Morrison (Mrs), Apr 1 1946

Frances Randall, Jan 5 1951; Jan 8, 13, 17, Mar 7, 19, Apr 7, 15, May 3, 21, 26, June 3, July 3, 11, 14, 27, Aug 2, 5, 6, 9, 12, 13, 14, 17, 22, 26, 28, Sept 1, 3, 6, 11, 13, 17, 24, 26, 27, 29, Oct 4, 9, 9, 11, 18, 24, 27, Nov 3, 7, 10, 14, 23, Dec 13, 17, 22, 29 1952, exact date unknown: Nov [1952?]; Jan 30, Feb 1, 17, Mar 8, 22, 24, 28, 30, Apr 3, 12, 20, May 2, 5, 16, 27, June 3, 5, 7, 18, 25, July 15, 17, 25, 29, Aug 5, 5, 16, 17, 22, 25, 30, Sept 2, 4, 8, 11, 19, 23, 27, 30, Oct 7, 11, 15, 19, 25, Nov 2, 11, 16, 22, Dec 23 1953; Jan 11, 18, 22, 29, Feb 28, Mar 8, 16, 16, 18, 25, 29, Apr 4, 10, 15, 25, 28, May 15, 17, 26, 30, June 8, 16, 23, 26, July 3, 9, 12, 15, 21, 27, 28, Aug 8, 17, 23, 31, Sept 8, 11, 14, 23, 26, Oct 3, 5, 17, 20, 28, Nov 3, 6, 11, 17, 20, 23, 27, 29, 30, Dec 2, 5, 10, 19 1954; Jan 5, 5, 15, 23, 30, Feb 10, 20, 23, 25, Mar 4, 10, 18, 24, 26, Apr 2, 2, 10, 11, 28, May 2, 29, June 16, 30, Aug 7, Sept 5, 25, Oct 1, 1, 8, 20, 25, Nov 17, 28, Dec 2, 19, 22 1955; Jan 2, 7, Feb 16, 21, Mar 2, 11, 18, 24, 28, Apr 1, 3, 8, 22, May 5, 20, 27, June 7, 21, Aug 5, 10, 13, 17, 21, 22, Sept 2, 5, 13, 21, 22, Oct 6, 10, 23, Nov 19, 26, Dec 3, 30 1956; Jan 4, 8, 12, 19, 27, Feb 22, Mar 2, 9, 24, Apr 1, 3, 20, May 13, 18, June 11, 19, 20, 24, 26, 29, July 4, 14, Aug 2, 17, 26, Sept 2, 12, Oct 16, Nov 2, Dec 15, 22, 25, 28 1957; Jan 1, 10, 22, 29, 30, Feb 19, Mar 2, 5, 15, 19, 29, Apr 3, 5, 20, 24, 29, May 2, 11, 15, 25, June 3, 9, 13, 18, 21, 25, 27, July 1, 10, 23, 31, Aug 9, *13, 20, 24, Sept 11, Oct 1, 13, 26, Nov 6, 9, 27, Dec 1, 6, 26 1958; Jan 2, 18, Feb 11, 21, 28, Mar 19, 28, Apr 3, 19, May 9, July 7, 15, Aug 3, 27, Sept 15, Oct 5, 20, Nov 11, Dec 6 1959; Jan 2, Feb 1, 15, Mar 11, 24, Apr 6, May 13, June 15, July 12, 27, Aug 11, 23, Sept 9, 13, Nov 16, 24, Dec 4, 21, 28 1960; Feb 9, 26, Mar 9, 26, Apr 9 1961

John Crowe Ransom, Aug 4, 19 1958

Robert Rosenthal, Sept 28 1950

Carl Sandburg, Feb 20, Mar 31 1958

Marjorie Bertram Smith, Oct 3, Dec 9 1947; Mar 6, 19, May 25, Sept 7, Nov 15, Dec 15, 24 1948; Jan 20, Feb 10, Apr 16, May 13, 24, Oct 3, Nov 12, Dec 21 1949; Jan 6, Mar 29, Apr 5, May 14, 15, June 11, Aug 22, 24, 29, Nov 1, 6, Dec 3 1950; Jan 6, 11, 22, Feb 9, Mar 16, Apr 9, 21, 29, June 3, Sept 2, Oct 1, 19, 29, Nov 6, 25 1951; Jan 18, Feb 10, 16, Apr 13, May 29, June 16, 27, July 27, Aug 14, Oct 20 1952; Nov 21, Dec 7 1953

— Smith, Jan 11 1934

David B. Steinman, Nov 21 1957, Aug 6, 19 1958

A. M. Sullivan, Oct 27 1950

Alan Swallow, Feb 28, 29 1960

Isabel Taylor, *Sept 20, Dec 29 1928; *Dec 10 1932; Jan 24, Oct 8, Nov 13 1933; Feb 5, Apr 9, 24, July 31, Nov 6 1934; Sept 24 1936; Jan 24, Apr 18, Aug 10, 14 1937; Feb 22, July 8, Sept 21 1940; Mar 23 1941; Feb 3, Sept 12, Nov 2, 30 1943; June 24, Aug 11 1944; Feb 9, Oct 23 1945; Feb 2, Dec 1, 18, 31 1946; Mar 11, 20, 27, Apr 11, 18, 26, 29, June 7, 10, 25, July 4, 10, Oct 11 1947; Jan 19, Feb 24, Mar 15, Apr 9, July 30, Sept 21, 28, Oct 15, Nov 2 1948; May 9 1949; Mar 31, Apr 12, June 19, Aug 14, Dec 17 1950; Jan 24 1951; June 10, Sept 4 1952; Feb 2, Apr 16, 22, Sept 15, Oct 6, 12 1953; May 13, June 15, Oct 7 1954; Jan 25, Mar 8 1955; Oct 22 1956; Feb 22, Mar 13, 23, July 15, Aug 23 1957; Jan 6, Feb 4, Apr 2, Sept 3, Nov 25, Dec 23 1958; no year given: Jan 3, 9, 10, *Feb 13, *17, Apr 30, *July 10, 16, Aug 7, Nov 21, Dec 26; no date: 2 letters

Carol [Towle?], June 12 1952
Leonard Twynham, Nov 22, Dec 6 1933; Feb 6, 12, 20, 23, Mar 1, 3, 5, Apr 6, 16, May 8, 12, 22, June 4, 20, 22, July 11, Aug 1, 3, 7, 13, 22, 25, 27, Sept 3, 5, 17, 18, Oct 1, 7, 8, 11, 28, Nov 13, 17, 23, 23, Dec 7, 27, 27 1934; exact date unknown: Sept [1934]; Jan 4, Feb 6, 6, 9 1935; no date: 3 letters
Richard Wilbur, Aug 4, 19 1958

Postcards and Telegram

Leonard Twynham, June 19 1934
Robert and Doris Holmes, Mar 16 1941
Dorothy Gordon, Apr 30 1942
Margaret Holmes, Sept 7 1961
Evan Holmes, Sept 7 1961
Doris Holmes (Mrs John), Sept 8 1961

Writings about Holmes

REVIEWS OF HOLMES' BOOKS

Address to the Living (R. S. S.)
Writing Poetry (Richard Armour)
The Poet's Work (Daniel Welcher)

ESSAYS ABOUT HOLMES

Hayfords, Harrison "Imagery of John Holmes"
Hitchen, Herbert "Poetry and John Holmes, Poet"
Tufts University, Department of English, presented to Tufts Faculty of Arts and Sciences: "Resolution on the Death of Professor John Holmes" (Sept 12 1962)

POEMS MENTIONING OR PARODYING HOLMES

Booth, Philip "A Fifteen Minute Footnote for John Holmes with Affectionate Apologies" (Aug 1954)
—— A parody of Holmes' poem, "Bucyrus"
Broder, Max "Waiting for Lefty (John Holmes)" (July 15 1952)
Carlisle, Thomas John "Beyond the Poem"
Ciardi, John "Elegy for an Abortive Elegy for Winfield Townley Scott, Erstwhile Esteemed Friend and Colleague, Who Churlishly Sabotaged Ten Memorable Elegiac Stanzas (Long Labored at by John Holmes and Me)"
Files, Myron "The Listener (to John Holmes with affectionate good wishes on his fiftieth birthday)" (Jan 1954)
Frication, Clara [pseud?] A parody of "Grass" by John Holmes (Feb 14 1956)
Ingalls, Jeremy "For John Holmes (after reading John Holmes' 'The Double Root')" (Jan 13 1951)
Manning, Ruth Boyd "Legend and Truth (with apologies to John Holmes)"
Murphy, Ann "Theme and Counter Theme. To Doris Holmes in memory of John Holmes"
O'Hanlon, James J. "In Answer To John Holmes' 'The Great, the Good, the Wise'" (Aug 28 1935)
Van Doren, Mark "Anger in the Room (for John and Doris Holmes)" (May 10 1961)
Zeller, Elizabeth Lee "On John Holmes Reading His Poetry" (Dec 1956)

III *Communications to and about Holmes*

LETTERS TO HOLMES

(*arranged alphabetically by correspondents*)

Mildred P. Adam (for Mrs Fiske Warren), Dec 16 1958
James Truslow Adams, Aug 31 1933
Phoebe Lou Adams, Sept 25 1953; Aug 10 1959
Conrad Aiken, Nov 7, Nov 16 1933; *Jan 8, Mar 17 1934
Alfred A. Albert, Apr 24, May 5, June 14 1961
Louise Bates Ames, July 7 1952
W. H. Auden, Nov 7 1959
Joseph Auslander, Dec 3 1958
Leonard Bacon, *Feb 21, *Mar 10, *12 1953
Joseph Bailey, June 1 1952
Eleanor Baldwin, *Mar 21 1937
Eleanor Bates, May 8 1937
Laura Benét, Nov 5, Nov 29 1958
Stephen Vincent Benét, no date
William Rose Benét, Mar 17 1929
Martha Dickinson Bianchi, Dec 21 1935
Morris Bishop, June 16 1960; *July 9 [no year]

Letters to Holmes, continued

Charles B. Blanchard, Mar 14 1954; Mar 3 1960
Duke, Blewett, June 1 1960
Robert Bly, Nov 15 1960
Louise Bogan, *June 22 1958
Harold Bond, Nov 30 1960
Philip Booth, Feb 22 1960
Louise Boyden, *Apr 19 1937
Kate Brackett, Oct 1 [1958?]; *Nov 7 1958
William Stanley Braithwaite, June 26 1929; July 28 1958
Paul Brooks, Mar 1 1960
Francis Brown, Sept 15 1959
Mrs John Bullock, Sept 14 1960; Jan 30 1961
A. S. Burack, Nov 19 1957; Aug 27 1959; Aug 2, 28, Oct 10, 17, Nov 28 1960
Jean Burden, *Sept 23 1960
O. L. Burkhart, *Aug 28 1958
Witter Bynner, Oct 24 1960
Kathleen Cannell, July 11 1957
Emile Capouya, Jan 28 1959
Leonard Carmichael, Jan 22, Apr 23 1952
Constance Carrier, [*1960?]; *no date
Dorothy C. Carter, *no date
John Ciardi, Dec 15 1956; *Feb 15, Nov 6 1958, Sept 23 1959; *Dec 2, *Dec 1960, *Feb 12 1962
Judith Ciardi (Mrs John), Oct 7, Dec 13 1956
Bertha W. Clark, Apr 18 1954
Ada A. Cole, *Mar 24 1937
William Cole, July 8, 15, Dec 3 1958
Robert P. Tristram Coffin, *Jan 4 1934
Carroll Coleman, Oct 25 1954
Elizabeth F. Cousens, *Apr 11 1954
John A. Cousens, May 28 1925; Aug 3, Dec 27 1928; Jan 11, July 13, 26, Oct 1, 5, 16, Nov 26, 27, Dec 4 1929; Feb 4, 24, Mar 24, June 9, Nov 17 1930; Jan 19, Mar 10 1931; Apr 22, Oct 3 1932; Jan 24, Mar 6, 10, Apr 3, May 8, June 29, Aug 7, 17, Oct 9, 11, Nov 26 1933; Jan 22, Feb 26, Mar 1, Apr 9, Oct 15 1934; May 24, Oct 28 1935; Jan 12, *Feb 7, Apr 8, 20, June 11, 30 1937
Charlie F. Curtis [*1959]
Alna Cutler, Sept 8, 23 1961
Gustav Davidson, Dec 4 1953; Nov 6 1958
Lambert Davis, Mar 14, May 11 1934
Clarence R. Decker, Sept 26 1957
Irving Dilliard, Apr 19 1954
James Dodd, *Aug 30 1959
Lucy Donaldson, Aug 13 1954; Nov 4 1959
Ellie Dorfman, Oct 16, 28 1959
Margery Dowd, Feb 27 1931
Elizabeth Drew, Apr 15 1959
Thomas Eames, Apr 1 1937
Dorothy Burnham Eaton, Jan 6 1958; June 27, Aug 30, Sept 12, Dec 14 1961
Louise Eaton, Aug 20 1958; Mar 10, Sept 10 1959
Richard Eberhart, Nov 6 1958; Sept 30, Oct 28 1959; no date: 1 letter
Norma Farber, Nov 5 1958; May 22 1960
Thomas Hornsby Ferril, Aug 7, *Sept 15 1952; *Sept 27 1954; Mar 4 1960
Myron Files, no date: 1 letter
Charlie May Fletcher (Mrs), July 11, 17 1952
Alva E. Flood, Sept 4, 8 1957
Rita Forenbach, Nov 27, Dec 5 1957; Nov 6 1958; Feb 18 1960
Ruth B. Fox, *Nov 24 1961
Robert Francis, Nov 6 1958; Feb 18, May 24 1960
Augusta D. Freeman, May 27 1960
Marilla W. Freeman, Apr 13 1937
Frances Frost, Nov 14, Dec 16 1958
Marion Gagan, Feb 29 1960
Robert Gaus, May 2 1958
Oliver St John Gogarty, Feb 3, Mar 29, Apr 2, *20 1946
John Gould, Sept 4 1958
Charles Green, Oct 24 1950
Robert Halsband, Apr 19, 27 1957
Joan Halsey, Apr 15 1954
Peggy Coffin Halvosa, Nov 24 1958
Alfred E. Hammill, *Feb 12 1931; *no date: 1 letter
Melvin Heller, June 28 1952
Peter Henniker-Heaton, [*1958]; May 19 1959
Robert S. Hillyer, Oct 9, Dec 29 1930; Jan 15, Mar 5 1931; *Oct 26, *Nov 25 1932; [*1932?]; Jan 24 1933; Sept 14 1947; *Nov 17 1958
Herbert Hitchen, Apr 30 1954
Daniel Hoffman, *Nov 15 1960
Edwin Honig, Nov 6 1958; Apr 24 1961
Frances Minturn Howard, Oct 17 1960
Barbara Howes, Sept 19 1959
Edward Hughes, no date: 1 letter
Hope Hunt, *Apr 23 [no year]
Harry Elmore Hurd, July 17 1933
Jeremy Ingalls, *July 9 1958; *Jan 2, *4, *14 1960
Stanley Kauffman, Mar 25 1954
Charlotte Kellogg, *Apr 6 1937
Herbert A. Kenny, Jan 23 1961
Ralph L. Kinsey, Nov 26 1956
Doris Kirk (later Mrs John Holmes), Feb 26 1948
Joseph S. Komidar, Apr 8 1958
William A. Koshland, Nov 18 1957; Mar 7 1960
Elizabeth Kray, May 23, June 13, Aug 4 1958
Maxine Kumin (Mrs), May 30 1960
Stanley J. Kunitz, *July 13, Aug 20, Sept 7, Dec 19 1933
Shirley Kupelian, Mar 1 1960
Alexander Laing, Nov 5 1958
Emerson Hugh Lalone, Apr 26 1954
Geoffrey Larson, May 21 1954

Muna Lee, Oct 27 1959; Feb 5, Apr 22 1960
Carrie Bullard Lewis, *Jan 3 1945
H. Lindaner (Mrs), *Apr 28 [no year]
Willard A. Lockwood, Mar 3, Mar 10 1960
Robert Lowell, Nov 5 1959
Russell Lynes, Mar 20 1958; May 7 1959
Catherine McCarthy, Mar 3 1960
David McCord, May 7 1954; Nov 6, 12 1958; May 21 1959; May 25 1960
Phyllis McGinley, *Jan 27 1956
Margaret McGovern, May 1 1954
Elizabeth Yates McGreal, *Apr 19 1954; June 24 1960
C. F. MacIntyre, Feb 4 1937
Rachel MacKenzie, Apr 27, May 23 1960
Ada MacLeish, *Nov 18 [no year]; no date: 1 letter
Archibald MacLeish, Nov 6 1933; Jan 13 1934; June 24, July 17 1942; Feb 6 1945; Oct 20, 23 1946; [1953], [1953], [1953]; Apr 12 1954; Jan 23 1958, [1958?]; no year: *Jan 18, *Jan 31, Apr 10, May 19, July 11, Sept 4; no date: 3 letters
Miriam Madfis, Oct 3 1960
Jean Maguire, *Apr 8 [no year]
Charles Manning, May 30 1960
Earl Marlatt, *Dec 2 1958
Harding T. Mason, Mar 17 1960
Sister Maura, July 6 1958
E. L. Mayo, Dec 12 1960
Frederic G. Melcher, Apr 15 1937
Harold Melvin, Oct 15 1961
Karl Menninger, Sept 12 1958; July 20 1959
George Michaels [Mrs?], Aug 8 1690
L. P. Middleton, Dec 6 1957
Dorothy Mill, *Oct 4 1933
Clark Mills, *Mar 3 [no year]
Marianne Moore, June 29 1956
Merrill Moore, Dec 9 1934
Christopher Morley, *Jan 14 1931; Nov 9, *28 1932; Jan 13, Sept 8 1933
Theodore Morrison, May 31 1950
Samuel French Morse, *Nov 5 [no year]
Charles W. Morton, Nov 28 1951
Elizabeth Morton (Mrs), Nov 6 1958; no date: 1 letter
Howard Moss, Oct 9, 16, 23, 27 1953; Feb 10 1961
Thomas Moult, *July 3 1930; July 16 1934
Paul Scott Mowrer, May 12 1961
Sheila Murphrey, Apr 21 1961
Ray Nash, *1952; *Nov 20, *Dec 4 1958; *May 3 1961
John F. Nims, Dec 8 1960
Elder Olson, Jan 24, Aug 8 1933
Bonaro Overstreet (Mrs H. A.), Apr 12 [no year]
Maurice E. Peloubet, Mar 3 1961
Susan Perlarth, *Nov 5 [no year]
Ruth Pitter, *Jan 15 1942
Kenneth Porter, Nov 11 1958
Idella Purnell, *Nov 19 1929; *Jan 12, *Feb 10, Mar 2 1931; Jan 4 1934
James Putnam, Mar 23 1935
Henry Rago, [1956]; July 29 1959; July 25 1960
Frances Randall, *July 3 1957; *Sept 12 1960
John Crowe Ransom, *Aug 11, Oct 18 1958
Marguerite J. Reese, Mar 3 1960
Katherine Reeves, no date: 1 letter
James M. Reid, Mar 2 1960
Sidney Reisberg, Nov 7 1956
Adrienne Rich, May 30 1960
Rebecca Richmond, May 28 1960
Theodore Roethke, *Apr 7 1958
James Rorty, Sept 24 1929; Jan 13, 21 1931; Sept 11 1932; May 15, 24 1952
Maryse Rutledge, Mar 22 1935
Robb Sagendorf, Nov 13 1958
I. L. Salomon, June 1 1960
Carl Sandburg, Aug 22, Oct 15 1942; May 3 1958, [1958]
Lew Sarett, Feb 19, *June 17, Aug 12 1931, [*1931]; Sept 8 1933
May Sarton, Apr 22 1954; Nov 4 1958
Winfield T. Scott, Feb 18, Oct 3 1960
Franziska Schacht, *Nov 18, *19, *26, *Dec 3 1958
Ralph W. Seager, June 8 1960
Karl Shapiro, Sept 14 1954
Kate L. Sharber, Aug 8 1959
Barbara P. Shuster, July 29, Aug 3, Nov 4 1960
L. R. Simmons, Sept 24 1956
William Sloane, Mar 1 1960
Charles Smith, *Mar 2 1931
Franc Smith, Dec 29 1960
Margaret D. Smith (Mrs J. W.), May 26 1958
William Jay Smith, Aug 12 1958; *Feb 25 1960
Wilbert Snow, June 27 1960
Vivian Speyer, *Dec 1 1958
George Starbuck, no date: 1 letter
D. B. Steinman, Nov 27, Dec 20 1957; June 3, Aug 11, 21, Oct 20, 27 1958; Feb 27, Mar 17, Sept 8, Sept 25 1959; Jan 11, Feb 29 1960
Eleanor B. Stock, Aug 14 1937
Marcia Stubbs, June 2 1960
A. M. Sullivan, Oct 26 1950
Jack D. Summerfield, Nov 13, 14 1958; Apr 30 1959
Alan Swenson, Feb 23 1960
Isabel Taylor, *May 23 1960
Martha B. Thomas, *no date: 1 letter
Rosemary Thomas, Oct 6, *Oct 16 1951; Jan 15 1957
Ridgley Torrance, *Sept 17 1933
Emma Gray Trigg, Nov 25 1956
Johannes Troyer, Dec 17 1951
Nancy Byrd Turner, *Nov 10, *Dec 3 1958
Louis Untermeyer, May 16, *June 3, Sept 5 1933

Letters to Holmes, continued

Wade Van Dore, no date: 1 letter
Irita Van Doren, June 17 1958
Mark Van Doren, *June 7 1960
Julia Van Norman, Nov 15 1934
Harold Vinal, Nov 18, Nov 21 1933
Deura Wallace, Apr 21 1954
Gladys Watkins, *May 25 1959
Blanche Watson, June 14 1937
Edward Weeks, Oct 9 1953; Sept 3 1954
Edward Weiss, *Aug 26, *Nov 8, *Dec 16 1951
Barbara Weitsman, Mar 2 1960
Nils Y. Wessell, *Oct 16 1959; May 31 1960
John Hall Wheelock, [1934]
Reed Whittemore, Mar 10 1960
Richard Wilbur, Feb 3 1957; *Aug 12 1958; *Dec 13 1960; *Nov 28 [no year]
Loring Williams, June 1 1960; no date: 1 letter
William Carlos Williams, Mar 5 1951; Feb 8 1957; Jan 25 1958
Elizabeth K. Wood, *Mar 22 1937
Ralph B. Wright, Mar 18 1937
Barbara Yanowski, Mar 2, Mar 15 [1959], 19 1959
Morton D. Zabel, July 7 1933
Stephen Zoll, July 23 1958

* * *

M. M. B., *no date: 1 letter
E. M. (from *The New Yorker*), Dec 12 1963
F. R. M. (from English Dept, Harvard), *Sept 1 [1931?]
C. M. W., *Apr 19 1937
Carlisle, no date: 1 letter
Ginny, June 26 [1960?]; July 2 1960
Jack (from Twayne Publishers, Inc), Oct 17 1950
No name or initials [*1960]

Postcards and Telegrams to Holmes (and Family)

Marie Bullock, Sept 18 1958
The Ciardi's, no date: 1 card
Edith Roelker Curtis, May 30 1959
Joseph McDaniel, *Mar 17 [no year]
Gustav Davidson, Nov 8 1958
Irving Dilliard, Apr 13 1954
Richard Eberhart, Dec 14 1958
Joyce Horner, *Apr 18 1954
Virginia Ireland, *1954
Van and Marjorie Johnson, no date: 1 card
Gertrude May Lutz, Apr 2 1956
David McCord, no date: 1 card
Archibald MacLeish, *Dec 31 1952
Christopher Morley, [*1932?]
Ruby Robert, *Aug 9 1958
Winfield T. Scott, Mar 10 [no year]
Isabel Taylor, *no date: 1 card
Leonard Twynham, Feb 23 1934
Irita Van Doren, Nov 18 1960
Peter Viereck, Dec 8 1960
John Hall Wheelock, *Nov 6 1958

* * *

H. M. [Harriet Monroe?] (from *Poetry*), *Aug 25 1932
Darcy, no date: 1 card

Letters by and to Other People Concerning Holmes

John A. Avery to John A. Cousens, July 21 1924
John A. Cousens to John A. Avery, July 9 1924; to John A. Holmes Sr, July 21 1924; to Ira Rich Kent, Feb 25 1929; to C. P. Houston, Apr 6 1929; to Charles Gott, Dec 4 1929; to Harold Blanchard, Feb 6 1931; to A. H. Bouton, Apr 22 1932; to Burgess Johnson, Nov 26 1932; [recommendation] [1932]; to John F. Wostrel, Mar 7 1933; to Charles Gott Oct 9 1933; [recommendation] Oct 28 1935
Charles Gott to Miss Wright, Nov 7 1928; to John A. Cousens, Dec 3 1929; to John A. Cousens, Feb 24 1934
J. Albert Holmes Sr to John A. Cousens, July 18 1924
Clarence P. Houston to John A. Cousens, Apr 8 1929
Ira Rich Kent to John A. Cousens, Feb 26 1929
Stanley J. Kunitz to Miss Louis, [1933]
Richard LeGallienne to Mrs Hainer, Jan 15 1933
Robert N. Linscott to Archibald MacLeish, Nov 9 1948
Archibald MacLeish to Robert N. Linscott, Oct 19 1929
Melville S. Munro to John A. Cousens, Feb 15 1935
Charles G. Mussell to Donald B. Snyder, May 25 1954
Nils Y. Wessell to Dr D. B. Steinman, Jan 14 1958

Letters of Close Family Members

Michael Conkey to Elizabeth Clark
Evan Holmes to J. Albert Holmes, [1958?]
Doris Holmes (Mrs John) to Marjorie Bertram Smith, *July 20 1950; to Maxine W. Kumin, *Mar 12 1961
Ruth Holmes to John Holmes and family, Aug 17 1960
Sara Holmes (Mrs John) to Doris Holmes (Mrs Robert), [*Oct 1935?], *Jan 5 [1936?], Feb 13 [1937?], [April 1937?]; to Dorothy Gordon, Aug 17 [1942?]

COMMUNICATIONS, FROM PUBLISHERS: AGREEMENTS, CONTRACTS

Appleton and Company; P. P. Faber & Faber Ltd, Sept 24 1956; Harper & Bros, Aug 5 1954; Harper & Bros, Jan 11 [1961?]; Henry Holt and Co, Mar 2 1939; Henry Holt and Co, Feb 6 1947; Houghton Mifflin Co, Aug 12 1947; Oxford University Press, June 9 1938; Scribner's Sons, Aug 1 1960; Twayne Publishers Inc, Mar 11 1950; The Writer, Inc, Sept 19 1945; The Writer, Inc, Aug 27 1949; The Writer, Inc, Aug 1 1960

NOTES CONCERNING POEMS FROM THE EDITORS OF PERIODICALS

Adelphi, Jan 1931; Feb 8 [no year]
American Poetry Journal, June 24, July 29, Oct 4, Nov 25 1933
Architectural Forum, Nov 2 1933
Atlantic Monthly, Jan 2 1931; Mar 9 1932; June 1, July 18, Nov 11 1933; Aug 10 [1933?]; Jan 25, Oct 11 1934; Mar 18 1935; no date: 1
Boston *Herald*, Aug 10 [no year]
Boston *Evening Transcript*, Aug 3 1932; Nov 9 1933
Child Life, Mar 4 1932
Christian Science Monitor, no date: 1
Commonweal, Mar 9 1932; June 16, Aug 5 1933; Jan 23 [no year]
Cornhill Magazine, no date: 1
Criterion, no date: 1
Forum, May 19, *July 10, Oct 30 1933; no year: *July 22, *July 28
Good Housekeeping, Feb 5 1932
Harper's Bazaar, Feb 28 [1933?]
Harper's Magazine, Feb 24, 25, Mar 28 1932; Mar 30, May 11, 19, Aug 14, Nov 18 1933; Aug 5 1954; July 9 1956; Mar 20 1958; May 12, Oct 23 1959
Hound and Horn, no date: 1
Kansas City Review, Apr 14 1953
Ladies Home Journal, Sept 24 1958
London *Mercury*, no date: 2
Nation, Jan 4, Apr 15 1932; May 19 1933; Feb 16 1957; Jan 21 [no year]
New English Weekly, *June 2 1933
New Republic, Nov 27 1931; Feb 8, July 28, Sept 13 1932; Jan 24, Feb 20, *June 19, July 20 1933
New Verse, no date: 1
New York *Herald Tribune Books*, Jan 12, Dec 1 1931; July 16 1932; Nov 9 1954; Feb 9, Mar 9 1955; Aug 31, Nov 9 1958; no year: Mar 24, Jan 20, Sept 18
New York *Times Magazine*, Mar 15 1950
New Yorker, June 13, 21, July 5, July 21, Nov 13 1933; Oct 1 1934; June 7 1935; Oct 14 1953; Aug 16, *Aug 26, Sept 13 1954, [*1954]; [1960], [1960]; [1961]; *Jan 21 [no year]; no date: 2
London *Observer*, Nov 7 1933
Palms, A Magazine of Poetry, [1933]
Poetry: A Magazine of Verse, Jan 9, Aug 1, Aug 20 1932; *Jan 6, *Mar 31, *Apr 17, *June 27, *Oct 9 1933; Nov 14, Dec 22 1934; *no date: 2
Saturday Review of Literature, Feb 29, Nov 16, Dec 29 1932; Jan 13, 20, Feb 7, Mar 4, June 26, Nov 17 1933; no year: Mar 2, Apr 11, Sept 26
Scribner's Magazine, Mar 3 [1933?]; Apr 30 [no year]; no date: 1
Sewanee Review, Feb 8 [no year]
Spectator, no date: 1
Think, Sept 24 1958
Vanity Fair, Oct 23 1933
Virginia Quarterly Review, Mar 9, Aug 17, Sept 14, Nov 1, 11 1933
Voices, Jan 25, Feb 16 1932; Nov 16 1933; May 17 [1933?]
World Tomorrow, Mar 13 1933
Yale Review, Jan 18, May 11, June 15, Aug 18 1933

A Check List of Writings by and about Borden P. Bowne (1847-1910)

By WARREN E. STEINKRAUS
State University College, Oswego

WITHIN a few days after Bowne's sudden death in 1910, his friend William James, then in Europe, wrote these words to Mrs Bowne: "He went before his time . . . and high as his place was in American Philosophy, it would probably have been higher still had he been spared to do more writing in the future. . . . He was brief, clear, and pithy in an outstanding degree." Bowne's role in the history of American thought and culture has not yet been fully assessed but his influence is still felt in some areas. *The Personalist*, a philosophical journal inspired by his views, is now in its fiftieth year, and the religious philosophy he espoused influenced that eminent divine Harry Emerson Fosdick and was the acknowledged viewpoint of Dr Martin Luther King, Jr.

Bowne was valedictorian of the class of 1871 at New York University and had his first book published before he was twenty-seven. In 1902, he was invited back to his *alma mater* to deliver the Deems Lectures which were later published in his twelfth book, *Theism*. Though his teaching career was at Boston University, he was for several years on the editorial board of the New York *Independent*, contributing no less than fifty-one articles to that periodical, even serving as editor of the joke column (in 1875). Later, in Boston, he joined Arthur Gilman, Henry Cabot Lodge, and others as a contributor to the *Literary World*. For eight summers, beginning in 1877, he was a popular Chautauqua lecturer, trying out sections of his future books on vacationers in the western part of New York State. He was one of the first lecturers in the American Institute of Christian Philosophy held at Greenwood Lake, N Y (in 1881). And in 1904, was named Chairman of the Philosophy section of the International Congress of Arts and Sciences held in St Louis. He wrote frequently for religious journals such as the *Methodist Review* and *Zion's Herald* and contributed at least one pamphlet used in the movement for woman suffrage. He lectured in India, China, and Japan and made such an impact on the latter country in 1905, that six of his books were translated into Japanese. His philosophical views spring primarily from the German philosopher Lotze (1817–1881) to whom he dedicated his *Metaphysics* of 1882, though he preferred to classify himself as a "personalist" or "Kantianized Berkeleian."

The books and articles listed below indicate the diversity as well as the depth of his interests. This bibliography elaborates on and expands considerably the initial work done in 1929 by my former colleague Professor C. D. W. Hildebrand of DePauw University. The research for it was made possible in part by a grant from the New York State Research Foundation. The six articles designated below as "unsigned" are judged to be Bowne's work because of internal evidence and the testimony of his biographer and close friend, Francis J. McConnell. Unfortunately there is no way of authenticating the authorship of editorials and reviews in the *Literary World* which seem to be from Bowne's hand, so none are listed.

Books

The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer (New York, Nelson & Phillips 1874, 1881; Hunt & Eaton 1902) 283 p [Includes articles 1, 3, 5 listed below]

Studies in Theism (New York, Phillips & Hunt 1879; Cincinnati, Cranston & Stowe 1907) 444 p

Metaphysics: A Study in First Principles (New York, Harper & Brothers 1882) 534 p [Includes in part articles 45 and 46]

Introduction to Psychological Theory (New York, Harper & Brothers 1886 [later printings by American Book Co]) 329 p

Philosophy of Theism (New York, Harper & Brothers 1887) 269 p [Includes articles 78, 79, 80]

Principles of Ethics (New York, Harper & Brothers 1892, 1898) 309 p

Theory of Thought and Knowledge (New York, Harper & Brothers 1897; American Book Co 1925; New York, Kraus Reprint Corp 1968) 389 p

Metaphysics (Revised Edition) (New York, Harper & Brothers 1898, 1910, 1926; Boston University Press 1943) 429 p

The Christian Revelation (Cincinnati, Curts & Jennings 1898) 107 p [Includes articles 117, 118]

The Christian Life: A Study (Cincinnati, Curts & Jennings 1899) 152 p [Includes articles 122, 123, 124, 125, 126]

The Atonement (Cincinnati, Jennings & Pye 1900) 152 p [Includes articles 128, 129, 130, 131. The preceding three books are of small size, measuring three and one-half inches by six and three-quarters. William James called them "wonderfully able rationalistic booklets."]

Theism (New York, American Book Co 1902) 323 p [The Deems Lectures at New York University; a thorough revision of *Philosophy of Theism*]

The Immanence of God (Boston, Houghton Mifflin 1905) 153 p [Includes articles 150, 151, 152]

Personalism (Boston, Houghton Mifflin 1908; Norwood, Mass, The Plimpton Press 1936) 326 p [The N. W. Harris Lectures at Northwestern University in 1906]

Studies in Christianity (Boston, Houghton Mifflin 1909) 399 p [This volume, which went through four printings, incorporates *The Christian Revelation*, *The Christian Life: A Study*, and *The Atonement* plus articles 137, 140, 147, 148]

The Essence of Religion (Boston, Houghton Mifflin 1910 [posthumous]) 298 p [Includes articles 138, 139, 142, 155, 170, 174]

Kant and Spencer: A Critical Exposition (Boston, Houghton Mifflin 1912 [posthumous]; Port Washington, NY, Kennikat Press 1967)

Translations

Japanese

Philosophy of Theism: Yushin genron tr Masahisa Uemura (Tokyo, Methodist Publishing House 1894)

The Christian Life: [Japanese title and translator unknown] (Tokyo, Methodist Publishing House 1905) [The source for this information is secondary, *Japanese Evangelist* for Oct 1905 p 331]

The Christian Revelation: Kirisutokyo tenkei ron tr Masatake Koyama (publisher unknown 1907)

Personalism: Jiu kwakuteki u choo kwan tr Mayuki Koizumi and Sidney Gulick (Ginza, Tokyo, Kyobunkwon 1912)

Theory of Thought and Knowledge: Shiko oyobi ninshiki genri tr Ginjiro Sogi (Nihon Kirisutokyo Kobun Kyokai 1915)

Theism: Yushin ron tr Masukichi Matsumoto (Kobun Kyokai 1916) [This work has also been translated by Ginjiro Sogi and exists in manuscript form in the library at Boston University. n d]

Dano-Norwegian

The Atonement: Forsoningen af Borden Parker Bowne tr H. Aschehoug (Kristiania, W. Nygaard 1906) 81 p

Spanish

Theory of Thought and Knowledge: Teoría del pensamiento y del conocimiento tr Andrés Osuna (Nashville, Smith & Lamar, Agentes Impresores 1919)

Articles

1872

1 "Herbert Spencer's Laws of the Unknowable" *New Englander* 31 (Jan 1872) 86–110 [Reprinted as Chapter 2 in *Philosophy of Herbert Spencer*]

2 "Aspects of Theism" *New Englander* 31 (July 1872) 447–468

1873

3 "Herbert Spencer's Laws of the Knowable" *New Englander* 32 (Jan 1873) 1–34 [Reprinted as Chapter 3 in *Philosophy of Herbert Spencer*]

4 "Moral Intuition vs Utilitarianism" *New Englander* 32 (Apr 1873) 217–242

5 "Herbert Spencer's Principles of Psychology" *New Englander* 32 (July 1873) 468–506 [Reprinted as Chapter 4 in *Philosophy of Herbert Spencer*]

1874

6 "Philosophy in Germany" *Independent* 26 (Jan 22 1874) 4–5

7 " 'The Old Faith and the New' by D. F. Strauss, a Review" *Methodist Review* 56 (Apr 1874) 268–296

8 "Faith and Morals" *Independent* 26 (May 14 1874) 3

9 "Ulrici's Logic" *New Englander* 33 (July 1874) 458–492

10 "The Materialistic Gust" *Independent* 26 (July 30 1874) 2–3

11 "Prof. Ulrici's *Gott und die Natur*" *New Englander* 33 (Oct 1874) 623–654

1875

12 "Immortality and Pessimism" *Independent* 27 (Jan 7 1875) 16 [Unsigned]

13 "Draper's Religion and Science" *Independent* 27 (Feb 4 1875) 10–11 [Unsigned]

14 "Of Materialism" *Independent* 27 (May 6 1875) 14–15 [Unsigned]

15 "The Religion of Childhood" *Independent* 27 (June 10 1875) 5

16 "Ulrici's God and Nature" *Independent* 27 (Dec 2 1875) 7–8 [Unsigned]

17 "Professor Tyndall on Materialism" *Independent* 27 (Dec 23 1875) 14–15 [Unsigned]

1876

18 "*The Cosmic Philosophy* by John Fiske, a Review" *Methodist Review* 58 (Oct 1876) 655–678

1877

19 "The Anti-Design Argument Stated" *Independent* 29 (March 22 1877) 1–2

20 "The Assumption of the Anti-Design Argument" *Independent* 29 (March 29 1877) 1–2

21 "The Design Argument" *Independent* 29 (July 5 1877) 2–3

22 "The Design Argument" *Independent* 29 (Aug 2 1877) 2–3

23 "The Foundations' *Chautauqua Assembly Daily Herald* 2 (Aug 23 1877) 1

24 "Postulates of Scientific Knowledge" *Chautauqua Assembly Daily Herald* 2 (Aug 24 1877) 2

25 "The Conservation of Energy" *Zion's Herald* 54 (Oct 11 1877) 321

26 "The New Logic" *Zion's Herald* 54 (Nov 5 1877) 361

27 "The 'Prayer Test' Improved" Part I: *Zion's Herald* 54 (Dec 20 1877) 401. Part II: *Zion's Herald* 54 (Dec 27 1877) 409

1878

28 "The New Gospel" *Zion's Herald* 55 (Jan 31 1878) 33

29 "Shall We Kill Our Advanced Scientists?" *Zion's Herald* 55 (Feb 21 1878) 57

30 "Relation of Ethics to Theism; or Is There Morality Without God?" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 3 (Aug 20 1878) 3, 7

31 "Chauncey Wright as a Philosopher" *New Englander* 37 (Sept 1878) 585–603

32 "Reasons for Believing that Man Has a Soul" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 3 (Oct 1878) 4

1879

33 "Scientific Conversazione" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 3 (March 1879) 1, 4–5 [Transcript of a lecture of Aug 19 1878. Stenographic report of a question and answer period included]

34 "The Divine Foreknowledge" *Zion's Herald* 56 (Mar 6 1879) 73

35 "Some Objections to Theism" *Methodist Review* 31 (Apr 1879) 224–246

36 "The 'As Ifs' of Atheism" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 4 (Sept 1879) 4

1880

37 "The Beliefs of Unbelievers" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 4 (Jan 1880) 1–3

38 "A Difficulty in the Materialistic Theory of Life" *Independent* 32 (May 20 1880) 2–3

39 "A New Aspect of Natural Selection" *Independent* 32 (July 22 1880) 2–3

40 "Ethics of Evolution" *Methodist Review* 62 (July 1880) 430–455

41 "First Lecture Lesson in Philosophy" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 5 (Aug 6 1880) 2

42 "Second Lecture Lesson in Philosophy" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 5 (Aug 7 1880) 4

43 "Third Lecture Lesson in Philosophy" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 5 (Aug 9 1880) 2

44 "Fourth Lecture Lesson in Philosophy" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 5 (Aug 16 1880) 2–3

45 "Lecture Lesson in Philosophy" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 5 (Aug 18 1880) 2–3 [Reprinted as p 403–424 in *Metaphysics*]

46 "The Process of Perception" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 5 (Aug 19 1880) 2–3 [Reprinted as p 429–448 in *Metaphysics*]

1881

47 "Some Difficulties of Modern Materialism" *Christian Philosophy Quarterly* 1 (Oct 1881) 17–28

47a "Some Difficulties of Modern Materialism" *Princeton Review* 57 (Nov 1881) 344–372 [Identical with the above item]

1882

48 "The Doctrine of Perception" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 7 (Aug 4 1882) 4

49 "The Doctrine of Perception" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 7 (Aug 7 1882) 2

50 "The Doctrine of Error" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 7 (Aug 8 1882) 4

51 "Postulates of Scientific Knowledge" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 7 (Aug 9 1882) 2

52 "Knowledge and Sentiment" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 7 (Aug 10 1882) 6

53 "The Unity of the World-Ground" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 7 (Aug 11 1882) 3, 6

54 "The World-Ground as Intelligent" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 7 (Aug 12 1882) 4–5

55 "The Argument from Design" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 7 (Aug 15 1882) 5

56 "Closing Lecture" (in two parts) *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 7 (Aug 16 1882) 3, 6; 7 (Aug 18 1882) 6

1883

57 "Evolution in Psychology" *Independent* 35 (Dec 27 1883) 1641

1884

56 "Science Must Go" *The Independent* 36 (Jan 24 1884) 98

59 "Manicheism in Advanced Thought" *Zion's Herald* 61 (Apr 23 1884) 129

60 "What is Truth?" *Independent* 36 (Sept 18 1884) 1185

61 "The Logic of Religious Belief" *Methodist Review* 66 (Oct 1884) 642–665

1885

62 "Concerning the 'Christian Consciousness' " *Independent* 37 (Jan 8 1885) 35–36

63 "Comparing Religions" *Zion's Herald* 62 (Jan 21 1885) 17

64 "'Paradise Found'" *Zion's Herald* 62 (Apr 1 1885) 97

65 "A Word About the New Education" *Independent* 37 (Apr 9 1885) 449

66 "New Departures in Education" *Christian Advocate, New York* 50 (May 28 1885) 343

67 "The College Must Go" *Zion's Herald* 62 (June 3 1885) 169

68 "Nerves as Scientists" *Independent* 37 (Aug 13 1885) 1029–1030

69 "Review: Lotze's *Microcosmus* (tr Hamilton and Jones)" *Andover Review* 4 (Oct 1885) 391–392

70 "Review: Lotze's *Microcosmus* (tr Hamilton and Jones)" *Independent* 37 (Nov 5 1885) 1422 [This review is wholly different from the preceding one]

1886

71 "Concerning Liberality" *Zion's Herald* 63 (Jan 27 1886) 25

72 "An American Philosophy" *Independent* 38 (Feb 4 1886) 134

73 "The Significance of the Body for Mental Action" *Methodist Review* 68 (March 1886) 262–272

74 "Religion in Education" *Zion's Herald* 63 (March 31 1886) 97

75 "Conn on Evolution" *Zion's Herald* 63 (June 2 1886) 169

76 "Religion in the Schools" *Zion's Herald* 63 (July 14 1886) 217

77 "The Mind Cure" *Independent* 38 (July 15 1886) 875–876

78 "Philosophy of Theism" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 11 (Aug 10 1886) 2–3, 7 [This was used as the Introduction in *Philosophy of Theism*]

79 "Unity of the World Ground" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 11 (Aug 11 1886) 2–3 [This became the first chapter of *Philosophy of Theism*]

80 "The World-Ground as Intelligent" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 11 (Aug 12 1886) 2–3 [This became the second chapter of *Philosophy of Theism*]

81 "About Tips" *Independent* 38 (Sept 2 1886) 1105

82 "Religion and Theology" *Independent* 38 (Oct 14 1886) 1296

83 "Second Probation" *Zion's Herald* 63 (Nov 10 1886) 353

84 "Some Shortcomings of the Labor Debate" *Independent* 38 (Dec 16 1886) 1619–1620

1887

85 "Realistic Philosophy" *Zion's Herald* 64 (Apr 20 1887) 121

86 "Logic and Life" *Christian Thought* 4 (May–June 1887) 401–419 [A lecture given before the American Institute of Christian Philosophy]

86a "Logic and Life" *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* 36 (Oct 1887) 723–740 [Same as preceding]

1888

87 "What is Rationalism?" *Independent* 40 (Jan 26 1888) 99–100

88 "If It Were So, What of It?" *Independent* 40 (May 24 1888) 641–642

89 "The Natural History of Atheism" *Andover Review* 10 (July–Dec 1888) 169–182

90 "Physiological Psychology" *Independent* 40 (Aug 23 1888) 1062

91 "Explanation — A Logical Study" *Methodist Review* 70 (Sept 1888) 649–665

92 "On Evolving Something from Nothing" *Independent* 40 (Oct 18 1888) 1332

93 "Theology and Reason" *Zion's Herald* 66 (Dec 19 1888) 401

1889

94 "Philosophical Idealism" *Methodist Review* 71 (May–June 1889) 395–412

95 "A=A" *The Independent* 41 (June 20 1889) 788

1890

96 "Notes on Philosophy — I The Question" *Independent* 42 (May 15 1890) 651

97 "Notes on Philosophy — II Idealism — What Is It?" *Independent* 42 (May 22 1890) 687

98 "Notes on Philosophy — III Problem of Knowledge" *Independent* 42 (June 5 1890) 772

99 "Notes on Philosophy — IV Problem of Knowledge" *Independent* 42 (June 12 1890) 806–807

100 "Notes on Philosophy — V Space and Time as Ideal" *Independent* 42 (June 26 1890) 871–872

101 "Notes on Philosophy — VI Skepticism" *Independent* 42 (July 10 1890) 952–953

102 "Notes on Philosophy — VII Pantheism" *Independent* 42 (July 24 1890) 1018–1019

103 "Notes on Philosophy — VIII Natural and Supernatural" *Independent* 42 (July 31 1890) 1050–1051

104 "Notes on Philosophy — IX The Fallacy of the Universal" *Independent* 42 (Aug 21 1890) 1155

'05 "Cardinal Newman and Science" *Independent* 42 (Oct 9 1890) 1401–1402

1892

106 "The Press Exclusion Law" *Christian Advocate, New York* 57 (Jan 28 1892) 50 [A letter Bowne wrote opposing the presence of the press at executions in New York State]

1893

107 "Science, Ignorance and Religion" *Independent* 45 (Feb 2 1893) 137–138

108 "Evolution *and* Evolution" *Methodist Review* 75 (Sept–Oct 1893) 681–696

109 "Some Popular Mistakes Respecting Evolution" *Methodist Review* 75 (Nov–Dec 1893) 849–866

1894

110 "The Value of Logic — I The Logical Habit" *Christian Advocate, New York* 59 (Dec 13 1894) 811

111 "The Value of Logic — II Facts and Theories" *Christian Advocate, New York* 59 (Dec 20 1894) 827

1895

112 "The Value of Logic — III The Deceit of Words" *Christian Advocate, New York* 60 (Jan 13 1895) 3–4

113 "The Natural and the Supernatural" *Methodist Review* 77 (Jan 1895) 9–24

114 "Balfour's *The Foundations of Belief*" *Zion's Herald* 73 (May 1 1895) 274

115 "The Speculative Significance of Freedom" *Methodist Review* 77 (Sept 1895) 681–697

1896

116 "Faith in Our Immortality" *Independent* 48 (Apr 2 1896) 439

117 "The Christian Revelation" *Zion's Herald* 74 (June 10 1896) 374 [Reprinted in part in *The Christian Revelation*]

1898

118 "The Inerrancy of the Scriptures" *Zion's Herald* 76 (Jan 5 1898) 7 [Used in a modified form in *The Christian Revelation*]

119 "Ethical Legislation by the Church" *Methodist Review* 80 (May 1898) 370–386

120 "Divine Immanence" *Independent* 50 (June 30 1898) 841

121 "Distinguo" *Independent* 50 (Sept 8 1898) 695–697

1899

122 "Studies in the Christian Life I" *Zion's Herald* 77 (Jan 18 1899) 78–79 [This article and the next four were published together in *The Christian Life* (1899) and then incorporated into *Studies in Christianity* (1909)]

123 "Studies in the Christian Life II" *Zion's Herald* 77 (Jan 25 1899) 108–109

124 "Studies in the Christian Life III" *Zion's Herald* 77 (Feb 1 1899) 142–143

125 "Studies in the Christian Life IV" *Zion's Herald* 77 (Feb 8 1899) 172–173

126 "Studies in the Christian Life V" *Zion's Herald* 77 (Feb 15 1899) 206–207

127 "Secularism and Christianity" *Methodist Review, South* 48 (1899) 203–217

128 "The Atonement: I" *Zion's Herald* 77 (July 26 1899) 942–943 [This article and the next three were published in *The Atonement*]

129 "The Atonement: II" *Zion's Herald* 77 (Aug 9 1899) 1006–1007

130 "The Atonement: III" *Zion's Herald* 77 (Aug 16 1899) 1038–1039

131 "The Atonement: IV" *Zion's Herald* 77 Aug 23 1899) 1072–1073

132 "Comments on Dr. Steele's Paper" *Zion's Herald* 77 (Oct 4 1899) 1265

1900

133 "Aberrant Moralizers" *Methodist Review* 82 (March 1900) 247–261

134 "Thoughts for the Present Distress in Matters Biblical" (in two parts) *Zion's Herald* 78 (March 7 1900) 298–300; 78 (March 14 1900) 331–333

135 "What Is Faith Respecting the Scriptures?" *Independent* 52 (Aug 19 1900) 919–921

136 "What Is 'Special Creation'?" *Independent* 52 (Nov 8 1900) 2684–2686

137 "The Incarnation" *Zion's Herald* 78 (Dec 19 1900) 1631–1632 [Reprinted as part of *Studies in Christianity*]

137a "The Incarnation" *Japan Weekly Mail* (Yokohama) 44 (Oct 7 1905) 392–394 [Identical with preceding entry]

1901

138 "Prayer" *Zion's Herald* 79 (March 20 1901) 363–365 [Reprinted as Chapter VI of *The Essence of Religion*]

139 "The Supremacy of Christ" *Zion's Herald* 79 (June 5 1901) 714–716 [Reprinted as Chapter I of *The Essence of Religion*]

139a "The Supremacy of Christ" *Methodist Review* 92 (Nov–Dec 1910) 881–889 [Printed posthumously. Same as preceding entry]

140 "Christian Casuistry" *Zion's Herald* 79 (Sept 4 1901) 1131–1133 [Reprinted as part of Chapter V of *Studies in Christianity*]

1902

141 "Queries Respecting the New Psychology" *Independent* 54 (July 10 1902) 1633–1634

1903

142 "Obedience the Test of Discipleship" *Zion's Herald* 81 (Jan 7 1903) 10–11 [Reprinted as Chapter IX of *The Essence of Religion*]

143 "Supernatural in Religion" *Zion's Herald* 81 (Jan 14 1903) 42–43

144 "As to Miracles" *Independent* 55 (Jan 15 1903) 150–152

145 "Religious Experience" *Zion's Herald* 81 (Jan 21 1903) 74–75

146 "The Recession of Mechanism" *Independent* 55 (Jan 29 1903) 245–248

147 "Childhood Piety" *Zion's Herald* 81 (Feb 4 1903) 138–139 [Reprinted as part of Chapter III of *Studies in Christianity*]

148 "But Are They Converted?" *Zion's Herald* 81 (Mar 11 1903) 301–302 [Reprinted as part of Chapter III of *Studies in Christianity*]

149 [Tribute to Randolph S. Foster] *Zion's Herald* 81 May 6 1903) 555

150 "The Supernatural and Nature" *Zion's Herald* 81 (Oct 7 1903) 1270–1271 [Reprinted as part of Chapter I of *The Immanence of God*]

151 "The Supernatural and the Bible" *Zion's Herald* 81 (Oct 14 1903) 1302–1303 [Reprinted as part of Chapter III of *The Immanence of God*]

152 "The Supernatural and Religion" *Zion's Herald* 81 (Oct 21 1903) 1334–1335 [Reprinted as part of Chapter IV of *The Immanence of God*]

1904

153 "Spencer's Nescience" *Independent* 56 (Jan 14 1904) 67–81

154 "Spencer's Agnosticism" *Zion's Herald* 82 (Jan 20 1904) 77–78 [Abridged from the preceding article]

155 "Law of Successful Living" *Zion's Herald* 82 (June 15 1904) 748–749, 758–759 [Reprinted as Chapter XI in *The Essence of Religion*]

156 "Mr. Spencer's Philosophy" *Methodist Review* 86 (July 1904) 513–531

157 "Herbert Spencer and Religion" *The Homiletic Review* 48 (July 1904) 19–24

158 "Address in Behalf of the University Faculties" *Zion's Herald* 82 (Nov 2 1904) 1392–1393

159 "A Remarkable Book" *Zion's Herald* 82 (Nov 30 1904) 1518–1519

159a Review: Byron Palmer's *God's White Throne* *Bostonia* 5 (Jan 1905) 18 [An eleven-line paragraph excerpted from the preceding article]

160 "Progress of the Last Twenty Five Years in Religious Thought" *Homiletic Review* 48 (Dec 1904) 408–413

1905

161 "The Value of Philosophy in Education" *Christian Advocate, New York* 80 (Aug 3 1905) 1216–1217

162 "The Divine Immanence" *Christian Advocate, New York* 80 (Sept 14 1905) [Although this has the same title as item 120 above, it is entirely different]

163 "The Philosophical Outlook" *in* Howard Rogers, ed *Congress of Arts and Science* I (Boston, Houghton Mifflin 1905) 171–172 [Opening address at the Congress of Arts and Science in St Louis, Sept 20 1904]

1906

164 "The Passing of Mechanical Naturalism" *Homiletic Review* 51 (Jan 1906) 16–20

165 "Address" *Zion's Herald* 84 (Nov 21 1906) 1483–1484 [Bowne's report of his trip to the Orient in 1905]

1907

166 "One of the World's Heroes" *Youth's Companion* 81 (Jan 3 1907) 8 [Unsigned. Report of Bowne's visit to Bishop Schereschewsky in Tokyo in October 1905]

1908

167 "Philosophy of Christian Science" *Christian Advocate, New York* 83 (March 19 1908) 450–451

167a "Philosophy of Christian Science" *Christian Advocate, New York* 83 (Apr 3 1908) 665 [Verbatim copy of preceding but in smaller type]

167b *Philosophy of Christian Science* (New York, Abingdon Press 1908, reprinted March 1909 and Jan 1915) [A ten-page pamphlet exactly the same as the preceding]

1909

168 "Darwin and Darwinism" *Hibbert Journal* 8 (1909–1910) 122–138

169 "Morals and Life" *Methodist Review* 91 (Sept 1909) 708–722

170 "Religion and Life" *in* R. Scott and W. C. Stiles, eds *Modern Sermons by World Scholars* II (New York, Funk & Wagnalls 1909) 15–30 [Reprinted as Chapter II of *The Essence of Religion*]

171 "Gains for Religious Thought in the Last Generation" *Hibbert Journal* 8 (1909–1910) 884–893

171a "Gains for Religious Thought in the Last Generation" *Living Age* 266 (Aug 20 1910) 451–456 [Identical with the preceding. Printed posthumously as the lead article]

1910

172 "Present Status of the Argument for Life After Death" *North American Review* 191 (Jan 1910) 96–104

173 "Address to the Methodist Social Union" *Zion's Herald* 88 (March 2 1910) 267–270

174 "The Ressurrection" *The Homiletic Review* 59 (March 1910) 183–186 [One in a series of opinions. Reprinted, with a different ending, as Chapter XII in *The Essence of Religion*]

174a "Why I Believe in the Resurrection of Jesus Christ" *Zion's Herald* 88 (March 23 1910) 364 [A single paragraph excerpted from the preceding]

175 "Jesus or Christ?" *Methodist Review* 92 (March–Apr 1910) 177–193

176 "Concerning Miracle" *Harvard Theological Review* 3 (Apr 1910) 143–166

177 "Woman and Democracy" *North American Review* 191 (Apr 1910) 527–536

178 *A Man's View of Woman Suffrage* A pamphlet of seven unnumbered pages (n p 1910) [Apparently issued by the National American Suffrage Association. Copy in The New York Public Library and in Library of Congress]

Posthumous

179 "This Mortal Shall Put on Immortality" *Zion's Herald* 89 (Apr 13 1910) 449 [Portion of address given at the funeral of Henry B. Blackwell by Bowne some time earlier]

180 "Present Status of the Conflict of Faith" *Methodist Review* 105 (May 1922) 358–369

181 "The Passing of Educational Fiatism" *Personalist* 4 (Apr 1923) 77–89

Other Items

Summaries of three lectures: Moralization of Life," "Morals and Religion," and "Logic and Life" *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* 20 (July 24 1895) 3

"Some Bowne Epigrams from a College Notebook" *Personalist* 1 (July 1920) 68 [From the notebook of the Rev Frank Chase]

[A Funeral Prayer by Bowne] *in* F. J. McConnell *Borden Parker Bowne* (New York, Abingdon 1929) 224–225

"The Religion of the Future" Reported notes from an address given by Bowne at Bombay University in 1906 [From A. W. Mell *in* F. J. McConnell *Borden Parker Bowne* New York, Abingdon 1929) 261]

"From an Old Notebook" *Personalist* 34 (Autumn 1953) 372–379 [Bowne on the History of Philosophy from dictated lecture notes of F. W. Adams, W. E. Steinkraus, ed]

Selected List of Books and Articles about Bowne

Books and Dissertations

Fránquiz, José A. *Borden Parker Bowne's Treatment of the Problem of Change and Identity* (Rio Padras, P. R., University of Puerto Rico 1942)

Hildebrand, Carrol D. W. *Borden Parker Bowne's Teaching Concerning the Speculative Significance of Freedom* unpublished dissertation, Boston University, 1929

Jones, Gilbert H., *Lotze und Bowne: Eine Vergleichung ihrer philosophischen Arbeit* (Weida, Thomas & Hubert 1909)

Lazarus, Frederick *The Metaphysics of Ramanuja and Bowne* (Bombay, Chetana 1962)

Knudson, Albert C. *The Philosophy of Personalism* (New York, Abingdon Press 1927) [An exposition of Bowne's views in historical perspective]

McConnell, Francis J. *Borden Parker Bowne* (New York, Abingdon Press 1929) [The only biography of Bowne]

Pyle, Charles B. *The Philosophy of Borden P. Bowne and its Application to the Religious Problem* (Columbus, Ohio, S. F. Harriman 1910) [Preface by Washington Gladden]

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The gentleman presiding on our cover has obviously left the tea and matinees — and the mooning/ballooning adventures — of his youth behind (see Mrs England's "Haymarket" essay in this issue for an account of those earlier theatrical seasons). "King of the Garrick Club" is an undated sketch by William Makepeace Thackeray, one of the many illustrations in the forthcoming Berg Collection exhibition, "Pen and Brush: The Author as Artist." Thackeray, professional author and professional artist, holds the prominent position in the exhibition, with over ninety of his caricatures, sketches, and finished drawings being shown. The second half of the exhibition brings together the works of thirty-eight author-artists from William Blake to Denton Welch: some (Kipling, Hardy) professionals in both fields, others amateurs in art. One can see Kipling's Tigers, and Blake's Human Form Divine, Conrad's dancing girls and Shaw's motor car, writers looking at landscapes — and at themselves in the mirrors of their imagination or, in Dylan Thomas' case, in the mirror of the Wheatsheaf Tavern, London. For those who cannot visit the Library, we will be publishing a handsome, richly illustrated catalogue on Opening Day, October 2 — see Front Matter; copies will be available at $3 in our Sales Shops and may be ordered by mail (orders under $10 and those from outside the United States must be accompanied by check or money order).

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CENTRAL LIBRARY UNIVERSITY

Front Matter

Bouquets

Our Central Building at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street and our neighbor Bryant Park, always an oasis of green amid some of the city's busiest streets, will burst into late bloom on October 2, Opening Day of the First Annual Bryant Park Flower Show. Exhibitors will fill the park with flowers of all varieties and with displays of horticultural interest — from the science of begonia propagation to the art of bonsai. Honorary Chairman of the show is Mrs John V. Lindsay; and Mrs John E. Lockwood is Presiding Chairman.

On Opening Day the Library will bring out some of its own flowers in a building-wide exhibition of manuscripts, prints, and rare or scientific books showing the role flowers and plants have played in our cultural heritage over the years. An invitational Opening Night Gala will be held as a benefit for the privately-supported Research Libraries.

NYPL Publications

John Quinn; An Exhibition to Mark the Gift of the John Quinn Memorial Collection. By Harvey Simmonds. Illus. Paper; 22 pages; 50 cents. Second printing.

This catalogue, reprinted from the November 1968 *Bulletin*, was cited in the *Times Literary Supplement* as a "quiet but extremely impressive account" of the exhibition honoring the New York lawyer who was such a resourceful patron of the arts and letters during the early part of this century.

Old-Fashioned Type Specimens. Robinson-Pforzheimer Collection. Fifth edition. Broadside. $1.

The Library's best-selling publication is once again reprinted and available for the use and delight of "those engaged in the professions of graphic and advertising design as well as typophiles and laymen." Some of the types are used in "Front Matter" titles this month.

The Bible in English Drama; An Annotated List of Plays Including Translations from Other Languages from the Beginnings to 1931. Compiled by Edward D. Coleman. Second printing. With "A Survey of Recent Major Plays" by Isaiah Sheffer. Published in cooperation with Ktav Publishing House, Inc. Cloth; xiii, 212 pages; $6.95.

This reprinting of the standard bibliography includes a new critical introduction discussing a number of important plays which have appeared since 1931.

Forthcoming

Pen & Brush: The Author as Artist; An Exhibition in the Berg Collection of English and American Literature. By Lola L. Szladits and Harvey Simmonds. Paper; 64 pages; 55 illustrations; $3. October 2.

The new Berg Collection exhibition will present authors in their dual rôle as artist (professional or incidental), their work ranging from serious portraits and landscapes to informal and amusing cartoons and self-caricatures. *Pen & Brush* is a catalogue identifying and describing each item, with a running commentary on the author/artists, and it is filled with reproductions that make a delightful parade of their images: from Elizabeth Barrett's portrait of "Flush" to Ronald Firbank's "Sister Ecclesia." Half the book is devoted to Thackeray; twenty-six drawings represent him in four capacities — Portraitist, Caricaturist, Illustrator, and Traveler. One of the most striking illustrations by contemporary authors is a self-portrait by Henry Miller, drawn in bold strokes on the wrapper of the corrected typescript of his *Remember to Remember.*

Three Unnoticed Companion Essays to Donne's "An Essay of Valour"

By DENNIS FLYNN
The Sudbury Valley School

I

SEVERAL PROBLEMS of bibliography, literary criticism, and history are suggested by John Donne's contributions to that outpouring of "characters" and witty essays by the friends of Sir Thomas Overbury appended in growing numbers to posthumous editions of the latter's poem "A Wife" beginning in 1614.[1] Donne's "Newes from the very Countrey" first appeared over the initials "I.D." in the second edition (1614). In the eleventh edition (1622), "An Essay of Valour" and "The True Character of a Dunce" were printed anonymously. As Evelyn Simpson points out, "In 1622 Donne was a dignitary of the Church, and it is unlikely that he would have wished to see these witty trifles in print."[2] Simpson speculates that the printer of the eleventh edition of "A Wife," Henry Seile, had access to a manuscript containing some of Donne's early prose pieces. (Seile subsequently printed Donne's *Iuvenilia* in 1633.) It seems likely, as Simpson conjectures, that all of these three pieces were written around the time of Overbury's death, as well as the closely related "Character of a Scot at the First Sight." Seile could certainly not have printed this piece in 1622 while a Stuart was on the throne.[3] In fact it was not printed until the Interregnum in the 1652 edition of Donne's *Paradoxes, Problems, Essayes, Characters*, put together by John Donne, Jr. It is primarily on the basis of this edition, which also included "An Essay of Valour" and "The True Character of a Dunce," that modern editors have attributed these pieces to Donne.

[1] Overbury was friend and adviser to the Earl of Somerset, King James' favorite during this period. Overbury was poisoned in the Tower, an event precipitated by his opposition to Somerset's proposed marriage to Frances Howard. "A Wife" came out in 1614 within a few months of his death, went through eleven printings by 1622, and was finally engulfed by a total of eighty-two appended essays and characters.

[2] *The Prose Works of John Donne* (Oxford 1948) 136.

[3] Evelyn Simpson "John Donne and Sir Thomas Overbury's 'Characters'" *Modern Language Review* XVIII (1923) 415. Simpson made no statement about the specifically impolitic features of this character, nor commented on the details of the sketch which suggest that it was written from personal observation about a particular person on a particular occasion. I have set forth my theory that the piece is actually a caricature of King James himself in my thesis, "John Donne's Religious Development, 1601–1610" (Columbia University 1969) 135–139.

Donne's characters and essays have received less attention from critics than have his Paradoxes and Problems. Like the latter they are, as Simpson calls them, "witty trifles," doubtless written not primarily for publication but to be circulated in manuscript among Donne's friends and acquaintances. As such they bear a close relationship to the other Overburian trifles, most of them anonymous in the editions, but conjecturally assigned to various authors on the grounds of subscribed initials or internal evidence. Speaking of the difficulties of attributing these pieces, J. W. Paylor wrote,

> The question of assigning authors to the anonymous contributions of the *Overburian Characters* presents a vexing problem. So many of them were the casual product of some wit's idle fancy. Their composition, consisting of a string of isolated sentences in a set style, often offers little internal evidence which may serve to suggest a common authorship.[4]

Nevertheless, F. L. Lucas was able to find internal evidence of John Webster's authorship of thirty-three of the eighty-two pieces, and Paylor himself argued that Thomas Dekker wrote six of them.[5] Regarding the pieces contributed by Donne, we may be grateful that John Donne, Jr identified them as his father's, for otherwise there is little that would lead us to ascribe them to him.

These considerations are prompted by the discovery of three additional pieces closely related to "An Essay of Valour" — so closely related as to suggest the possibility of a common authorship. No writer on Donne has mentioned these essays as far as I know. They were first printed in 1651 along with "An Essay of Valour" in *Cottoni Posthuma*, a collection of Sir Robert Cotton's papers made after his death by James Howell.[6] The appearance of "An Essay of Valour" in this volume was noted by Evelyn Simpson, but she made no reference to the three essays which also appear there as companion pieces. Simpson merely mentioned in a footnote that R. E. Bennett had called her attention to the fact that "An Essay of Valour" was printed in *Cottoni Posthuma* under the title "Valour Anatomiz'd in a Fancie by Sir Philip Sidney." Simpson explained this attribution to Sidney as an accident:

[4] *The Overburian Characters*, Percy Reprints XIII (Oxford 1936) p xvi. Before Paylor's edition the Overburian characters had been reprinted in Edward F. Rimbault's *The Miscellaneous Works in Prose and Verse of Sir Thomas Overbury, KNT* (London 1856).

[5] *The Overburian Characters* p xvii-xxv. See also *The Complete Works of John Webster* ed F. L. Lucas, 4 vols (New York 1937) IV 10–14.

[6] *Cottoni Posthuma*, reprinted in 1672 and 1679, was re-edited in 1884 at Edinburgh by Edmund Goldsmid. However Goldsmid unaccountably omitted the final pieces in the volume, among them those in question here.

> Evidently Sir Robert Cotton had possessed a transcript of Donne's essay, and this was found among his papers after his death, and by some accident Sidney's name was appended to it.[7]

The three companion essays are printed under the title "Sir Francis Walsingham's Anatomizing of Honesty, Ambition, and Fortitude." However, the satiric tenor of all four essays marks them as witty trifles unworthy of their purported authors. Apparently neither Bennett nor Simpson paid close attention to the "Walsingham" essays, but the discovery of these essays now requires a review of "An Essay of Valour" and its false ascription to Sidney, as well as a close study of the new essays which may actually have been written by Donne.

II

The only evidence supporting the attribution of "An Essay of Valour" to Donne is the fact that John Donne, Jr included it in his 1652 edition of Donne's *Paradoxes, Problemes, Essayes, Characters*. This evidence has always been accepted without question; in any case the essay certainly was not written by Sidney. William Ringler, discussing works falsely attributed to Sidney, wrote about this essay that "the prose style is clearly seventeenth century and quite unlike Sidney's." [8] And Simpson observed that the essay's "cynical, anti-chivalrous tone is characteristic of Donne, and quite foreign to Sidney." [9] We may, despite its puzzling appearance in *Cottoni Posthuma*, safely ascribe the essay to Donne as have all his critics and editors since John Donne, Jr.

Moreover, Simpson is probably correct in her conjecture that the essay's appearance in *Cottoni Posthuma* derives simply from the event that among Cotton's papers was a manuscript copy of Donne's essay. It is even possible that Donne himself had given Cotton a copy of his essay, for the two men had been acquainted since Donne's years (1597–1601) in the employ of

[7] *The Prose Works of John Donne* 135, note 1.

[8] "Poems Attributed to Sir Philip Sidney" *Studies in Philology* XLVII (1950) 140. As Ringler points out, Anthony à Wood was somehow able to entertain conjecture that the essay belonged among Sidney's works. In listing these he includes "*An Essay upon Valour*, so I find it mention'd in *Cottoni Posthuma*, yet others say it was written by Sir Thom. Overbury. Quaere?" See *Athenae Oxonienses* ed Philip Bliss, 5 vols (London 1813) I 521.

Ringler also addresses himself to a poem entitled "Wooing-Stuffe" which follows the valour essay in *Cottoni Posthuma* and is also signed "Philip Sidney": "The neat epigrammatic style of the poem, too, has the sound of a later period and has no parallel in Sidney's authentic work. . . . Howell probably added Sidney's name to the verses because it would attract sales; the poem is clearly by another and later hand." ("Poems Attributed to Sir Philip Sidney" 140.) Concerning Howell's role as editor see below, p 427.

[9] *The Prose Works of John Donne* 135, note 1.

Lord Keeper Thomas Egerton. They had been fellow members of Parliament in 1601, and during the period 1602–1604 Donne addressed several letters to Cotton.[10] In the years when Donne's Overburian trifles appear to have been written, both men were members of a small circle of Court wits who met periodically at the Miter and Mermaid taverns.[11] Since Donne is known to have distributed manuscripts of his writings to his friends, it is not unlikely that Cotton could have received such a copy directly from Donne and saved it. If this were so it might help explain why the text of "Valour Anatomiz'd in a Fancie" is free from numerous obvious corruptions which mar the texts of both Seile's anonymous printing in 1622 and John Donne, Jrs version in 1652.[12]

But if Simpson is correct about Cotton's having owned a copy of the essay, it is not so easy to accept her suggestion that the attribution to Sidney was an accident. Assuming that James Howell, Cotton's editor, found Donne's essay among Cotton's papers, he either added the attribution to Sidney or printed the essay as he found it. Possibly Howell did not realize that the essay was Donne's, but he probably did not believe it was Sidney's either. William Ringler believed Howell capable of adding Sidney's name "because it would attract sales" (see footnote 8 above). However, this motive seems unrealistic; and in any case Howell's preface states that all the writings in the book are Cotton's. He repeatedly refers to "the author," and the title of the preface refers to "these following Discourses, and their Author." Howell also lists "Valour Anatomiz'd in a Fancie by Sir Philip Sidney" in his table of contents without singling it out or setting it off in any way from authentic works by Cotton; [13] such a procedure hardly indicates that he wanted to capitalize on Sidney's name. On the contrary, he seems to have thought that Cotton himself had both written the essay and, for reasons of his own, ascribed it to Sidney. Had Howell believed that Sidney, or for that matter Donne, was the true author, he would undoubtedly have mentioned this belief in his preface, not so much to attract sales perhaps, as to show himself a learned and careful editor. The evidence points to the conclusion that Howell printed the essay as he found it.

[10] See Edmund Gosse *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, 2 vols (Gloucester, Mass 1959) I 108–109, 123–126.

[11] See I. A. Shapiro "The Mermaid Club" *Modern Language Review* XLV (1950) 9–11.

[12] All modern editions unfortunately ignore superior 1651 readings in favor of the 1622 text, with the result that "An Essay of Valour" seems unnecessarily obscure in several places. For examples, see below, p 428–429.

[13] *Cottoni Posthuma* 5–8.

Again, if we assume with Simpson that Cotton had a copy of the essay among his papers, is it possible that Cotton himself added the attribution to Sidney, or did he preserve the essay as he had received it? Having received it either from Donne himself or from some intermediary, Cotton almost certainly would have known that the essay was Donne's rather than Sidney's. It is again unlikely that Cotton attributed the essay to Sidney, particularly if he was aware that Donne was the author. Unless we presume that Cotton, for some reason, altered this text, the evidence leads us to believe that he too preserved Donne's essay as he had received it.

On the basis of evidence available, the only other person we can connect with the copy of the essay Simpson thought Howell found among Cotton's papers is Donne. Simpson was more willing to believe that Sidney's name was appended by accident rather than by Donne. However, the most natural explanation for the attribution to Sidney is to suppose (as Howell seems to have done) that it was appended by the author.

A possible motive for this false attribution is suggested by the essay itself, which deals satirically with two subjects closely connected with Sidney's name: love and valor. The preposterous argument of "An Essay of Valour" is that valor and a reputation for valor are chiefly worthwhile as means for bringing a lady to bed:

> I am of opinion, that nothing is so potent either to procure, or merit Love, as Valour, and I am glad I am so, for thereby I shall doe myselfe much ease.[14]

Satisfied in his opinion, the essayist intends to "procure" his "ease" by overawing women with his valor. No mention is made here of the positively chivalrous values traditionally associated with military prowess. Instead the essay develops a characteristically cynical attitude reminiscent of the "masculine perswasive force" of some of Donne's love poetry:

> Valour towards Men, is an Emblem of Ability, towards Women, a Good quality signifying a better.[15]

Not only has valor this power of suggestion, but it gives the "man of armes" an ample endowment of boldness, so that "void of ceremonie" he will not be ashamed to proposition:

[14] *The Complete Poetry and Selected Prose of John Donne* ed Charles M. Coffin (New York 1952) 299. All quotations here from "An Essay of Valour," except those noted from *Cottoni Posthuma*, are from this edition (based on the 1622 text).

[15] *Cottoni Posthuma* 323. The cryptic text of the modern editions reads: ". . . valour towards men, is an Emblem of an Ability towards women, a good quality signifies a better. . . ."

> only by our pale asking, wee teach them to deny. And by our shamefac'tnesse, wee put them in minde to be modest: whereas indeed it is cunning Rhetoricke to perswade the hearers that they are that already, which he would have them to be. This kinde of bashfulnesse is far from men of valour. . . .

A soldier will not, indeed, take no for an answer, since he knows that "women are given to dissemble." The valiant essayist looks with scorn on the popular image of a lover:

> To be accounted handsome, just, learned, and well-favoured, all this carries no danger with it. But it is better to be admitted to the title of Valiant acts: at least that imports the venturing of Mortality; and all Women delight to hold him safe in their Armes who hath escaped thither through many dangers.[16]

In fact, "these little striplings with little legs" who pass for lovers are scorned even by women:

> So then these neat Youths, these Women in Mens Apparell, are too near a Woman to be beloved of her; they be both of a Trade, but he [the man of valor] of grim aspect; and such a one a lasse dares take, and will desire him for Newness and Variety.[17]

All the recognized qualities of lovers take a lower place than valor in the essayist's estimation. He debunks successively "a good face, wit, cloathes, or a good body," showing in each case the superiority of valor for procuring love. For example,

> There is no cloathes sit so well in a woman's eye, as a Suit of steele, though not of the fashion, and no man so soone surpriseth a womans affections, as he that is the subject of all whispering, and hath allwaies twenty stories of his owne deedes depending upon him.

Considering Sidney's reputation as a lover and as a soldier, it is hard to think that his name's appearance with this essay was an accident rather than a purposeful stroke of wit. It seems more likely that Donne, with characteristic irreverence, intended to heighten the absurdity of the essay by ascribing it to the paragon of sixteenth-century English chivalry.

[16] *Ibid* 324. The modern editions and that of 1622 read: "Too bee counted handsome, just, learned, or well-favoured; all this carries no danger with it, but it is to be admitted to the title of valiant Acts, at least the venturing of his mortality, and al women take delight. . . ."

[17] *Ibid* 325. The modern editions, following that of 1622, read: ". . . and such a one a Glass dares take. . . ."

III

Additional light is thrown on the attribution of "An Essay of Valour" to Sidney by the three related essays included in Howell's *Cottoni Posthuma.* Immediately following "Valour Anatomiz'd in a Fancie by Sir Philip Sidney" Howell printed "Sir Francis Walsingham's Anatomizing of Honesty, Ambition, and Fortitude." These three essays, like their companion piece, are listed anomalously amidst Cotton's antiquarian treatises in Howell's table of contents. This table follows the preface stating that all the writings in the book are Cotton's. Evidently the manuscripts Howell found among Cotton's papers included three more essays, and he published them too as he had found them. In Howell's view Cotton had written all four essays, ascribed the first to Sidney, and ascribed the other three to Walsingham.

We do not know what interpretation Howell placed on these attributions beyond his apparent belief that they were false and made up by Cotton. We do know that the attribution to Sidney is in fact false, though probably made up by Donne rather than by Cotton. However, it is not certain immediately that the attribution to Walsingham is false because the true authorship of these essays is in doubt. The essay attributed to Sidney is Donne's, according to his son, whose judgment in this matter has not been questioned. But the other three essays had never been published before *Cottoni Posthuma* and were never published anywhere else subsequently. Two theories have been put forward about the authorship of the three essays attributed to Walsingham. Howell, as we have seen, probably believed that they were Cotton's. Conyers Read, Walsingham's modern biographer, believed that Walsingham himself might have written them. Neither of these theories is well founded, and both are open to question in the light of information unknown to or overlooked by Howell and Read.

Howell's theory rests on his tacit presumption that essays found among Cotton's papers must have been written by Cotton. This would normally be a reasonable presumption; it is evidently correct about most of the sixteen pieces included in *Cottoni Posthuma.* All other things being equal, we should have no question about Howell's reasoning. But Donne wrote the essay attributed to Sidney, and, since the Walsingham essays are companion pieces to Donne's essay, this calls Howell's opinion into question. Howell's theory is also weakened by the fact that all four essays differ widely in style, subject, and purpose from every other piece in *Cottoni Posthuma* — and, in fact, from all of Cotton's works. Cotton wrote heavily researched treatises on various historical problems. Examples of his work

included in *Cottoni Posthuma* are: "A Relation of Proceedings against Ambassadors who have miscarried themselves, and exceeded their Commissions," "That the Soveraigns Person is required in Parliament in all Consultations and Conclusions," and "A Discourse of the Legality of Combats, Duels, or Camp-fight." Cotton is not known to have written any satirical essays "anatomizing" moral concepts. Without any evidence other than the fact that the essays attributed to Walsingham were apparently found among Cotton's papers, it is doubtful that they were written by Cotton as Howell supposed.

Conyers Read's theory, that Walsingham may actually have written the essays attributed to him, is even more doubtful, particularly in view of the fact that it apparently rests mainly on Read's misunderstanding of Howell. Mr Read overlooked Howell's statement in his preface that all the pieces in the book are by Cotton; further, Read took the attribution to Walsingham in the table of contents as a statement by Howell to the effect that Walsingham was the true author of the essays. Read states his own theory as follows:

> There is no evidence, except Howell's statement, that the essays were actually written by Walsingham, but there is on the other hand no valid reason for questioning their authenticity, apart from the fact that they are unique surviving examples of this kind of writing from Walsingham's pen.[18]

But had Howell in fact believed that Walsingham was the author of these essays, he would probably have called attention to this belief in his preface otherwise defining the content of the book as Cotton's work. Read's theory is canceled out by the implication of Howell's preface.

If we accept on Read's authority that (apart from Howell's supposed statement) "there is no evidence" for Walsingham's authorship of these essays, then it is clear that the attribution to Walsingham, like the attribution to Sidney, may well be a false one, perhaps intentionally so. Simpson's theory

[18] *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols (Oxford 1925) III 453. That Read could find "no valid reason for questioning their authenticity" simply indicates that he did not closely study what would be rather irrelevant components of Walsingham's bibliography. Their peculiar tone nevertheless did boggle him a little, and he strains to explain how Walsingham could have written them: "Probably the consciousness of his approaching end itself provoked the philosophic mind in him. He was in his vigorous moments too much the man of action to find the time or the mood for such leisurely pastimes as the anatomizing of either ambition or fortitude. The spirit of resignation which pervades all three essays can hardly be accepted as Walsingham's normal reflection upon the vicissitudes of life. Yet they are interesting and illuminating if only in their revelation of the thoughts which passed through his mind as he considered the life that lay behind him and made ready to take his final leave of it" (III 442).

that Donne's essay was ascribed to Sidney through "some accident" would therefore be rendered less plausible, since we would have to countenance two such unusual accidents' happening in the same place. If we accept the attribution to Sidney as being more than an accident, then on the basis of available evidence Donne seems most likely to have appended this attribution for the reason already suggested.

IV

Numerous questions remain unanswered. First, who wrote the essays attributed to Walsingham? And who then ascribed these essays to Walsingham? I would suggest that the three essays attributed to Walsingham, like the essay attributed to Sidney, may actually have been written by Donne; moreover, that it may have been Donne himself who gave counterfeit ascriptions to all four essays.

The theory that Donne wrote the Walsingham essays must rest primarily on the facts that "Valour Anatomiz'd in a Fancie" and "Sir Francis Walsingham's Anatomizing" are printed in *Cotton*i *Posthuma* as two companion pieces, and that these two pieces are unique and anomalous in their context. Since we know that one of these pieces is Donne's, we may reasonably conjecture that the other may also have been written by him. This theory is more plausible and better founded than either Howell's or Read's theory. It is in effect simply a modification of Howell's theory, incorporating his belief in a common authorship and counterfeit attributions for all four essays, but also taking into account Donne's unquestioned authorship of "An Essay of Valour." Thus a better case can be made for Donne as the author of these essays than for either Cotton or Walsingham. No other author has ever been suggested, nor does another possibility seem likely to be raised.

Neither Howell nor Read could have supported their theories with internal evidence. However, the theory that Donne wrote the Walsingham essays is supported by evidence deriving from the text itself. This evidence can be seen in comparing two passages from the essays "Of Ambition" and "Of Fortitude" with a passage using parallel diction from Donne's eleventh Paradox, "That the Gifts of the Body are better than those of the Mind." From "Of Ambition":

> Love, Honour, and Praise are the greatest Blessings of this world: All other Contents reflect primarily upon the Body; and please the Soule only because they please some one or more Senses. But those therefore only delight the Senses, because the Soule by discourse was first pleased

with them. For in it self there is more Musick in a railing Song, thrust upon a good Ayre, than in the confused Applause of the Multitude.[19]

From "Of Fortitude":

> And since the Soule of Man is infinitely more excellent than anything else it can meet withall in this World, nothing upon Earth can satisfie it, but in the enjoying of the greatest Abundance of all delights that the most nimble witted Man can frame to himself; For that his Soule will still have a further Desire, as unsatisfied with that it enjoyes. . . . And for that part of Felicity which is attained to by morall Virtue, I finde that every Virtue gives a Man Perfection in some kinde, and a degree of Felicity too: *viz.*
>
> *Honesty*, gives a Man a good Report;
>
> *Justice*, Estimation and Authority;
>
> *Prudence*, Respect and Confidence;
>
> *Courtesie*, and *Liberality*, Affection and a kinde of Dominion over other Men.
>
> *Temperance*, Health;
>
> *Fortitude*, a quiet Mind, not to be moved by any Adversity, and a Confidence not to be Circumvented by any danger.
>
> So that all other Virtues give a Man but an outward Happinesse, as receiving their Reward from others; onely *Temperance* doth pretend to make the Body a Stranger to Paine. . . .[20]

Finally, for comparison with these two, from Donne's eleventh Paradox:

> My *Body* licenseth my *soul* to *see* the worlds *Beauties* through mine *eyes*; to *hear* pleasant things through mine *ears*; and affords it apt *Organs* for the conveiance of all perceivable *delight*. . . . Now if my *soule* would say, that she enables any part to taste these *pleasures*, but is herselfe only delighted with those rich sweetnesses which her *inward eyes* and *senses* apprehend, shee should dissemble; for I see her often solaced with *beauties*, which she sees through mine *eyes*, and with *musicke* which through mine *eares* she heares. This *perfection* then my *body* hath, that it can impart to my *minde* all his *pleasures*; and my *mind* hath still many, that she can neither teach my indisposed part her *faculties*, nor to the best *espoused* parts show it *beauty* of *Angels*, of *Musicke*, of *Spheres*, whereof she boasts the *contemplation*. Are *Chastity*, *Temperance*, and *Fortitude* gifts of the *minde*? I appeale to *Physitians* whether the *cause* of these be not in the *body*; *health* is the gift of the *body*, and *patience* in sickness the gift of the *minde*: then who will say that *patience* is as good a happinesse, as *health*, when wee must be extremely miserable to purchase this happinesse.[21]

[19] *Cotton Posthuma* 335.

[20] *Ibid* 339–340.

[21] *The Complete Poetry and Selected Prose of John Donne* 288.

Behind all three of these passages lies the distinction between body and soul (or mind) which forms so prominent a theme in Donne's writings. The two passages from the Walsingham essays argue that the soul occupies a higher, "more excellent" place than the body, while the Paradox argues that the body's "gifts" are superior to those of the mind. Simpson has noted that Donne, in writings like these, was quite capable of arguing both sides of a question facetiously. For example, he "produced two Paradoxes (the fifth and ninth) arguing the case for and against suicide." [22] Here in Donne's eleventh Paradox he argues skeptically that the body is more perfect than the mind; the passages from the Walsingham essays lead to the opposite conclusion, but with a corresponding if more subtle skepticism. The soul and moral virtues in the Walsingham essays are valued exclusively on worldly or opportunistic grounds, belying the pious claims of the essayist on behalf of the soul. He seems to take the attitude that even moral virtues pertaining to the perfection of the soul need justification in terms of external considerations: honesty, for example, is valued because it "gives a Man a good Report," and liberality is valued because it gives "a kinde of Dominion over other Men." The virtue of temperance is distinguished from the others because it does not merely "give Men but an outward Happinesse"; the skeptical implication of this distinction is that the other moral virtues contribute mainly or exclusively to an outward happiness and are best justified in such terms. Even temperance, however, finds its perfection not in the ideal realm of ethics but in that it "doth pretend to make the Body a Stranger to Paine. . . ." This wire-drawn analysis is in keeping with the generally skeptical and anti-idealistic tenor of the essays. It is also the logical counterpart of Donne's argument in the eleventh Paradox that chastity, temperance, and fortitude are corporal not spiritual virtues. Though the conclusions of these pieces seem to differ, the thinking implicit in both arguments is similar. Together with several obvious coincidences of diction, these resemblances between the passages quoted give some support to the theory that Donne may have exercised his facility of rhetoric in writing the Walsingham essays.

Another example of such rhetoric is striking because it involves one of Donne's most frequently repeated extended metaphors, the figure of the stamped and melted coin of gold. In the essay "Of Honesty" we read:

> An Honest man is as neer an Aptitude to become a friend, as Gold is to become Coyn: he will melt with good Offices well done, and will easily take the stampe of true Friendship; and having once taken it, though it may be bended and bruised, yet still will keep his stamp clean without

[22] *The Prose Works of John Donne* 147, note 1.

> Rust or Canker, and is not ashamed to be enclosed in it, but is contented to have all his glory seen through it onely.[23]

The most appropriate of more than half a dozen related passages which might be cited from Donne's works is from his Elegy "Loves Progress":

> I, when I value gold, may thinke upon
> The ductillness, the application,
> The wholesomeness, the ingenuity,
> From rust, from soyle, from fyre ever free,
> But if I love it, 'tis because 'tis made
> By our new Nature, use, the soule of trade.[24]

In the essay and in the poem the rhetorical effect of the figure is a skeptical devaluation of ideal concepts to terms of "use," a devaluation which, in the essay, contributes to a general subversion of moral concepts like friendship and honesty.

If we suppose, on the basis of this evidence, that Donne may be the true author of the Walsingham essays, and further that, as is the case with the attribution to Sidney, the attribution to Walsingham is most likely to have been appended by the author himself (as Howell evidently believed), the question remains, what reason would Donne have had for ascribing these essays to Walsingham? Again a possible answer is suggested by the contents of the essays, all of which deal with moral issues in a subtly libertine, skeptical fashion. Walsingham was known as the master of craft *par excellence* in Elizabeth's Privy Council. William Camden, his personal acquaintance, called him "a most subtle searcher of hidden secrets." [25] Walsingham was adept in intelligence, a principal actor in the political and religious intrigue which made the 1580s such a violent decade in England. Conyers Read observes that

> Inevitably a man who has to do with ciphers and spies and who undertakes to meet plot by counterplot acquires a sinister reputation for himself, particularly among the friends of his victims.[26]

As Read points out, Walsingham was scrupulous to maintain a reputation as an honest man, though his reputation was challenged by his enemies, such as the Jesuit Robert Parsons, who attributed to Walsingham a cruel

[23] *Cottoni Posthuma* 333–334.

[24] *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne* ed Helen Gardner (Oxford 1965) 16–17.

[25] Quoted in Read's *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* II 340.

[26] *Ibid* II 340–341.

hostility and a mocking libertinism in religion.[27] A similar point of view on Walsingham's libertinism in morals seems to be implied in the attribution to him of these three deviously moralizing essays. The essayist is a burlesque Machiavelli whose unpredictable glozings are foreshadowed in his very first sentences:

> What it is directly that I wil write, I know not. For, as my thoughts have never dwelt long upon one thing; and so my Mind hath been filled with the Imagination of things of a different nature: So there is a necessity that this Offspring of so un-composed a Parent must be mishaped, answerable to the Originall from whence it is derived.[28]

Through the ensuing paragraphs "Walsingham" subtly insinuates his skepticism. His specious rhetoric keeps the reader occupied with its superficial aptness and blunt realism while unawares the reader is brought to the preposterous conclusion cunningly intended. The argument of the essays seems to proceed from acceptable premises with candor and common sense, and "Walsingham" assures the reader in his introductory paragraph that he desires by his writings to gain "the reputation of a fair Gamster, rather than of a cunning one" [29] (as if to be a gamester in moral philosophy were no sin). But this protestation proves hard to accept when, in the essay "Of Honesty," he defines honesty as "the quiet passing over the days of a mans life, without doing Injury to another man," and then passes off-handedly to the disparaging conclusion that,

> if there be such an Honesty, the fittest seat for it is in the Countrey, where there will be little need of any greater Ability, and it will be least subject to Corruption.[30]

Though the conclusion is outrageous, the essayist's perspicacity and wit have all along encouraged us to allow him a sort of rough, inevitable wisdom and sophistication. Such rhetorical manipulations toward shocking conclusions ("masculine perswasive force") are common in Donne's writings, and it is particularly significant that they are found not only in the Walsingham essays but in the essay ascribed to Sidney, known to be by Donne. Considering Walsingham's reputation as an intriguer, capable of bending morals to policy,

[27] *Ibid* II 268. In this connection it is worth recalling that during the period of Walsingham's activities against the Catholics many friends and acquaintances of Donne's family were punished for their alleged associations with treasonous plots.

[28] *Cottoni Posthuma* 331.

[29] *Ibid* 332.

[30] *Ibid* 334.

it is not unlikely that his name may have been attached to these essays for satiric purposes. The possibility is made even more likely by the fact that Donne in an earlier work, *The Courtier's Library*, had already satirized two of Walsingham's hirelings, the cryptographers Thomas Philips and Peter Bales.[31] These men were adept under Walsingham's direction at forging passages in intercepted letters in order to implicate the original writers in treasonous plots. It is then not unlikely that Donne may have applied his rhetorical skill to ridiculing Walsingham by counterfeiting these essays. In this connection it is worth noting that on the title page of "Sir Francis Walsingham's Anatomizing" appears a mock royal seal around which are printed the words "Prohibited to be Counterfeted: Granted by Her My E R."[32]

Finally, the theory that Donne wrote the Walsingham essays is also supported by evidence linking Sidney and Walsingham in another context, and by evidence linking the Sidney essay specifically to the Walsingham essays. The question may naturally be asked, why should Donne have fixed on Sidney and Walsingham in counterfeiting these essays? Possible answers are suggested by the facts that Sidney and Walsingham were related by marriage, Sidney having married Walsingham's daughter; and that when Walsingham died in 1590 he was buried at St Paul's Cathedral in the very same tomb where Sidney had been laid to rest three years earlier. The two men might well have been associated by a mordant satirist like Donne.

One feature of the essays takes on a special significance in view of these facts. There is a joke implied in "Walsingham's" statement that

> if 20. men should swear to me they saw such a thing, which before I did not beleeve; it is true, I should alter mine opinion, not because there appeared any greater likelihood of the thing; but because it was unlikely that so many men should lie. . . .[33]

This remark is characteristically skeptical of "Walsingham," but its humor becomes fully clear only when it is read in connection with "Sidney's" statement nine pages earlier that the successful lover "hath allwaies some 20 stories of his own Atchievements depending upon him." The inglorious Walsingham is portrayed as accepting the achievements of his valorous son-

[31] One of the satirical book titles in Donne's *Courtier's Library* is "*Anything out of Anything; Or, The Art of deciphering and finding some treason in any intercepted letter*, by Philips." See the edition by Evelyn Simpson (London 1930) 45 and 61. For Donne's reference to Bales see p 44 and 58 of the Simpson edition.

[32] *Cottoni Posthuma* 329.

[33] *Cottoni Posthuma* 335.

in-law only with skepticism. The joke depends on the connection between the essays.

In conclusion, internal as well as external evidence suggests that Donne may have written all four of these essays, given them false attributions, and given them to his friend Sir Robert Cotton, through whom we have received them today.

V

If Donne did write all four of these essays, we are still faced with the problem of interpreting them as contributions to the Overbury series. "An Essay of Valour" as printed in the 1622 edition of "A Wife" may be interpreted as a generalized satire on certain tendencies and attitudes observable at the Court of James I. Many of the Overburian characters seem to have been drawn from such general observation. However, when we consider that the same essay was purposely attributed to Sidney, and that the Walsingham essays also were written for the Overbury series, several new questions arise.

Charles E. Gough pointed out that part of the reason for the great popularity of the Overburian editions was that, going beyond humorous and witty satires of foibles on the current English scene, they frequently contained veiled references to particular well-known figures of society.[34] Gough elucidated the point of several of the anonymous characters, showing that three of them — "A Very very Woman," "Her next part," and "An Intruder into Favour" — are political lampoons of Lady Frances Howard and her husband, the Earl of Somerset. Gough also points out that the bitter character of "An Old Man" probably caricatures the Earl of Northampton, who was Frances Howard's grand uncle, one of the enemies of Overbury, and who may have been involved in the poison plot which took Overbury's life. But if there is precedent among the Overburian writings for reference to particular persons, there does not seem to be precedent for referring to persons so long dead by 1614 as were Sidney and Walsingham. On the contrary, the Overburian writings universally refer to Jacobean England, and frequently seem to relate to the particular circumstances and personalities surrounding the career of Overbury himself.

It is barely possible, however, that the attributions of these essays to Sidney and Walsingham were meant as veiled references to Somerset and Northampton. This analogy might actually have occurred to the author of

[34] *The Life and Characters of Sir Thomas Overbury* (Norwich 1909) 41.

these essays and to his readers inasmuch as there are several points of similarity: Somerset like Sidney enjoyed great repute as a lover and as a soldier — it was in fact as a result of his jousting talents that he first came to be James' favorite; Somerset married Northampton's niece, as Sidney married Walsingham's daughter; and Northampton's reputation as a cunning intriguer may if anything have surpassed that of Walsingham. Donne and Cotton were associated respectively with Somerset and Northampton, so that if this speculation is the key to the significance of these essays we have Donne and Cotton sharing private jokes at the expense of their patrons.[35]

[35] On Cotton's relationship to Northampton see Hope Mirrlees *A Fly in Amber* (London 1962) 245–262 ("Hand in Glove with My Lord Privy Seal"). On Donne's relations with Somerset see Gosse's *Life and Letters* II 19–86. Gosse appears scandalized by Donne's obsequious relation to the notorious Earl, and he attributes to this association the fact that Donne was never subsequently offered a bishopric.

THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT GARDEN.
This preſent FRIDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1784,
Will be performed the FIRST PART of
KING HENRY THE FOURTH.
Sir John Falſtaff by Mr. HENDERSON,
King by Mr. CLARKE,
Prince of Wales by Mr. LEWIS,
Sir Richard Vernon by Mr. DAVIES,
Worceſter by Mr. FEARON,
Poins by Mr. KENNEDY,
Francis by Mr. EDWIN,
Sir Walter Blount by Mr. BOOTH,
Bardolph, Mr. JONES, Douglas, Mr. CUBITT,
Carriers, Mr. WEWITZER and Mr. BATES,
Gadſhill, Mr. LEDGER, Peto, Mr. STEVENS,
Hotſpur by Mr. WROUGHTON,
Hoſteſs by Mrs. PITT,
Lady Percy by Mrs. LEWIS.
To which will be added, for the FIRST TIME, a NEW FARCE, called
AEROSTATION;
Or, The TEMPLAR's STRATAGEM.
THE CHARACTERS BY
Mr. QUICK,
Mr. WEWITZER,
Mr. BONNOR,
Mr. DAVIES,
Mr. WILSON,
Mrs. RANOE,
Mrs. MORTON,
And Mrs. WEBB,
The PROLOGUE to be ſpoken by Mr. WILSON.
Tomorrow, not acted theſe SIXTEEN Years, will be revived
The SECOND Part of King HENRY the FOURTH.

An early space-voyager: the playbill of the first performance of Frederick Pilon's *Aerostation*. In an extra-illustrated copy of Matthews and Hutton's *Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and the United States* (1886).

Theatre Collection

The Satiric Blake: Apprenticeship at the Haymarket?

By MARTHA W. ENGLAND
Queens College

PART I

MY PURPOSE is to compare William Blake's *jeu d'esprit* which we call *An Island in the Moon* with *Tea in the Haymarket*, a generic name for a variable product of the satiric personality and dramatic genius of the actor Samuel Foote.

The actual evidence that Blake ever heard of Samuel Foote can be quickly stated. *An Island in the Moon* was written in 1784. Many years later, in his letter "To the Deists" which opens Chapter 3 of *Jerusalem*, he wrote: "Foote in calling Whitefield, Hypocrite: was himself one: for Whitefield pretended not to be holier than others: but confessed his Sins before all the World." By the time he wrote this subtle and complicated discussion of hypocrisy, Blake must have seen, read, or at least heard about Foote's most famous character, Squintum, in *The Minor*.

From this statement on, all is hypothesis, and all is qualified by varying degrees of probability. My hypothesis is that Blake knew of Haymarket procedures and wrote a Haymarket piece of his own modeled on *Tea*. The evidence, such as it is, is in the piece itself.

The comic dramatic topicality of this early work suggests that Blake was aware of many Londons: the world of high fashion, the competitive world of painters and engravers, the world of passionate preachers and flamboyant pseudo-scientists, the public and private entertainment worlds of trained monkeys and meditating philosophers and performing bluestockings, the world of antiquarian absurdities and solemnities, the world of the streets in his neighborhood with street song and burlesque and hawked sideshows. On the stage of the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, all these impinging worlds met their distorted image in the theatrical artifice of Samuel Foote,

EDITOR'S NOTE: This paper is an expansion of an essay read at the English Institute on September 3 1968 at Columbia University. A second part, appendixes to this essay, will appear next month — A: Sources of Information about Samuel Foote; B: William Hayley's Theatrical Writings; C: Language — Blake's & Foote's; D: Handel and Milton — and Blake; E: Daphnis and Amaryllis; F: Blake's Street Cries; G: "Good English Hospitality"; H: Blake and Handel; and J: London Theatrical Seasons 1782–1784.

Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, a volume including this and other English Institute Blake essays, is being edited by David V. Erdman and John E. Grant for publication by Princeton University Press in 1970.

the master parodist of the illegitimate theater. *Tea in the Haymarket* was never published, and was indeed unpublishable in its wild improvisation, but there are sober records of its mood and method in Foote's published plays, in various books, literary and theatrical reviews, and periodicals.[1] Foote died in 1777. It is possible that Blake saw not Foote himself but stage offerings of the seasons immediately preceding his writing of *An Island in the Moon*, when Foote's plays were on stage, his roles played by Bannister and other long-time associates. Also on stage were plays by Foote's imitators and dramatic sketches using as characters Foote and actors trained by him. If Blake saw none of this, he may have read the theatrical reviews. He may have listened to gossip about Foote and his exploits. Dead or alive, on stage or off, Foote was much talked about.

But Blake may have seen Foote himself. He was twenty years old when Foote was buried in Westminster Abbey — a signal honor for a "mere clown." Blake always had unusual freedom. His father was as indulgent as his means allowed, and *Tea* was not expensive. Young Blake need not even have been out at night to see *Tea*, for it was usually performed at noon, and thus Samuel Foote is credited with having instituted the first theatrical matinees in English stage history.[2]

[1] For sources of information about Foote see Appendix A. Twenty published plays fill two volumes (*Works*, 1799). There are several studies of the man and his work; memoirs and biographies supply anecdotes; theatrical memoirs show Foote's pervasive influence throughout the world of the stage, and stage histories place him in it. W. K. Wimsatt's essay on *The Nabob* not only deals with one of Foote's plays which I use as exemplary but is itself exemplary, showing how lives of men not directly associated with the stage can shed light on Foote's involvement in the pettiest of private affairs and the largest affairs of empire.

My knowledge of Foote is based primarily, however, on the periodicals of his day. I have read what is available covering Foote's lifetime in the holdings of Harvard University, Yale University, Folger Shakespeare Library, and the archives of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust in Stratford-upon-Avon. There are 43 titles, although the files are by no means complete in all cases. *The Public Advertiser*, very nearly the official organ of theatrical news, is the most important, but in Scottish, Irish, provincial publications as well as the London periodicals one gets a vivid sense of Foote's reality. Amidst battles foreign and domestic, gossip, scientific discoveries, obituary notices, advertisements for horse liniment, reviews of Great Books and miniscule pamphlets, fashion notes, and accounts of bankruptcies and social events — this is where he belongs. Here the British Aristophanes is alive and kicking. One comes to understand what prompted the outrageous opinion that Foote was "the writer of the day most like Shakespeare, because he so faithfully mirrored his own age." Foote did not mirror his age "in depth," and his mirror was intended to distort; but he was truly amazing in his range, detail, sweep, comprehensive coverage.

[2] Arthur H. Scouten "On the Origins of Foote's Matinees" *Theatre Notebook* VII (1953) 28–31. D.V.E., when pursuing clues of Blake's friendship with George Cumberland, wrote from London that association of "Tea" with the Haymarket remained at least until 1794. Cumberland, on a "little excursion" from Windsor via London down the channel coast, "made in search of a watering place to escape these great heats," while in London wrote his brother Richard (July 14) of having "a dish of Tea" and "a slice of Haymarket Laughs." (Richard was a clergyman to whom things must be put gently, but aware of stage matters, as the family would have been aware, from the theatrical involvement of his famous cousin of the same name.) The theatre was cool,

Samuel Foote's stage career was approximately contemporaneous with that of David Garrick, his rival and friend. At his first attempt, Foote discovered that he was unable to sustain a role on stage, either in tragedy or comedy. With the intrepidity that was always his, he made a virtue of necessity, success of failure, a career of his faults, and advantages of all his handicaps. Thenceforth he refused to "act." He was a mimic, and he was eternally himself. Whatever role he was playing, whatever costume he wore, he would turn to the audience (as Blake does in *An Island in the Moon*) and address it in his own person and voice. He made a life and made a living by deriding those who took language seriously — actors, singers, orators, preachers, and teachers of rhetoric.

After the Licensing Act of 1737 (recently revoked with appropriate celebration on the London stage) there were two Theatres Royal in London, Drury Lane and Covent Garden. In the Haymarket there were two houses, one called the King's Theatre, where opera was performed, the other called the Little Theatre. From 1747 on, Foote was often in occupancy in the Little Theatre with a company of about twelve actors, plus singers, dancers, and instrumentalists. When he was abroad or otherwise engaged, Christopher Smart took over. During the 1750s Smart drew large crowds with a vaudeville, *Mrs. Midnight's Entertainments*, which was performed at taverns when Foote had the Little Theatre, just as Foote might at times perform in taverns or fair booths. Foote, unlike Smart, had close associations with the major houses. He acted his own plays and many other roles at Drury Lane and Covent Garden. His plays were popular there, with or without him in the cast.

In 1767 he had an accident while riding and one leg had to be amputated. The Duke of York was present at the hunting party and felt himself to be in part responsible. He made such restitution as he could. Through his influence Foote was given a patent to perform during the summer months when the two major houses were closed, and the Little Theatre, rebuilt and refurbished, became a Theatre Royal, where Foote had a company of about fifty. But this new dignity did not cause his work to lose its raffish flavor. He had borne with jesting courage the pain of amputation without anesthetic, and thereafter he wrote his rôles so as to emphasize what Doctor Johson called his depeditation. His lusty old characters were all the funnier because of puns on his name. The young heroines whom he pursued queried,

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George said, "because empty enough, but decently droll to divert a country gentleman." It would be wonderful, Erdman says, to find that Blake took him; but alas he was not to mention Blake in his correspondence until December of that year, though he was much earlier an intimate of Stothard and other artists Blake knew.

"Why should I marry a man with one foot in the grave?" Coarse — but a coarse courage which extended his license, as it were, to comment on the defects of others. Although he was fully licensed for the summer months during the last ten years of his career, and although during his entire career he performed often at the major houses, for twenty years it had been illegal to stage plays in the Haymarket, and he had consistently made that legal handicap into a peculiar strength. Those subterfuges by which he was enabled to perform there remained always his best jokes.

The contrast between his own unlicensed stage and the "license to perform" granted to various others was the foundation of his standing jokes. One result was that his work seemed to be a direct reflection of life going on around the theatre door. In the Haymarket were held auctions of pictures and antiquities. Foote would announce such auctions, sometimes with elaborate catalogues and parodies of ancient and modern art. One name for him was "the Auctioneer." When he was translated to the higher world of Drury Lane, far from relinquishing his low ways, he emphasized them. *Taste* was his first success as a playwright. Garrick wrote and spoke the prologue in the guise of one of those Haymarket Auctioneers. Thirty years later, Foote acted *Taste* by royal command for the King and Queen, who greatly enjoyed seeing him play Lady Pentweazle.

Opera could be performed. Members of the company came and went around his theatre door, and his operatic neighbors were the butt of his constant ridicule. One part of *Tea at the Haymarket* often was *The Cat's Opera.* Foote advertised that he desired the yowling to be authentic, so he had imported a brace of cats from Italy (just as many of the favorite singers were Italian). One of his "Italian cats" came to be known as "Cat" Harris. The other was Edward Shuter, who had been marker in a billiard room when Foote took him under tutelage. Shuter was in the very first performance of *Tea*, and became a very popular comedian.

In Panton Street near by, the puppets were licensed to perform. Foote carried on sparring matches with these neighbors also. His puppets at times were ordinary little wooden figures, at times life-sized figures; at times, like his cats, they were human. At times they were merely metaphors of man's ageless silliness, man's eternal playing with toys, man's illusion that he is free, when he is actually pulled by the strings of his own fads and fancies and vanities. Or they might be any combination of these things. His puppets partook of his other standing jokes, such as his twitting of Garrick about his small stature. "Will your puppets in this play be lifesized?" "Oh no, madam; only about as large as Garrick."

Philanthropical organizations enjoyed certain privileges in the performing arts. Foote persistently pilloried all philanthropies, especially the Foundling Hospital and Magdalen Hospital. He would announce his performances as being "For the Relief of the Sufferers by a Late Calamity." These tricks were not meant to deceive; he collected no money under such false pretenses. It was his premise that those who promoted such charities were hypocritically imposing upon the public.

The hypocrisy of the Methodists was his constant target, and this subject found its way into many of his published plays. Here again, part of the satire was based on their "license to perform." It was charged against him that the Establishment in some obscure way subsidized and encouraged his attacks, so that he derided the Methodists "upon authority." He answered:

> Under authority! What! Do you suppose I play, as you preach, upon my own authority? No, sir. Religion turned farce is by the constitution of this country the only species of drama that may be exhibited for money without permission.

"I am within the law," was the Haymarket stance. The first matinee in English stage history opened in 1747 under the title *The Diversions of the Morning*; legal authorities objected, and Foote quickly advertised that his friends should come and have *A Dish of Chocolate* with him at noon. The generic title became *Tea at the Haymarket*, which properly should be served at 6.30 (and sometimes was), but whether auction, lecture, concert, opera, cat's opera, chocolate, it was *Tea*. Modified forms took place at the major houses, but *Tea at the Haymarket* was its general name. He mimicked other actors without mercy (it has been said the whole idea grew out of *The Rehearsal*), they were eager to retaliate, and the public loved this battle of mimes. How the composite titles were used can be seen from an advertisement published by Harry Woodward, a Harlequin second only to John Rich. "As the Auctioneer gives *Tea* tomorrow at Covent Garden, Mr. Woodward (by particular desire) on Saturday next will present him with a dish of his own chocolate, with an addition of one Mew at his Cats." Of all evasions of the Licensing Act, *Tea* was the most famous. The public paid for tea; whether or not it ever got any tea was immaterial. The performance was gratis. Since by law the performance could not be a play, *Tea* was Foote's free form at its freest.

His oldest jokes were new every day. Major disasters and minor foibles were his provender. Often he pretended to read his lines from a newspaper, but he had sources of information other than the daily press. He was familiar

with levels of society lower than might seem prudent for a man in public life, and higher than might seem possible for a mere clown.

He was no mere clown. He was called "the British Aristophanes." Not his writing, but his miming deserved the title. His pen could never carry his full power. Great satire occurs when its contrary is present in the world. Aristophanes wrote in the presence of great tragic playwrights. *The Rehearsal* was evoked by John Dryden. *The Beggar's Opera* came when Handel's pastoral music drew forth a "Newgate pastoral" to match it. The greatest acting the world has ever seen evoked Foote's mimicry of acting. David Garrick made Foote possible, confronted and challenged him at every turn; and Foote in his own way was great also. He was wildly, irresistibly funny.

An Island in the Moon: The Libretto

The first general similarity between *An Island in the Moon* and *Tea at the Haymarket*, then, is that they are not plays but anti-plays. Foote's plays have plots. Blake set up *King Edward the Third* in the form of a play. In contrast, *An Island* and *Tea* do not have plots as frameworks, but both are framed on social occasions. The whole point is: we are only drinking tea or rum & water. Despite the fact that *An Island* contains virtually nothing but lines, acting directions, description of sets, placement of properties; despite the fact that it is more stage-worthy than *King Edward the Third*, one can tell at a glance that it is "not a play." [3]

The second general similarity is that Blake's characters are accepted as grotesque portraits of himself, his brother, and people known to him — or possibly combinations of their traits which have been distorted for the purposes of comedy. Blake's fifteen characters, ten male and five female, meet upon seven occasions. drifting in with no stated pretext. They are inhabitants of the moon, who fortunately speak English. They meet at four homes, which may be satiric reproductions of houses known to Blake's social circle, giving opportunity for amusing changes of sets chosen to represent philosophy, law, mathematics, and science. The first, third, and fifth meetings are in the home of the three Philosophers, where, in happy lunacy, dwell Quid the Cynic (Blake), Suction the Epicurean (Robert, his brother), and Sipsop the Pythagorean (a young medical student who has a cat). The fourth and seventh meetings are with Steelyard the Lawgiver (John Flaxman). The

[3] Private theatricals were probably Blake's first intention, but he may have hoped ultimately for public performance, the line of separation being by no means an impassable demarcation. The career of William Hayley, particularly interesting because of his later association with Blake, shows the close relation between private theatre and public stage, strikingly in the very year 1784. See Appendix B.

second meeting is in the study of Obtuse Angle the Mathematician, and the sixth is an explosive episode in the house of Inflammable Gass the Windfinder. Obtuse and Inflammable have been variously identified as members of Blake's circle of friends.

The third similarity is the variety and importance of Blake's off-stage characters, those figures which never appear on stage in their own persons but are described and mimed by one or another of the fifteen members of the cast.

The fourth similarity is that Blake's off-stage characters as well as his cast are modeled on real people. His "Jack Tearguts" is identified in his manuscript as Dr John Hunter. His text makes almost as clear the identity of Richard and Maria Cosway among these off-stage characters, and others have been conjecturally identified.

It was Foote's techniques to layer rôle on top of rôle. He quoted himself in contrasting moods. He told about eccentrics who in recounting their own experiences would subdivide into several characters or traits. He represented real people on stage, sometimes with no effort to disguise their identity.[4] These people might be in the *dramatis personae*; but some of his most celebrated representations were off-stage characters only. This is true of Sir Penurious Trifle, and, as a rule, it was true of his most famous role, Squintum. I have checked cast lists, and find in the 1770s some few instances when Squintum was an actual member of the cast, played by Bannister or Weston or Wilkinson, while Foote played Mrs Cole.[5] But almost always Foote kept this "double role" for himself alone; he played Mother Cole, and, as Mother Cole, told about Squintum. Foote slid from character to character before one's eyes with startling speed and clarity. Those actors whom he trained, such as Shuter and Weston, could almost equal his dexterity. Blake demands this ability of most of his cast of fifteen.

Fifth: Blake mirrors the Man on the Street. His folk allude to Jerome, Goethe, Voltaire, Plutarch, and Pliny in a great show of erudition, but *An Island in the Moon* is geared to the urgencies of daily life. This is an especially good framework within which to stage moments of nostalgia and sentiment later in the program.

Sixth: Foote attempted on stage to join two irreconcilable elements: the maximum of "identification" and the maximum of grotesquerie. London after-

[4] Foote staged several portraits of Thomas Sheridan, one being Doctor Gruel; he alluded to Clive's wealth gained in India and parodied his Commons speech; he ridiculed openly and in their own names the medical imposters West, Cleland, Rock, Stevens, and the notorious "Chevalier" Taylor.

[5] See below.

pieces impressed foreign visitors because of the close relationship between the stage and the daily lives of the audience. This quality was general, but Foote was preëminent in establishing such relations. No one (certainly not Blake) had quite Foote's finesse, but Blake uses the same methods, achieving a fair success.

Seventh: Blake uses Foote's own formulaic jokes, and uses them as Foote used them on stage. They are dropped quickly, like nods and winks for the delectation of the cognoscenti. As Mozart in *Don Giovanni* quoted *The Marriage of Figaro* with feigned boredom at his own popularity, so Foote in one rôle alluded to his other rôles. Mozart's joke is not very funny if you do not know "Non piu andrai," but everyone knows "Non piu andrai," and in 1784 everyone knew Foote. When he was on stage, he made all his rôles build on one another. It was part of his basic premise that he was always himself. The method kept his jokes alive for decades. Any audience Blake may have had in mind in 1784 would have recognized unerringly those jests of reverend ancestry. It was not necessary to play them out, just as it is not necessary for Jack Benny to play "The Bee" complete on his violin. A hint is enough, and in both cases part of your pleasure arises from recalling how your grandfather laughed at that joke.

For example: Blake gives us right away a character named Etruscan Column the Antiquarian. His name suggests those modern and native "imported antiquities" staged for many years by Foote and auctioned off by Garrick. The name suggests about as awkward and obvious a fake as one can imagine. Phoebus Apollo, when he is "brought on stage" in a song by Quid, talks like an auctioneer. The old jokes are established in their familiar ambience.

The Antiquarian "seems to be talking of virtuous cats." Why should an antiquarian ponder this particular subject? Any London theatre-goer would answer, "Don't they always?" For, according to Foote, the chief preoccupation of antiquarians was precisely that creature known for feline virtue, Whittington's cat. For years *The Nabob* had been showing the public a meeting of the Society of Antiquarians with this cat as the chief item on the agenda. So deeply was the British mind impressed with the staging that even today the article on Whittington in the *Dictionary of National Biography* prudently assures the reader that Foote's interpretation of the cat was only Foote's joke. It may have been known to Blake, however, as it was known to many, that Foote's joke was based on fact.[6]

[6] Mary Megie Belden *Dramatic Work of Samuel Foote* (1929) 152. There was a meeting of the Society of Antiquarians at which Whittington's cat was the subject for investigation. Dr Samuel Pegge was the speaker. Gough wrote to Michael Tyson (December 27 1771) telling

At times there appeared in the newspapers, not an invitation to tea, but this announcement: "The Members of the Robin-Hood are summoned to the Jury." Complete audience participation was solicited. The Robin Hood was a debating society, famous in its own right, and over the years made more so by Foote's stage parodies. Difficult questions were assigned for impromptu discussion so that the debaters might develop quick wit in controversy and familiarity with correct procedures. When Foote put the Robin Hood on stage, either the subject would be carried to ridiculous lengths, or the question would be left pending in mid-air. Blake demonstrates both tricks. He turns his lunatics loose on subjects which were to be his own lifelong concerns — among them, the relation of classic myth to the Bible.

After Quid has sung of Apollo's physical degeneration and mercantile preoccupations, the company goes into a disquisition on "Phebus," raising the following "material points" in good Robin Hood style:

1) Who was he?
2) Did he understand engraving?
3) Was he as great as Chatterton?
4) Is he in the Bible?
5) Is he identical with Pharaoh?
6) (The moral issue properly comes last.) Is it profane to speak lightly of him and/or Pharoah in general conversation?

The discussion is an extended one, in the course of which Phebus becomes inextricably mixed up with Chatterton.

The second topic raised is one always near the surface of Blake's mind: How is poetry related to the visual arts? A profound problem in this area is broached: "Is Pindar a better poet than Ghiotto was a painter?" The Jury gives no definitive answer, but this time leaves the question hanging.

One technique of relating a text to the visual arts had been brought to a high degree of excellence in the London theatres — the use of the stage set to reinforce drama. Loutherbourgh was at Drury Lane. Published stage pieces acknowledged the contribution of Richards and Dahl to the success of the total production. George Lambert, in whose workrooms the Beefsteak Club was organized, was another set designer and scene painter of note. Actual houses and gardens were parodied or portrayed in stage scenes.

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him of Pegge's idea that the cat may have been "a rebus for some ship which made his fortune." Horace Walpole, in a letter mentioning *The Nabob*, said the Society did indeed "sit" upon Whittington's cat, and gave this as his reason for withdrawing from the group. Belden says Walpole had other reasons also. It was in August 1772 that Blake was apprenticed to James Basire, the engraver for the Society. He may have heard of this story (as well as the Society's investigations of Chatterton).

Blake's four sets — the Philosophers' House, the Mathematician's Study, the Lawgiver's Library, the Scientist's Laboratory — represent merely as settings much of the farcical nature of the piece, and the most satirical parts of the show take place against the most satirical of the settings, the Philosophers' House.

We are, of course, on the moon. The room opens out on an Oriental garden, some lunar-lit monstrosity, with the inappropriate cynosure of a statue of a fat-bellied Apollo. The two contrasting elements represent visually the clash between the neo-Palladian landscaping of "Capability" Brown and the taste for Oriental gardening of Sir William Chambers. Blake may have had an immediate inspiration direct from the Haymarket of 1784 in *The Mogul's Tale: or, the Descent of the Balloon,* by Mrs Elizabeth Inchbald.[7]

Plays were on stage in 1784 which may have suggested to Blake such details as names of certain characters, but in language, characterization, and structure Blake's work is closer to Foote's own work than to Foote's imitators, who used his linguistic tricks but simplified them. Blake's language has greater density than Pilon's or Sheridan's or Murphy's. Blake's characters, at the opening of his piece, are dramatizing an alienation that is deeper than that of Mrs Inchbald's folk, or Sheridan's, or Murphy's.[8]

Even more strongly, one is reminded of the violent and reasonless fluctuation of mood which characterizes Foote's stage work. Chaos and order alternate. Bitter words give way to fraternity and sorority. Quarrels as well as restorations of amity seem causeless. The cause, indeed, is not primarily logical or psychological, but is based in dramaturgy. The actors are thus given pretext for dazzling displays of quick-change artistry. This trait gives the structure and the dramatic nature to Foote's work and to Blake's.

Off-stage characters are chosen to provide gross, not subtle, contrast with the persons who tell about them. Sipsop, a timid soul whose name suggests

[7] In landscape gardening and in literature, the Orient was linked with tales of wild, "Gothic" imagination, and classic myth was linked with "nature." And the "moonpieces" were linked with the Orient. Defoe in *The Consolidator* (1705) had invented a space craft by this odd name which moved between the Orient and the moon. His book is "a translation from the lunar language." (Blake tells us his moon-folk can speak English.) Moon-pieces had a long stage history dating from the days of Elkanah Settle's *The World in the Moon* (1697). When Blake wrote, *Harlequin Emperor of the Moon* was a popular puppet show. For background in this linking of moon-garden-Orient-wild tales, see Martha Pike Conant *The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century* (1908; reissued 1966), and Edward Malins *English Landscaping and Literature 1660–1840* (1966). This tradition was given impetus by the Great Balloon Ascension of 1784. Mrs Inchbald's play (which is in her collected works) handily combined the good old seraglio stories with the new science, and had the balloon come down by accident in an Oriental garden.

[8] Notice that the deepest division of Blake's lunatics circles around the figure of Chatterton. See Appendix C comparing Foote's language and Blake's.

milksop, mimes Jack Tearguts, the domineering surgeon. Tilly Lally, the la-de-da of assumed elegance, mimes low characters, one-eyed Joe in the sugar house and some rough-and-ready brats whose conduct of a cricket game is deplorable. Etruscan Column, towering in perpendicular antiquity, describes "a little outre fellow" who obtrudes himself rudely into his valuable meditations on Pliny and the migration of birds. Even animals are off-stage characters. "Do you think I have a goat's face?" a character asks, and presumably distorts himself into a goat — or a tiger. Some of these secondary characters have direct ancestry in Foote. He often mimed the one-eyed actor Delane.

When Blake's scientist gives a slide lecture, he has the example of Foote's Doctor Hellebore, who represented to the very garments and eye-glasses Sir William Browne, President of the Royal College of Surgeons. As Blake's Inflammable Gass shows us a flea, a louse, and other unsavory exhibits, so Doctor Hellebore magnified for his auditors slides showing those yellow insects that hatch out in the blood and cause jaundice, and the standard cure: spiders must be introduced into the blood stream. The spiders eat all the flies, thus curing the jaundice, and then obligingly starve to death.

One popular candidate for the original model of Blake's Inflammable Gass is Joseph Priestley. In case you have been assuming that Priestley would have been inconsolably offended, I suggest, on the contrary, that Blake probably meant him to play the rôle himself. Sir William Browne was so delighted with his prototype that he sent Foote his own muff after opening night of *The Devil upon Two Sticks*, so that Doctor Hellebore might gesticulate with it as Sir William did when he lectured, and might be even more unmistakably Sir William instructing the Royal College in the cause and cure of jaundice. If Blake had asked Priestley to play Gass and lecture on phlogiston, I have no doubt all would have been Gass and gaiters. Certainly there is no bigger fool on stage than Quid. And all who feel affection for Blake like to think that Robert Blake laughed with him when he penned the lines of Suction, while time was given for that noble Epicurean to laugh and sing and enjoy his rum.

Not all Foote's victims were as amused as Sir William. The stage representation of George Whitefield drew many protests, one from John Wesley,[9]

[9] John Wesley *Lloyd's Evening Post* (Nov 17–19 1760) 99–101. Wesley's letter says the Methodists, by the staging of *The Minor*, have been made "a theatrical Scoff, and the common Jest and Scorn of every Chorister in the Street." I have made the point that Foote drew his material from the streets; the added point should be made that the streets drew much material from him. So far as street songs were concerned, it was a reciprocal situation. Foote never, I think, sneered at the Wesleys, nor did he make jests, other than a few very mild allusions, based on Wesleyan hymnody. He did give searing descriptions of Moravian hymns, but of these oddities

and one, as we have seen, from Blake himself years later. Charles Churchill, in *The Rosciad*, took this play as exemplary of all Foote's stage work.

> By turns transformed into all kinds of shapes,
> Constant to none, Foote laughs, cries, struts, and scrapes:
> Now in the centre, now in van or rear,
> The Proteus shifts, bawd, parson, auctioneer.
> His strokes of humour, and his bursts of sport
> Are all contained in this one word: *Distort.*

In *The Minor*, Shift is a professional mimic. The auctioneer is on stage only because Shift is paid to pretend to be an auctioneer. The bawd, Mother Cole, is an actual member of the cast. The parson is Squintum, George Whitefield, from whose defective eye came the name. In some stagings (as Churchill indicates) Foote played all four rôles. The audience felt no difference in the "levels of reality" of the four characters. Assuredly Squintum was "real" to the audiences, although Foote, dressed in women's clothes, described and mimed him as seen through the eyes of Mother Cole.[10]

In like manner Blake shows us Mr Huffcap, his enthusiastic preacher, through the eyes of one of his female admirers, Mrs Sigtagatist. Like Mother Cole, she plays for us a series of rôles in rapid succession: her defense of religion, her helpless state without it, her younger and more enthusiastic self, and her championship of the clergy in a brisk quarrel. It seems that Blake may have considered giving her yet another rôle, a hypocritical confession, for at times in his manuscript the name is written "Mrs Sinagain." Foote's Mother Cole (whose original, Mother Douglas, was drawn three times by Hogarth) [11] is a procuress who has joined the Methodists for business reasons and for the consolation of Squintum's doctrine, which (whatever Whitefield's was) is gross antinomianism. Mrs Cole, under Squintum's tutelage, has no difficulty in reconciling her old calling with the New Call. "Salvation is not the work of a day," he has taught her, and so she will have another drink, thank you, and take the bottle when she leaves. Parson Squin-

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he said nothing worse than John Wesley himself said in print concerning the worst extravagances of the Moravian hymns, much as Wesley loved the best of these hymns, much as he and Wesleyan hymnody were indebted to the great Moravian hymns. Albert M. Lyles in *Methodism Mocked: The Satiric Reaction to Methodism in the Eighteenth Century* (1960) gives a detailed history of this satire, and records very little satire of the hymns.

10 See George Winchester Stone, Jr, ed *The London Stage* IV 1341, 1485, 1504, for some exceptions to the usual practice. Once John Bannister played Shift and Squintum, Foote playing Mrs Cole and Smirk. Once Weston played Shift, Squintum, and Transfer, while Foote played Mrs Cole and Smirk. On these occasions, Squintum was a "real" rather than an off-stage character.

11 Hogarth's pictures of the notorious Mother Douglas are "Enthusiasm Delineated," "Industry and Idleness Plate XI," and "The March to Finchley."

tum has said, "A woman is not worth saving that won't be guilty of a swinging sin; for they have no matter to repent upon." A Mrs Sinagain would not thus be graveled for lack of matter. But Blake rejected the name. His representation of enthusiasm, while it is very like Foote's in dramatic method, differs from it in essence.

The close of this incident demonstrates another similarity between Foote's work and Blake's. Foote, even in the more formal structure of his published plays, was notorious for the casual way in which he extricated his characters from difficulties. Blake at this point sets up an impossible situation. Mrs Sigtagatist has described Mr Huffcap in the pulpit, setting his wig afire and throwing it at his congregation for the good of their souls. Blake now has Inflammable set his hair afire and run about the room — a fine effect, with stage fire and utter confusion. How is Inflammable to be extricated? Easily enough. Draw the curtain, and tell the audience it never happened. Our master of ceremonies, Blake, speaks in his own person. "No No he did not. I was only making a fool of you."

This is an example of Blake's means of establishing those close relations to his audience for which London after-pieces (and Foote's, supremely) were remarkable. The direct address by the one man who is completely in charge of the whole show — such totally unrealistic intervention was Foote's policy. Blake intervenes, as shown above, in the action, and intervenes between cast and audience, as when he says directly to his house: "If I have not presented you with every character in the piece call me ass."

The use of current events in the after-pieces deeply impressed foreign visitors, and Foote was past master of blending the newest news with his oldest jokes. Three events of 1784 which had extensive coverage in the newspapers served Blake particularly well. Two of these will be discussed later (the Handel Festival and the death of Samuel Johnson), but the Great Balloon Ascension seems to have been his point of departure for lunar regions, and will be briefly outlined here.

Englishmen, after more than a year of reading about the triumphs in France of the aerostatic machines, saw their first balloon ascension on September 15 1784. Filled with the dreadful inflammable gas, it rose from Moorfields in the sight of 150,000 Londoners. The *Gentleman's Magazine* jocularly compared this space travel to Foote's *Devil upon Two Sticks*, the Bottle Imp borrowed from Le Sage, who had power to transport people through space. This periodical reviewed at length a novel, *The Man in the Moon*, mentioning the use made there of the Bottle Imp and of Swift's Laputa. By fortuitous circumstance, the pilot was named Lunardi. Many

were gripped with an impulse to rhyme moon with balloon and make puns about Lunardi and lunatics. On the Continent, and in England, stage farces made use of ballooning. Mrs Inchbald's play *A Mogul Tale: or the Descent of the Balloon*, set in an Oriental garden, opened in July at the Haymarket; and Frederick Pilon's *Aerostation: or the Templar's Strategem* opened at Covent Garden in October, with a bookseller named Quarto in the cast who possibly prompted Blake to use a bookseller called "the Dean of Morocco," hinting at the mysterious East as well as the leather of fine bindings.

But these were not musical pieces. Blake's is. Albert Friedman has shown its relation to the ballad revival,[12] and it has ties with the ballad opera, as can be seen from the history of that form.[13] And it also is related to the songs set within Foote's more formal plays. But Blake's use of music is in every way closer to Foote's use of music in *Tea at the Haymarket* than to ballad opera or to a play with incidental music. We turn now to a consideration of his songs, a more important matter than his libretto.

An Island in the Moon: Suggested Divisions

Act One

i The Philosophers' House (Chapters 1–4)

1 Trumpet Voluntary — Suction and Sipsop (tenor and bass)

2 To Phebus — Quid (baritone)

3 Honour & Genius — Quid, with Suction and Sipsop

ii The Mathematician's Study (Chapter 5)

iii The Philosophers' House (Chapters 6–7)

4 Old Corruption — Quid

[12] Albert B. Friedman *The Ballad Revival: Studies in the Influence of Popular on Sophisticated Poetry* (1961) 264–267.

[13] Edmund Cagey *Ballad Opera* (1937). Earlier "moon" pieces are described, along with their staging and their association with Harlequin.

Another stage piece of 1784 seems to indicate that cobblers had an anti-lunar bias. *The Air-Balloon; or, All the World in the Clouds* was "A new musical piece, as performed at the Amphitheatre, and Ambigu Comic, Westminster-Bridge," published 1784. Solomon Strap, the cobbler, drags his son and his wife back from taking off for outer space. He is a conservative, content with the old "wonders."

> The wonder of yore was the Man in the Moon,
> But the wonder of this day's, the floating balloon.

The role of Farmer Ploughshare was played by Mr Wilkinson — possibly Tate. Other members of the cast were Connell, Millard, Mrs Nathan, and Mrs Henley. *The Air-Balloon; or the Sage's Adventures in a Flight to the Moon* (1784) was a poetical satire on a balloon made in Norwich by the Master of the Norwich "Pantheon." I have not seen *The Air-Balloon, or Flying Mortal; a Poem*, by Mary Alcock, published in 4to the same year, nor *The Balloon, or Aerostatic Spy; A Novel Containing a Series of Adventures of an Aerial Traveler* (1786), which last is mentioned by Martha Pike Conant (105–106) in *The Oriental Tale in England*.

iv The Lawgiver's Library (Chapter 8)

5 Phebe and Jellicoe — Miss Gittipin (soprano)

Act Two

The Philosophers' House (Chapter 9)

6 Lo the Bat — Quid and Suction
7 Want Matches? — Quid and Suction with entire company
8 I cry my matches — Mrs Nannicantipot (contralto)
9 As I walked forth — Steelyard (baritone)
10 This frog he would a wooing ride — Miss Gittipin
11 Solfeggio — Sipsop
12 Hail Matrimony — Quid
13 The Ballad of Sutton — Obtuse Angle (tenor)
14 Good English Hospitality — Steelyard and entire company

Interlude

The Scientist's Laboratory (Chapter 10)

Act Three

The Lawgiver's Library (Chapter 11)

15 Holy Thursday — Obtuse Angle
16 When the tongues of the children are heard — Mrs Nan
17 O father father — Quid (baritone)
18 Joe and Bill — Tilly Lally (buffo)
19 Leave o leave me — Miss Gittipin
20 Doctor Clash — Little Scopprell (counter tenor or falsetto)
21 William of Orange — Sipsop and entire company

At the Haymarket, business was better if room was made within satire for sentiment. In Foote's plays, he usually treated the young lovers quite without satire, and some parent-child relationships were also thus treated. In *Tea at the Haymarket*, music and dance took the place of sentiment in plot. Foote wrote no songs, but used whatever was most popular. At his theatrical discretion, he would use the material straight, or satirically. His chief source was the pastoral as it came down from Milton and Handel by a sharp and devious descent through the theatres, public gardens, and fair booths of the eighteenth century.[14] He hired the best singers, dancers, and

[14] Milton and Handel (see also Appendix D) existed separately on the eighteenth-century stage, of course; from about 1739 on, they were linked on stage, not only by the actual works which joined them, but also by derivative works which, at the level of the minor stages especially, were almost infinite in number and almost completely predictable in their sameness. Milton-and-Handel formed a sort of universally acceptable vocabulary in pastoral writings for the stage. It is this vocabulary of cliché that Blake derides. Any comprehensive history of the

Drawings on the verso of the concluding manuscript page of William Blake's *Island in the Moon*. Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. See note 25, page 463. The manuscript is a fragment, since a preceding leaf or leaves are missing, but it is not unfinished.

Foote as the versatile Mother Cole (see p 451 above). An eighteenth-century engraving in an extra-illustrated copy of Matthews and Hutton's *Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and the United States* (1886). *Theatre Collection*

instrumentalists he could afford, and he had great skill in presenting his performers on stage. The show was under his control at every moment. He knew when to give a performer the stage, and knew as well when to interrupt "Consider, Fond Shepherd," or "The Amorous Swain." He would stop his performers, parody, deride, criticize — thus giving them opportunity to play a rôle-within-a-rôle: comic subservience, rage, chagrin, pique. Then when he asked for another song — perhaps a favorite of his — no one was better equipped to lead the applause. For if the British Aristophanes found a song touching, what red-blooded Englishman but should dissolve in tears? Foote prided himself on the sweep of emotions he could inflict on an audience. From the depths of laughing at something so low they ought not to be amused (but were), he abruptly took them to higher planes of patriotism and sentiment.

Blake thus deploys the twenty-one songs in his musical score, all but one of which he wrote. The songs are wept over, interrupted, criticized, so as to control audience reaction and shape a unified whole. The singing begins as soon as the entire company is on stage, and it begins under the auspices of Phebus, though we well may ask what the sun god is doing on the moon and why he presides over an Oriental garden. "In the Moon as Phebus stood over his oriental Gardening O ay come Ill sing you a song said the Cynic." Quid the Cynic is Blake. He does more singing than anyone else. The other two hosts halt him long enough to give him the correct formal introduction of a trumpet fanfare, scatological in content, but rendered with straight faces. Suction's tenor voice moves up the trumpet's tonic chord; Sipsop's bass moves downward on the same notes.

"Ill begin again said the Cynic," and he sings of Phebus, launching the wandering minds of the moon-dwellers on a discussion of Phebus, Chatterton, and Pharaoh.

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stage supplies information: Genest throughout, Allardyce Nicoll, and *The London Stage* in every volume. Special studies are: Alwin Thaler "Milton in the Theatre" *University of North Carolina Studies in Philology* XVII (July 1920) 289–308; Raymond Dexter Havens *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry* (1922); Jeannette Marks *English Pastoral Drama 1660–1798* (1908); Winton Deen *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (1959). Perhaps best of all is Paul Henry Lang's brilliant evocation of an era, *George Frideric Handel* (1965).

For Blake's immediate situation in 1784, much information is given by Charles Burney's book published in 1785, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey, and the Pantheon, May 26, 27, 29, June 3, 5, 1784.* Once again, the liveliest source of news is the newspapers. The *Annual Register* assesses the news of the past year. The *Gentleman's Magazine* is typical, and these publications are easily available. I think *Lloyd's Evening Post* gives the best feeling for the Handel Festival, both in accurate detail and in rapturous enthusiasm (see 54: 507, 508, 511, 519, 534, 543).

The three Philosophers led by Quid sing:

Honour & Genius is all I ask
And I ask the Gods no more.

This is a parody of a song from *Daphnis and Amaryllis* by James Harris, staged at Drury Lane during Garrick's regime. Harris, along with his many attainments, was an excellent amateur musician, trained in the music of Handel, who was his friend. Most of the music in this pastiche is from Handel; most of the words are adapted from Milton; but the words of this song are Harris's own.[15] Later in Blake's piece the song is repeated when spirits are high and music has induced a mood of utter contentment: "I ask the gods no more."

The fourth song is "Old Corruption" sung by Quid. The stage background of the song is the satire of the medical profession and especially the conduct of hospitals in *The Devil upon Two Sticks*, which was then on stage and was part of the jesting about the balloon ascensions. The literary background is Book II of *Paradise Lost*: the genealogy of Sin, Death, and the hell hounds. Its future lay ahead; it is a Blakean fable of the ancestry of disease, and the first of many grotesque births Blake would contribute to literature.

The fifth and last song of Act I has its background in James Harris's pastoral — or, to be more precise, it pokes fun at the many, many stage songs derived from "L'Allegro." It was almost required that someone sing about the light fantastic toe, and Miss Gittipin does so. The company is gratified. The song is jocund in mood, mildly satirizing the "L'Allegro" tradition, but not much sillier than some of the genuine songs in the tradition. It provides a minor musical climax needed at this point.

Act II opens with the sociable suggestion, "Let's all get drunk." The Blake brothers sing first: an anthem to Doctor Johnson. The text was inspired by Collins' "Ode to Evening."

Now air hushed, save where the weak-eyed bat,
With short shrill shriek, flits by on leathern wing.

The anthem opens:

Lo the Bat with Leathern Wing
Winking & blinking
Winking & blinking
Winking & blinking
Like Doctor Johnson

[15] On Harris' stage pastiche and the tradition Blake is satirizing, see Appendix E.

The music might be an "animal imitation" such as Purcell's "Lo, hear the gentle lark," or Handel's nightingales in *Solomon*, or Haydn's snakes in *The Creation*.[16] The "short shrill shrieks" could be voiced *ad libitum*.

Blake is never more like Foote than at this point. One would need to cite all references to Foote in Boswell's *Life of Johnson* to present an argument that the anthem, with its duetto miming Johnson and Scipio Africanus greeting each other among the shades, was an appropriate tribute at the time of Johnson's death. In an age of wits, the acknowledged wits were Johnson, Quin, Garrick, and Foote. In the long battle of wits between Johnson and Foote, jests were rough on both sides. Johnson said of him, "For loud obstreperous broad-faced mirth, I know not his equal." In precisely these terms Blake pays his tribute — and we remember that it was entirely a private and unpublished tribute.

So far I have said nothing about a member of the cast called Little Scopprell. I think he was a counter-tenor, or had a high and effective falsetto at his command. Any actor who can laugh on stage as he does will earn his pay in a company of comedians. The loud obstreperous broad-faced mirth of the anthem leaves Little Scopprell quite undone. For some time the whole company can only echo it.

Then led by Quid and Suction they sing a part song "Want matches?" in "Great confusion & disorder." This song brings us into a stage tradition for which Foote's pupil Shuter was famous. The most popular specialty act of the mid-century was "The Cries of London" by Edward Shuter. Blake wanted a song of this type. No good stage director lets confusion reign on stage very long, and the next three songs are calming.

Mrs Nannicantipot sings another street cry, a contrasting song of the children who sell matches on the street. It is Blake's own; so far as I can discover, there is nothing like it in the records of street cries of the period. If Mrs Nan's original is Mrs Anna Barbauld, then Blake gave her music to an expert in children's songs; but her songs are pure Blake, not "Anna Barbauld." Blake has arranged his program so that we hear the voice of Mrs Nannicantipot for the first time in the match song. I think "I cry my matches"

[16] I am not forgetting that *The Creation* was not written until 1798; I am only citing the most familiar examples of animal imitations. Haydn had long desired to write an oratorio in Handel's manner, and his triumphant visits to England in 1791 and 1794 were in part his inspiration for writing *The Creation* and *The Seasons*. It probably was the impresario Salomon who brought to Haydn's attention the libretto for *The Creation*. Part of its attraction lay in the fact that it had been prepared by Linnell for Handel, but had not been set. It is a "pastiche" of Genesis and *Paradise Lost*. Such work went on at all levels, from the sublime down to the farragoes that Blake is satirizing. Odes and anthems were very popular on stage. I know of no staging of Collins' "Ode to Evening," which stands (at considerable distance) behind Blake's lyric, but his "Ode to the Passions" was staged at Drury Lane, April 18 1774.

is the first really lovely musical effect of the program. Certainly I myself would stage it for such an effect. I know what Adelaide Van Wey could do on stage with New Orleans street cries. One of these, "Tant sirop est doux," speaks to me as this one does, of the pathos of a child's uncomprehending acceptance of the human condition. Blake's little match-vendor moves from us toward the distant Guild Hall, and this first Song of Innocence fades as the child blesses those who sit in authority therein.[17]

In the hush that follows, Steelyard sings a pastoral about a young maid among the violets. Critics have spoken slightingly of the words, but I have heard Leonard Warren accomplish wonders in recital with a very similar song, "Early one morning just as the sun was rising." Steelyard's baritone as it follows and contrasts with the contralto may be supposed to have made it very sweet to the ears. In fact, Tilly Lally's reaction indicates this. The key word is *sweet*; he times his lines so as to allow the song to have its full effect before he breaks the mood, but when he does, he uses the suggestion of "too much sweetness" for a transition to low comedy. He mimes one-eyed Joe Bradley licking up much too much sweetness in the sugar-house.

Miss Gittipin then sings the only song not tampered with at all by Blake. This version of "Frog went a-wooing" was common in London then, and is still common in America.[18] Little Scopprell praises her voice by saying it is like a harpsichord. At this date, the harpsichord represented the Good Old Days of Handel *et al.*, in contrast with that shocking innovation, the pianoforte, which Johann Christian Bach had made popular in London to the dismay of all conservative souls.

Sipsop is getting restive. He has been silenced in his solo work since his trumpet voluntary at the opening. Perhaps mindful of the florid bass tricks of "And the trumpet shall sound," he begins singing a bass solfeggio. Quid stops him. He wants no Italian Nonsense. (The Haymarket was one of the headquarters for this battle throughout the century.) He prefers "English Genius," and anyway he himself wants to sing a solo. He sings a satiric tribute to matrimony and the combined English Genius of Milton, Handel, and "English Blake." Scopprell interrupts "Hail Matrimony" just as Blake is alluding to his own publication of the year before, "How sweet I roamed," having taken a swipe at "Hail wedded love," "L'Allegro," and Handelian pastiches. Scopprell is the self-appointed music critic for the evening, and

[17] See Appendix F.

[18] *Nursery Songs from the Appalachian Mountains* 2nd ser (1923) ed Cecil J. Sharp. The refrain is "Collum a carey," and Blake's is "cock I cary." Albert B. Friedman *The Ballad Revival* (p 265) says Blake's is "the broadside version of the traditional 'Marriage of the Frog and the Mouse.'" An active version, then, in Blake's London when he wrote.

seems to have his eye on Miss Gittipin; so he professes to be outraged at Quid's cynical view of wedlock. But the rest of the company is as amused as the audience is supposed to be. Obtuse Angle has to wipe away his tears of laughter before he can sing the next song, a ballad of Old England. Blake knew well the real ballads and the imitation ones, and wrote a good imitation of the casual rhyming of folk ballad. One of the hits of the century had been *Shakespeare's Garland*, Garrick's imitations of Percy's collection of old ballads, written for the Shakespeare Jubilee. Blake's ballad uses a Shakespearean tag as did Garrick's. Obtuse Angle's song is a tribute to Thomas Sutton, who by building a hospital did more for humanity than Locke, Newton, South, Sherlock, and other Hamlet-like souls who sat around wondering whether to be or not to be.

Blake, since he is making an *omnium-gatherum* of all the most popular turns, could hardly neglect "The Roast Beef of Old England," from *The Grub-Street Opera* by Henry Fielding, that great Haymarket producer *emeritus*. The closing song of Act II is, like that beloved song, addressed to the inward parts of Common Man, and, like it, attributes national virtue to England's careful concern for eating and drinking. Steelyard's baritone leads, and the whole company joins in the fine, noisy closing.

Between Act II and Act III is an interlude without song, a scientific demonstration given at the home of Inflammable Gass, when the deadly gas phlogiston is accidentally released all over the house to kill everyone with a plague.

The seven songs of Act III are placed with care. Since no such program can end with sentimental songs, the beginning of the last act is the place for them. Blake opens with three marvellous songs of childhood. The tenor first sings "Holy Thursday." This song and the next were used in *Songs of Innocence*. Critics use "Holy Thursday" to demonstrate the degree of irony in that book. Critical opinion runs a wide spectrum, from equating Blake's point of view with Foote's own derision of the Foundling Hospital, Magdalen, and all philanthropic endeavors, to the other extreme, that of comparing it to Handel's attitude. Handel, in a gesture which has a place in the history of public charity as well as in the history of music, gave *Messiah* to the Foundling Hospital. It has been estimated that minimum royalties would have put the foundlings in a position to buy out some considerable segment of the city. Their chapel was the only consecrated place where Handel's oratorios could be performed during his lifetime, and the chapel was associated with "He shall feed his flock like a shepherd and gather the lambs in his bosom." Thus the foundlings came to be linked with song, and singing played

a large part in the children's lives. From here the singing spread to Magdalen Hospital and other institutions for orphaned and abandoned children, until it became a custom to unite them annually at St Paul's. The singing of the children came to be a feature of London life, drawing the general public to the hospital chapels as well as to the annual service at St Paul's. There is fairly good evidence that Blake heard the children sing,[19] and the poem itself evinces his knowledge of the custom. When he speaks of the children, the "multitude of lambs" who "raise to heaven the voice of song," what his attitude is seems to be anybody's guess.

Mrs Nannicantipot then sings "When the tongues of the children are heard on the green." Once again, the critics are widely divided as to how Blake meant us to hear her song.

The third song is "O father father," rather like Schubert's "Die Erlkönig." At this point the manuscript shows Blake's hesitation. First he assigned the song to Miss Gittipin; that is wrong, for the song needs a deep voice. Then he considered the buffo Tilly Lally. But that also is wrong. So he gave it to himself, trusting it to Quid's baritone. That is the right choice. A child's lone voice calls in the dark for his father, but we hear it through the father's consciousness. Schubert set "Die Erlkönig" for the baritone Johann Vogel, who sang it into his first big success in 1821, and the song is Opus 1 in Schubert's published works.

In Blake's three songs, the three voices, tenor, contralto, baritone, should move as the songs move, step by step from full morning light to twilight to dark. They move from public ceremony to social play to secret fear of some erlking who may steal a child away from his father. In each song, the threat to Innocence is more explicit. They stop the show, as well they might.

Now we can see the rationale of the ponderings of Maestro Blake. He knew the audience ought to hear the soprano and the buffo, and we do. Tilly Lally moves us out of this mood with another song of childhood, sung with verve and good humor, his ditty of the two urchins (lost souls by English standards) who fail to observe the niceties in the game of cricket.

[19] Benjamin Heath Malkin, who had interviewed Blake for his report in *A Father's Memoirs of His Child* (1806), says of "Holy Thursday" (p 319): "It expresses with majesty and pathos the feelings of a benevolent mind, on being present at a sublime display of national munificence and charity." Louis Benson *The English Hymn* (1915) 344, gives some history of the singing of the London Charities. Special books were prepared from 1762 on, and from 1774 on there was a series of hymnbooks for the Foundling Hospital. The children sang not only the metrical psalms (the only congregational song permitted as a rule), but also hymns by Addison, Ken, Doddridge, and others, and as they visited, taking their hymns with them, made free-composed hymns familiar and popular. One fine hymn to come from this source is Psalm 148, "Praise the Lord! Ye heavens adore Him." The author is quite unknown, but the children from the very first sang it to Haydn's tune, as we sing it today.

Then the soprano with the harpsichord voice gives us a pre-romantic song about one of those girls who is determined to die of thwarted love and haunt her faithless lover in the breeze. (Betty in Foote's *The Cozeners* sings such a song, but there were many others floating around which could also have served as models.) It is not a bad song, and gives a needed contrast between two broadly comic numbers.

Little Scopprell has served the other performers well all evening by his applause and laughter. It is only fair that he be given the last and best of the comedy turns. He has his day in the sun. His song is based on the best of all stage jokes, *The Rehearsal*, which long ago had been made into a musical rehearsal on stage. Such a skit as *Bayes in Chromatics*, done while Garrick was at Drury Lane, was even at that date a joke with decades of stage history behind it. Blake's character Doctor Clash has a progenitor in Foote's character Doctor Catgut in *The Commissary*, one of Foote's plays that was on stage. The original of Foote's Catgut was Dr Thomas Arne. Blake's Doctor Clash, played by Scopprell, is having a hard time rehearsing his orchestra and an Italian castrato. He yells, pounds on the podium, and (as all conductors will do) sings for his singer.[20] Steelyard complains about the song. He says he wants something better than Doctor Clash, and asks for the best — the most popular single piece of stage music of the era, Handel's "Water Music." The line would get a laugh, for the "Water Music" is not written for singing.

Something Handelian is needed for the closing number, and something in Handel's "big bow-wow tone." So the bass leads the company in singing a masterpiece of utter irrelevancy, "Victory! twas William the Prince of Orange." Well, hooray for him, whoever he may be and whatever he may have to do with anything! The chorus is indiscriminately patriotic. Trumpets sound. Banners wave. The hero on a white horse fights his way through the smoke of some undesignated battle while thousands cheer. I think it is one of the funniest things Blake wrote. Certainly it is very loud, and at this point in the proceedings, this is the necessary quality. What more could any Hay-

[20] At Covent Garden in the season of 1782–3, *The Commissary* was a main attraction, not an after-piece, and was considerably expanded. Doctor Catgut (but certainly not the original of the character, Dr Arne) was an elderly flirt, contemptible as man, poet, and composer. He offers his new duet as a model for pastoral writing:

> There to see the sluggish ass
> Through the meadows as we pass,
> Eating up the farmer's grass. etc.

Blake's Doctor Clash uses as his model for instruction the child's rhyme, "Great A, little A, bouncing B." Foote's Catgut does not use this in the printed version, but he does promise to rhyme "from Z quite to great A." Both musicians are being well paid for instructing in the merest elements of the solfeggio.

market audience desire? At the finale, we are an inner circle, loyal Englishmen, castigators of folly, but rather chivalric in a vague way, and not ashamed of a bit of honest sentiment.[21]

How aware of stage work Blake was is an unanswerable question, but there is value in asking unanswerable questions.

Was he ever present when the greatest of all Lady Macbeths chilled the air of London with her sleep-walking? Her acting of this rôle and of Queen Katherine were her greatest, and accounts by those who saw the two rôles border on the incredible. So does W. Moelwyn Merchant's assessment of Blake's *Queen Katherine's Dream* border on the incredible; yet both judgments do persuade the reader: "the richest, most penetrating comment by any artist on the work of Shakespeare." [22] If any actress influenced Blake's *Jane Shore*, it was Mrs Yates, not Mrs Siddons, for that tidal wave had not struck the London stage when his picture was made.[23] Before he illustrated

[21] The Handelian atmosphere of Blake's close can be accounted for by the fact that in the spring and early summer of 1784 Westminster Abbey was filled with carpenters, and London periodicals were filled with Handeliana in preparation for the Festival. Blake's character Clash was be-doctored, but Handel was not. He went to Oxford to take the degree, his doctoral offering being *Athalia*, which Winton Deen has called the first great English oratorio. For some unguessed reason the degree was not given. Later Handel used much of the music from *Athalia* in *Il Parnasso in Festa*, splendidly staged at the opera house in the Haymarket March 13 1734 to celebrate the marriage of his loyal friend and pupil, Ann, Princess Royal, to William, Prince of Orange. Blake's curtain song suggests the chorus from Part II of that work, "O quanto bella gloria è quella del cacciator" (see Appendix G). *The London Stage* gives the story of the great expense and confusion for the theatres when the nuptial pageants and masques were staged. Blake is making fun of musicians in general and Handelism in particular; he may also be taking Handel's side as an artist who served an Establishment whose judgments really did seem erratic: church doors closed to his Biblical oratorios, no scholastic honors for his great name, and so on.

[22] W. Moelwyn Merchant "Blake's Shakespeare" *Apollo* (April 1964, 318–325) 325, referring to Blake's six drawings in an extra-illustrated Second Folio, among them one of Blake's four depictions of *Queen Katherine's Dream from Henry VIII*. Another, *Richard III and the Ghosts*, is considered by Merchant "almost alone in Blake's work on Shakespeare in being directly influenced by recollections of the stage" (possibly via Hogarth). See also Merchant's *Shakespeare and the Artist* (1959). Twenty-four of Blake's pictures are in these combined publications, with admirable analysis and brilliant comment.

Of the sixteen most popular plays during the period 1751–1800 (see Charles Beecher Hogan *Shakespeare and the Theatre*), Blake pictures all but *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Taming of the Shrew* — if his Falstaff be counted as including *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, which ranked eleventh. The only play Blake added was *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, very popular at certain periods but ranking twenty-first over the half-century. *The Tempest*, tenth on the list, is represented in Blake's art by his lost picture of Caliban.

G. E. Bentley, Jr, in discussing the matter with me, made the point (which Merchant also makes) that Blake pictures Lear and Cordelia not from Shakespeare's text but as the play was staged, and indeed was staged until 1837, when Macready used Shakespeare's ending for *King Lear*, absent from the theatre for almost a century and a half: "Scene A PRISON. Lear *asleep, with his Head on* Cordelia's *Lap*."

[23] Mrs Siddons first played the rôle of Jane Shore in London on Nov 2 1782. Blake (*A Descriptive Catalogue*, 1809, p 65) says he made his picture of Jane Shore "above Thirty Years

Stedman's *Narrative*, had his nerves ever been harrassed by Garrick's or Kemble's overwhelming portrayals of slavery in Surinam in *Oroonoko*? Did his "Mad Song" owe anything to any Ophelia or Belvidera of the boards? Did he see Tom King's Touchstone? Is there anything in Blake's *Samson* that he owed to Handel's *Samson*? When Blake's metrics moved from simple song forms to the rolling baroque rhythms of prophecy, did he owe to Handel some sense of a vast yet symmetrical shape of sound waiting to be filled up with syllables?[24]

David Erdman, reading again Blake's letters to Hayley, dropped me a note quoting Blake on the child actor Master Betty, and commented, "Sounds like an old theatre-goer. Yes?" Yes. And at the very least, it is evident that Blake wrote all his life as if the theatre were a part of life to be taken into consideration.

Such knowledge as he needed to write *An Island in the Moon* could have been had elsewhere; it is simpler to conclude that he saw Foote himself in the Haymarket. The text as it stands is essentially complete, a unified whole, the parts arranged with tact, the style appropriate to the intention. The sense of a show under the complete control of one man is present. The stock jokes are there, and are handled so as to come through with novelty and freshness. We could wish for more: more stage directions to tell how the Blake brothers planned to bring down the house with their weak-eyed bat, any sketches for stage sets, and, most of all, any sketches for those lecture slides. Think what the man who drew *The Ghost of a Flea* could have done with those slides! Still, the shape and substance of a Haymarket show is there. [25]

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ago." At that time Mrs Siddons was playing the role in Bath (Genest VI 118). Mrs Yates was playing it with great success at Drury Lane (VI 10) and then at Covent Garden (VI 23, 88, 94).

[24] See Appendix H on Blake and Handel.

[25] There *are* some sketches on the ms, but all in one place, on the back of the final page; they relate to the text, slightly, but not to its staging possibilities. I would say "English Genius" is the theme: a center profile, laurel-crowned; above it a tiger's face; above that "William Blake" (twice); opposite the face, about to eat the laurel(?), the head of a goat. Then there is a lot of smudging out, while the ink was wet — especially of Blake's name; also of another profile, below the crowned one, more distinctly Blake's face. One suspects some brotherly horse-play; indeed the page fills up with profiles of horses' heads, and backs; of lion and lamb (twice); and some practice strokes and letters of graver's script, the only full words being "Numeration" and "Lamb" and (on top of Lamb) "n no." Yet no "Robert Blake." Applying Quid's question on the recto page, however, the face (or faces) cannot be said to look like the tiger or the lamb or the goat, but — the drawings seem to insist — that noble beast the horse.

According to Palmer Brown, who first called my attention to the page and its details, these sketches were made in the original ink of the text and not in the second ink of the textual emendations. (D.V.E.)

For all that, it is imitation Foote. Blake dramatizes at the beginning the breakdown of communication between the characters. This alienation does not resolve itself on any basis of reason. It yields to song, and finally all the characters are one in their singing. This is a Blakean belief set in a Haymarket formula.

Blake did not have the "single vision" necessary for Foote's type of allegory. He was unable to deal with characters or even with institutions as Foote did. It is always possible to make the College of Surgeons the object of satire. But all Foote's doctors are quacks, idle, aimlessly cruel. Jack Tearguts is no quack. He works hard, and the pain he gives is not aimless. Almost any medical student, given enough rum & water, may refer to Old So-and-So in derision and fear. But Sipsop, when he did so, was aware that a surgeon whose duty it was to operate on cancer patients nerved himself for his day's work as best he could. Even today, with anesthetics at command, it is not an easy life. And Sipsop, lunatic though he is, cannot forget the pain he has seen. Even on the moon, Blake could not dismiss compassion. To call anything human "Sir Penurious Trifle" or "Mrs Sinagain" and really follow through in his characterization was not William Blake's dish of tea.

We are lucky to have this "failure" left unpublished in a notebook. We can watch a great metrist and a born parodist searching for his tunes, trying out dramatic systems and metrical systems, none of which were to enslave him. Here he cheerfully takes under his examining eye song and satire, operas and plagues, surgery and pastoral song, Chatterton and science, enthusiasm and myth, philanthropy and Handelian anthem, the Man in the Street and those children whose nursery is the street — while he is making up his mind what William Blake shall take seriously. Our chief interest in the work is and properly will always be in those songs of childhood and what grew out of them. The work may also raise the question: Are those "visionary forms dramatic" more *dramatic* than we had thought? At any rate, here a master ironist flexes his vocal cords with a wide range of tone. It is good to know that this ironist (unlike some others) enjoyed a joke.

(To be continued)

Christ's Second Coming: Christina Rossetti and the Premillennialist William Dodsworth

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DURING THE FOUR Sundays of Advent, December 3, 10, 17, and 24, in the year 1848, at Christ's Church, St Pancras, Albany Street, London, the Reverend William Dodsworth, perpetual curate, delivered a series of stirring sermons concerning the premillennial end of the world which soon afterward he published under the title *The Signs of the Times: Sermons Preached in Advent, 1848*.[1] The probability seems very high that Dodsworth's appreciative listeners included Christina Rossetti, who had been a faithful member of his congregation for about the past five years,[2] whose eighteenth birthday occurred on December 5 of that year, and who had already written at least three poems about Christ's Second Coming and in the course of her life would compose many more, including several of her most memorable works. (A reader familiar with the imagery and symbolism common to poems and sermons concerned with the Second Coming will find no fewer than thirty-five such pieces in Christina Rossetti's *Collected Poems*.[3])

[1] London 1849. The James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Mich has a negative microfilm of the British Museum copy. This library has an extensive collection of scarce materials relating to prophetic interpretation in the 19th century and earlier.

[2] Lona Mosk Packer *Christina Rossetti* (Berkeley 1964) 6, dates Christina Rossetti's attendance at Christ's Church, Albany Street, as beginning "after 1843." William Michael Rossetti, *Some Reminiscences* (London 1906) I 127, after mentioning the churches of his earlier childhood writes merely that "finally" the Rossettis began attending Dodsworth's church. Mary F. Sandars, *The Life of Christina Rossetti* (London n d) 40, adopts William's "finally," and other biographers I have consulted are no more helpful.

[3] London: Macmillan 1904, ed with memoir and notes by William Michael Rossetti. I have used the Globe Library edition (1928). The thirty-five poems, preceded by dates or approximate dates of composition and followed by page citations to the *Poetical Works*, are as follows: Dec 9 1845 "The End of Time" 87; Nov 16 1846 "The Time of Waiting" 95; Feb 20 1848 "Death Is Swallowed up in Victory" 114; Jan 23 1849 "Have Patience" 291; Mar 12 1849 "For Advent" 117; Dec 12 1851 "Advent" (" 'Come,' Thou dost say . . .") 148; May 1 1852 "Eye Hath Not Seen" 148; Dec 23 1852 "The Heart Knoweth Its Own Bitterness" 152; Jan 22 1853 "To What Purpose Is This Waste?" 305; Aug 1 1853 "A Harvest" 153; May 10 1854 "Ye Have Forgotten the Exhortation" 181; Sept 30 1856 "The Lowest Room" 16 (only in slight part about the Advent); Dec 12 1856 "After This the Judgment" 188; May 2 1858 "Advent" ("This Advent moon . . .") 202; Aug 6 1858 "Earth has clear call of daily bells" 193; Nov 19 1858 "From House to Home" 20 (seems to contain a visionary description of the Advent); Dec 31 1858, "Watch with me, men, women and children dear" 190; Dec 31 1860 "Passing away, saith the World, passing away" 191; ca 1877 "Sooner or later; yet at last" 157; before 1882 "Tread softly! all the earth is holy ground" 76, "Until the Day Break" 252, " 'Behold a Shaking' " 255; before 1886 "The day is at hand" 121, "When my heart is vexed I will complain"

One should not imply that these four sermons of 1848 were in any proper sense the specific source for Christina's poems on the subject (although two of those poems are dated within three months of the sermons — "Have Patience," Jan 23 1849, and "For Advent," March 12 1849). But one may see in the ministry of Dodsworth from about the thirteenth through the twentieth years of Christina's life at least one strong influence, especially strong because so early, molding her lifelong preoccupation.

Dodsworth (1798–1861) is deservedly best known as a follower of Pusey and Newman who during the 1840s conducted at Christ's Church one of the most distinctively High Church ecclesiastical programs in London, and who in the wake of the Gorham Case controversy at the end of 1850 resigned his curacy, became a Roman Catholic layman, and published pamphlets attacking Anglicanism and his old friend Pusey.[4]

Now it was decidedly less than probable during the 1840s that ardently involved "Puseyites" like Dodsworth and the young Christina would also be found zealously emphasizing the imminent Second Coming. Most active premillennialists were either Evangelicals or Nonconformists. In fact, one problem in accounting for Christina's poetic concentration upon the end of time is how to reconcile it with her well-known High Church position. But in Dodsworth, her spiritual adviser during her impressionable adolescence, Christina had found exactly that improbable combination of High Church activist and premillennialist preacher that would mold the peculiar configuration of her religious sensibility. Since at least 1826 Dodsworth had been intensely involved in prophetic studies which seemed to indicate the closeness of the Second Coming, the catastrophic renewal of the world, and the establishment of Christ's millennial kingdom. The Anglo-Catholic journal *Christian Remembrancer*, briefly noting Dodsworth's published 1848

125, "Advent Sunday" 156, "Advent" ("Earth grown old . . .") 157, "Ascension Day" 170, "Roses on a brier" 196, "Heaven's chimes are slow, but sure to strike at last" 200; before 1893 "Marvel of marvels, if I myself shall behold" 122, "Sunday Before Advent" 179, "Awake thou that sleepest" 196, "O knell of a passing time" 199, "Time passeth away with its pleasure and pain" 199, "For All" 202. It might be possible to argue that certain of these poems do not clearly enough refer to the Second Advent; but it would be possible to argue that other poems not listed do refer to it. I have omitted numerous poems which merely contrast earthly existence with life in Paradise; although to a watcher for the imminent Advent, Paradise would seem equally near, it could also stand merely for life after death.

[4] For a brief, easily accessible account, see Packer 6–7, 40–41. Dodsworth's pamphlets concerning the Gorham case or, later, attacking Anglicanism and Pusey included these titles listed in the *Brit Mus Cat*: *Anglicanism Considered in Its Results* (1851); *A Few Comments on Dr. Pusey's Letter to the Bishop of London* (1851); *Further Comments on Dr. Pusey's Renewed Explanation* (1851); *The Gorham Case Briefly Considered* (1850); *A House Divided against Itself* (1850); *A Letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey on the Position Which He Has Taken in the Present Crisis* (1850); *The Things of Caesar and the Things of God* (1850).

sermons, wrote, "This is a subject in which Mr. Dodsworth is always full and edifying." [5] The published 1848 sermons allow us to study Dodsworthian themes such as the precocious Christina Rossetti had no doubt absorbed from others of his "full and edifying," but unpublished, sermons in the years just past and could have discussed personally with her pastor himself.

Although the fact is largely forgotten now, during the first forty years of Christina's life numerous devout Anglicans (though mostly of "Low Church" stripe) and Nonconformists lived in a state of continuous excitement concerning the end of time. Enough ardently written poems on the subject were published during the 1850s and 1860s that we may consider Christina's Advent pieces as merely the most distinguished representatives of a mainly undistinguished genre. For example, during 1858, date of Christina's well-known poem "Advent" ("This Advent moon shines cold and clear"), the *Quarterly Journal of Prophecy* (Edinburgh), reviewing a new book *The Voice of Christian Life in Song: or, Hymns and Hymn-Writers of Many Lands and Ages*, rhapsodized, "And now, in the hymns of to-day, is there nothing fresh? Does not that 'glorious hope,' the light of the day of the appearing of Christ, shine more brightly in some of these than it has since the Thessalonians 'turned from idols to serve the living God, and to wait for His Son from heaven'? . . . For the Church is not journeying from the first Advent, but on to the second. . . . The song of redemption is no mere echo of an earlier song . . . [but] the rebound of the living waters ever freshly flowing from heaven to earth; and if anything of echo mingles with it, it is the reverberation of a song which is drawing nearer and nearer — the song of the great multitude which no man can number, which is to burst on earth in the Day which is approaching." [6] Poems inspired by thoughts of the Advent or reviews of collections of such poems appeared in almost every issue of *QJP* and frequently in other religious journals during those years.[7]

[5] XVII (1849) 493.

[6] VI (1858) 290–292. The one hundred numbers of this scarce periodical (hereafter abbreviated *QJP*), especially the book reviews, have proved an invaluable source of background material. Unfortunately, the Chicago Public Library set, used in this study, is becoming almost too fragile to handle. The New York Public Library has a set in good condition (Annex, *YIK).

[7] For one more example see another review also in *QJP* VI (1858), 179, of a collection entitled *Songs of a Pilgrim, Homeward Bound* (London 1857), with a specimen poem: [one stanza from several]

Brethren of the Lord rejoice,
Sing aloud with joyful voice;
Christ descending from on high,
To His saints shall soon draw nigh,
Day by day let us prepare
For our meeting in the air:
Soon shall we our loved One see —

II

Dodsworth preached his Advent series at the close of 1848, the great year of revolutions on the Continent. Those upheavals had given new courage to prophetic interpreters of several schools in their conviction that the premillennial Advent was near. In Edinburgh that winter Horatius Bonar launched his capably edited premillennial *Quarterly Journal of Prophecy* (and would, overcoming difficulties, conduct it without interruption for twenty-five years, until 1873). One school of interpretation, the historical, to which Dodsworth did not subscribe, largely depended upon numerical calculations of dates and typological interpretations of symbols in the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation to predict the probable termination of earthly history some time around 1866 to 1873. Many felt that the final quarter-century of human time, which would thus begin in the mid-1840s, had also been prophetically marked off. Indeed, one leading interpreter, James Hatley Frere, who had been at least a personal acquaintance of Dodsworth some twenty years before,[8] in a book published in 1815 had singled out 1847 as a significant prophetic milepost. And Frere was still alive in 1848 to contend that the Continental revolutions had confirmed his earlier calculations and that the dreadful Seventh Vial of the Apocalypse was at length, true to the divine time-table, being poured out upon Europe.[9] Several other writers followed Frere or arrived independently at similar interpretations, so that the 1848 revolutions gave birth to a rash of prophetic

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Soon like Him for ever be!
Come, Lord Jesus, quickly come,
Take Thy waiting people home!

[8] They had both been guests of Henry Drummond at the first Albury prophetic conference during Advent season 1826. Both names are listed among forty-three Albury participants by Edward Miller *The History and Doctrines of Irvingism* (London 1878) I 41 n; both were considered by Miller as among the dozen or so leading names mentioned in the paragraph above his footnote. At this conference Dodsworth moved among predominantly historical interpreters but may not have accepted their ideas.

[9] See Frere's letter to the editor of *QJP* I (1848–49) 101–103 and his book *The Great Continental Revolution Marking the Expiration of the Times of the Gentiles* (London 1848; 2d ed 1849). Frere's 1815 book (London) was entitled *A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, Esdras, and St. John.* A vast amount of detailed historical and biographical information concerning early nineteenth-century prophetic interpreters may be found in Le Roy Edwin Froom *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers* (Washington, D C 1946 and 1954) III and IV. Although the tone of the writing reflects Froom's own belief in prophecy (as a Seventh-day Adventist clergyman), his factual research is historically sound and, within the years he treats most fully, his documentation is copious. He has comparatively little to say, however, concerning developments in England during the years 1840 to 1870. He mentions Dodsworth only once and Christina Rossetti never. But for Frere, see Froom III 385–390 and *passim*, and for Drummond's Albury conference, attended by Dodsworth, Frere, Edward Irving, and others, see Froom III 435–460 and *passim*.

books in England concerning the Apocalyptic vials.[10] Dodsworth kept clear of such bold schematizations, most of which were written from a strongly anti-Catholic bias incompatible with his Anglo-Catholicism. Along with numerous other relatively conservative interpreters who did not venture to expound the symbolical mysteries of Daniel and the Revelation, Dodsworth was concerned exclusively with the "signs of the times," current events and prominent trends which seemed to correspond to broad Biblical predictions concerning earth's final years.

"The stirring events . . . occurring throughout almost the whole of Christendom during the last year," reads Dodsworth's preface, "have naturally turned the minds of many thoughtful persons to the subject of Prophecy." One thing was certain, "that Christians ought always to be watching for the fulfillment of that great prediction of our Lord, that He will come again to judge the world in righteousness." Such watching was "a plain Christian duty" that involved keen awareness of events "which may be premonitory signs of His coming." There seemed "such a measure of correspondence between the words of our Lord's great prophecy on the Mount of Olives, and the events now occurring in Christendom, connected with other characteristics of the time, as will leave us inexcusable, if with such signs around us, 'He should come suddenly, and find us sleeping' " (p v-vii). In the sermons proper, Dodsworth reiterated that Christ's prophecy (Matthew 24) seemed "most remarkably" fulfilled in current events, "whether we look on the face of the earth in its physical, political, or moral and religious aspect" (9–10).

It had been assumed that "prudence and discretion and sobriety" were on the side of persons who avoided the study of unfulfilled prophecy, and that such study was "presumptuous, if not fanatical." Yet "our Lord's rebukes" were most severe against "those who could not 'discern the signs of the times' "; and St Paul speaks of "profane scoffers" and men "walking after their own lusts" who skeptically inquire, "Where is the promise of His com-

[10] Among titles (none of which I have examined) to be found in reviews, notices, and advertisements from 1848 to 1850 are *The Last Vials: Being a Series of Essays upon the Subject of the Second Advent*, by a Clergyman; C. R. Cameron *The Revolutions of 1848 a Recommencement of the Judgments upon the Papacy; The Seventh Vial; Being an Expostition of the Apocalypse, and in Particular of the Pouring Out of the Seventh Vial, with Especial Reference to the Present Revolution in Europe*; J. Johnstone *The Seventh Vial*; J. G. Mansford *The Sixth Seal and the Seventh Vial*; R. S. Smith *The French Revolution of 1848, Viewed in the Light of Prophecy*, second ed, with a few words on Chartism; and the colorfully titled *The Seventh Vial! or, the Casting out of Satan from Heaven and the Epiphany of Christ in the Circumambient Air of the Earth; Being an Attempt to Demonstrate These Momentous Events in the Spiritual World from the Earthquake of the Seventh Vial.* The *Union List of Serials* records a periodical entitled *The Last Vials* published in Torquay and London from 1846 to 1868 and 1869 to 1872; The New York Public Library (Annex) has some of the volumes for the earlier period.

ing?" It would be "blind and infatuated" to disregard divine warnings, especially "now, when such signs of His presence are abroad; when so many things seem to point to the approach of THE GREAT DAY." Christians should *prepare* themselves for predicted tribulations that would precede the Advent. Never, it seemed, had the Church's Advent season opened "with stronger reasons or more impressive motives to a religious life than it does this day. Never has the language which she adopts this day, seemed more apposite than now: never more pointedly to teach us the value of eternity, and the nothingness of all this world's highest good" (13–17).

The recent Continental revolutions had sprung from a "lawless spirit" pervading all nations, a "restless desire to throw off ancient restraints, and to subvert established order." What was "the very principle upon which modern revolutions proceed, that *all power is derived from the people,*" except "a direct assault on the prerogative of GOD, an assertion that power and authority are not from above but from beneath"? Popular religion also, the anti-protestant Dodsworth stressed, largely substituted individual choice and subjectivism for authority. All was lawlessness (22–34).

Even though Christians watching for the Advent "should again and again be disappointed; although our expectations should be vain, and our interpretations and applications of prophecy falsified by the event," this would be nothing beside the duty of constantly "looking forward" and watching for the signs. Christians should await the end with gladness as "the beginning of sorrows, which will end in unending joys." Very probably "great and unequalled trial," long prophesied, lay immediately ahead; "yet may we look with hope through the gloom, as to 'a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn and the day-star arise in our hearts.'" In the "convulsions of the world, in the triumph of bad principles, in abortive efforts to do good, in the development of antichristian power . . . the disappointment of our hopes — the distraction of our counsels, and the triumph of our enemies," hopeful Christians could discern "only so many steps towards the consummation of our hopes, and the fulfillment of all we desire." Our "darkest hour" will be "the harbinger of a far brighter dawn — 'of the rising of the Sun of Righteousness with healing in His wings'" (56–68). "It may be we have *already* heard the cry of the herald, 'Behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet Him'" (68, italics supplied).

III

The earliest of our thirty-five poems, entitled "The End of Time," was dated during Advent season, 1845, just four days after Christina's fifteenth

birthday. Since the first Sunday in Advent fell on November 30 that year, Dodsworth could have preached two Advent sermons before the Tuesday when Christina wrote the poem. The adolescent poetess extends consolation to all who are "dreary / With a cureless woe," "weary / Of all things below," weeping over sickbeds or holding watches over their dead: "Hope, hope! old Time flies fast upon his way, / And soon will cease the night, and soon will dawn the day." The rose fades before nightfall, youth's departure is light but sure, rivers merge into the sea, and "Death reigns ever / Whilst old Time shall be." "Yet hope! . . . soon must dawn the day." If everything we cherish most in "this world below" perishes, thus it has always been both to "fools and sages, / Noble men and mean." "Yet hope, still hope! . . . soon must dawn the day." The final stanza removes all doubt that the anticipated "dawn" is the Second Coming:

> All of each nation
> Shall that morning see
> With exultation
> Or with misery:
> From watery slumbers,
> From the opening sod,
> Shall rise up numbers
> To be judged by God.
> Then hope and fear, for Time speeds on his way,
> And soon must end the night, and soon must dawn the day.

In her notebook beside this poem Christina drew the symbolical "device" of "a rose crossing a scythe; within the angle of the scythe, an hour-glass." [11]

The second poem, dated the following November, before Christina was sixteen, contains twenty-three triplet stanzas which oppose a world of sorrow, melancholy, and social injustice against the hope of Christ's coming to set all things right. Here Christina introduces the theme, to appear again and again in her Advent poems, of the disappointed watcher for the Advent: "When I look up to the sky, / Thinking to see light on high, / Clouds my searching glance defy." Under some influence (Dodsworth's?) the awed fifteen-year-old stands observing the signs of the times: "And destruction waxeth bold, / And the earth is growing old, / And I tremble in the cold." She sees that "the times are turbulent, / And the Holy Church is rent, / And who tremble or repent?" The oppressed of earth "All cry out with pleading strong: / 'Vengeance, Lord! how long, how long / Shall we suffer this great wrong?' " Heaven listens and will answer. Then "the sinful shall remain / To

[11] William's note in *Poetical Works* 465.

an endless death and pain; / But the good shall live again, — / Never more to be oppressed." Christians, therefore, should "heed not" the "night of sorrow" but wait for the dawn when the "dark clouds opening, / Even to us the sun shall bring / Gladness . . ." — "the everlasting day. / For meek patience let us pray." The poem reads like a rhymed paraphrase of a rousing Advent sermon by Dodsworth.[12]

Christina had turned eighteen when she wrote the poetically ambitious "Death Is Swallowed up in Victory," a twelve-interchange dialogue, distantly reminiscent of Tennyson's "The Two Voices." A dying Christian joyfully awaiting deliverance replies to a voice, skeptical of life after death, which advocates earthly attractions.[13] Perhaps this piece should not be classed with poems of the Advent, since the protagonist must die and await the resurrection; but I include it for its description of the Last Day, when "These elements shall consummate their strife, / This heaven and earth shall shrivel like a scroll, / And then be re-created, beauty-rife," [14] and when "from pole to pole / The world's foundations shall be overthrown."

Space limitations preclude a further poem-by-poem examination. With admirable variety of stanza forms and patterns of thought, and with growing maturity, the later poems renew again and again the Advent themes introduced in the poems of Christina's adolescence. There is much conventional Biblical imagery, which could, but need not, have been derived from the Advent sermons of Dodsworth — the watchman, the wise virgins, lamps,

[12] Packer (18) notes this poem for its opening pessimism and especially its evocation of individual melancholy "From the brain grown blank with thinking; / From the spirit sorrow drinking," but does not remark upon its concluding stanzas referring to the Advent, more than a third of the whole.

[13] Undeniably this poem exemplifies the often-remarked "morbidity" of Christina's early work. (Treated with balance by Packer, 18–19 and 414 n 4.) But perhaps critics have given too little attentive credence to the peculiar, essentially optimistic hope, foreign to secularists and maybe to the average "normal" religionist as well, so often asserted (and frequently linked with the Advent) in the same poems. It hardly seems equitable to treat the hope as forced, the pessimism alone as "sincere." Whatever morbidity the real-life Christina Rossetti had, she endured much frustration (which nobody yet has sufficiently proved to be of her own making), fronted the full onslaught of at least two terrible illnesses, produced a large body of admirable literary work, and died in her mid-sixties bravely enough.

[14] This may be compared with a striking passage in an anonymously published book of 1835 (*The Second Advent of Our Lord Jesus Christ; With an Appendix, on Jesus Christ as the Destroyer of Antichrist*, by a Clergyman of the Church of England), which both the *Brit Mus Cat* and Halkett and Laing attribute to Dodsworth (microfilm copy at Andrews University). The writer meditates on the miracle by which the earth itself, apparently with people and animals still alive upon it, will be somehow recreated by divine fire, made more habitable, more verdant. How this could happen without injury to people and other creatures the writer did not know, but nothing was impossible for God, who had found a way to preserve life during the Noachian Flood (67–71). Dodsworth is identified as the author in a contemporary prophetic journal *The Investigator* IV (1834–35) 316 and tentatively as the author in [Joshua W. Brooks, comp] *A Dictionary of Writers on the Prophecies* (London 1835).

the heavenly Bridegroom, the Judge, and need for awaking out of sleep, the dawning of the sun after the long night, clouds, fields ripe for harvest, palm branches, crowns. Some poems convey joyful expectation, others pray for a speedy Advent, others offer Christ's coming as consolation for earthly sorrow, or exhort to preparation, or evoke the dreadful Judgment scene, or meditate on the passing away of time; while others sorrow at repeated disappointments from the Advent "hope deferred." One finds youthful ambivalence in a young girl's thought that "the old brown common earth," which she loves as it stands, will surely be turned into something different: "Look and hearken while you may / For these things shall pass away: / All these things shall fail and cease! / Let us wait the end in peace." And the ambivalence of bereavement and fear in later life:

> Marvel of marvels, if I myself shall behold
> With mine own eyes my King in His city of gold . . .
>
> O saints, my beloved, now mouldering to mould in the mould,
> Shall I see you lift your heads, see your cerements unrolled,
> See with these very eyes? who now in darkness and cold
> Tremble for the midnight cry . . .
>
> Cold it is, my beloved, since your funeral bell was tolled:
> Cold it is, O my King, how cold alone on the wold.

Three of the poems require separate comment, being among Christina Rossetti's most-admired works. "From House to Home," which William considered one of her "manifest masterpieces," [15] culminates in an impassioned eschatological vision that inspires the protagonist to renounce her mere "house" (an earthly paradise and an impatient lover) for her true "home" (hope of heaven). The late Lona Mosk Packer was probably correct in finding Dantean elements in the vision;[16] but whatever its extra-Biblical and Dantean imagery, the vision opens in the idiom of the Advent poems:

> Then earth and heaven were rolled up like a scroll
> Time and space, change and death, had passed away;
> Weight, number, measure, each had reached its whole;
> The day had come, that day.

In Christina's imaginative world only "that day," the Advent, could have set such a vision into motion.[17] The "multitudes — multitudes" who "stood

[15] William's note in Christina's *Poetical Works* 461.

[16] *Christina Rossetti* 132–137.

[17] Compare descriptions in "Death Is Swallowed up in Victory," "Eye Hath Not Seen," "After This the Judgment," and "Behold a Shaking." Compare also the lines "Each face looked one way like a moon new-lit, / Each face looked one way towards its Sun of Love" with Christina's

up in bliss, / Made equal to the angels, glorious, fair; / With harps, palms, wedding-garments, kiss of peace, / And crowned and haloed hair" to sing "a song, a new song in the height, / Harping with harps to Him who is strong and true" had been reanimated by the First Resurrection at the Advent, preceding and accompanying the Judgment: "These were the new-begotten from the dead / Whom the great birthday bore."

The excellent poem "Passing away (saith the World) passing away" opens with a strong touch of irony uncommon in Christina's devotional poems. The World, symbol of environmental temptation, which taunts the protagonist on the "passing away" of her "chances, beauty, and youth," is ignorant of its own impending and permanent "passing away": "I [the World] shall clothe myself in Spring and bud in May / Thou, root-stricken, shall not rebuild thy decay." But the protagonist, whose faith answers "Yea," not to the World but to Christ, will in fact be renewed at the very hour when the World dies once and for all:

> At midnight, at cockcrow, at morning, one certain day
> Lo the Bridegroom shall come and shall not delay;
> Watch thou and pray.
> Then I answered: Yea.

Finally, it is the "winter" of discouragement and death that passes away, bringing "new grapes on the vine, new figs on the tender spray." And the Bridegroom calls:

> Though I tarry wait for Me, trust Me, watch and pray.
> Arise, come away, night is past and lo it is day,
> My love, My sister, My spouse, thou shalt hear Me say,
> Then I answered: Yea.

The protagonist, of course, will "hear Me [the Bridegroom] say" these words not to herself individually but to His true Bride, the universal Christian Church, all who have believed and waited for Him; union with the spiritual Church, Christ's beloved, must precede the nuptials with Him.

This last consideration is indispensable to adequate understanding of Christina's greatest Advent poem, "Advent" ("This Advent moon . . ."). Unlike "Passing away," where one individual speaks, the voice here from

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prose meditation in *The Face of the Deep* (London 1892): "'And every eye shall see Him.' — All impelled in one direction, all looking in one direction. Even a very small crowd doing the same thing at the same instant has a thrilling, awful power; as once when I saw the chorus of a numerous orchestra turn over their music sheets at the same moment, it brought before me the Day of Judgment" 20).

first to last is plural — "we" — the *collective* Bride, the Church. A warm sense of strong community envelops the reader from the initial "Our" in the third line. Seldom has the intentional fallacy been more gratuitously injected than in Professor Packer's psychological reading of this poem as a lovesick Christina's "strenuous effort to silence the siren call of the senses [and] identify herself with the wise virgins who patiently trim their lamps and await a different love call." [18] Christina would have learned long before from Dodsworth, if from no other, that the wise virgins were stock symbols, unavailable for private use by the devout, representing the Church as it watched for Christ's Second Coming, and that such watching was "a plain Christian duty." [19] In fact, not the least artistic achievement in this poem is its triumph over the threat of triteness. Those same virgins had been towed unceremoniously into countless second-rate Advent poems. For all the pious poets who employed them to have been sublimating lovers, the path of true love among true believers would have had to be thorny indeed.

The first points over triteness are scored in the dramatic immediacy of the words "*This* Advent moon" and "*These* Advent nights" (italics mine). Though actually composed in May, the poem evokes at once a long, cold *December* Advent night, particularizing the overused symbol of night as the Church's long wait for the dawn of Christ's return. The poem as a whole could be read as an illustration of Dodsworth's Advent exhortation of 1848 that even though Christians "should again and again be disappointed" in their Advent expectations, they must never lose courage. "Our lamps have burned year after year / And still their flame is strong." Significantly, this poem presents a time when, unlike 1848, "No speaking signs are in the sky" and "No daybreak tops the utmost hill." Nearly a decade later, the portentous events, further signs, which seemed so imminent in 1848 had not materialized. Yet the watchers, not losing heart, encourage one another: "One with another, soul with soul, / They kindle fire from fire." Although they "weep because the night is long," they retain faith, and also "laugh for day shall rise." "We sing a slow contented song" — *slow* in order to synchronize with the prolonged wait, *contented* to let Christ come in His own good time. Though weeping, they keep fast their hold upon Christ. (Individuals might "let Him go," but the spiritual Church would not.) Finally, and miraculously,

[18] *Christina Rossetti* 119.

[19] Christina wrote in *Face of the Deep* 90: "In whatever mood, in depression if need be, let us watch. . . . Nor is it any trivial matter which depends upon our watchfulness. According as we watch, or watch not, Christ will come to save or punish."

night and winter will end together and the Bridegroom "shall say, 'Arise, My love, / My fair one, come away.' "

This poem did not imply that the Advent would necessarily or even most likely occur within a few years of 1858. Unlike numerous other Advent poems, including some others of Christina's, it replaced nervous anticipation with steadfast faith.[20] "The watch is long betimes and late, / The prize is slow to win." Such a poem would not become dated so long as any part of the Christian Church retained its belief in the Advent. It was still new and relevant when the "greater part" of it, set to music, was presented on January 2 1895 at Christina Rossetti's funeral.[21] It stood that day as its author's admonition to her survivors: " 'Friends watch us who have touched the goal.' / 'They urge us, come up higher.' "

IV

Since watchfulness for the Advent was a traditional Christian obligation, is it possible to measure the extensiveness of extraordinary watchfulness in England during Christina Rossetti's lifetime (1830–1894)? It is risky to be very specific: historical evidence bearing on the subject is widely scattered and inconclusive. But certain facts emerge. First, an unusual new interest did flourish among sections of the clergy during the second half of the 1820s and most of the 1830s, bringing intense study of prophetic time periods. This phase probably reached its peak about 1835,[22] but it cast a long shadow some thirty years into the future by pinpointing certain dates as probable prophetic milestones — notably 1845–1848 (which years, coincidentally, brought the Continental revolutions with a resultant upsurge of interest in prophecy)

[20] ". . . not the creature of time but only the Lord of time and eternity can pronounce on what is or is not *quickly* brought to pass. At eighteen we think a year long, at eighty we think it short: what terminable duration would seem long to us, what such duration would not seem short, if we had already passed out of time into eternity? Wherefore He alone Who saith 'quickly' can define quickly" (*Face of the Deep* 121).

[21] William's note in *Poetical Works* 473.

[22] Discussed extensively in Froom III 263–723. In an interview given me Froom estimated that at the height of the activity, about 1835, nearly one thousand English clergymen, including some three hundred Anglicans, were preaching on the prophecies. In 1837 the *British Critic* 4th ser XXII 259, complained against "the multitude of volumes, with which the religious press teems and groans, respecting the unfulfilled prophecies, the exact meaning of the Apocalypse, the Millennium, the Pre-Millennial [sic] Advent of our Lord, and other cognate topics." For just one example, an Anglican clergyman, William W. Pym (1792–1852), published in 1835 a widely circulated book *A Word of Warning*, predicting the Advent by 1847. A correspondent, "W.C.O.," wrote to the *British Magazine and Monthly Review* XI (1837) 23–26 that his entire parish had been thrown "into confusion" by Pym's predictions, and "To crown all, it is now asserted that, besides the unlearned converts of this and other neighbourhoods, five hundred clergymen of the Church of England have embraced his doctrines." In 1851 a writer in the *QJP* III 120 asserted that since 1820 more than two hundred volumes supporting premillennialism had been published in England.

and 1866–1873 (the predicted end of time). Both these periods saw a flurry of writing, lecturing, and publishing on the subject, including considerable sensationalism at the popular level.[23] Second, parallel with time-period study (the "historicist school") was the activity of watching for the "signs of the times." Historicists, naturally, looked for "signs" to confirm their calculations; but numerous others, including "futurists" (who expected most of the prophecies of the Apocalypse to be fulfilled during some relatively brief later period), were drawn by the "signs" alone to expect the Advent soon. Dodsworth was one of these. Third, the premillennial interpreters and their followers remained a relative minority of Christendom. They always had to contend against an equally dogmatic school of postmillennialists, who believed the Advent would occur only after the world had been evangelized and an earthly kingdom prepared for the returning King to rule. The whole question was overshadowed first and last by the Tractarian movement, Anglo-Catholicism, and the resulting Protestant reaction. And we can see in retrospect that all through these years the theological future actually belonged to liberal, or Broad Church, principles.[24] By the middle 1870s, apparently, prophecy and the Advent as issues were no longer very alive.

In those decades of broadening democracy and accelerated change in all areas of life, searchers for "signs of the times" found abundant material for contemplation. The conservative Anglican *English Review* in 1848 summar-

[23] The 1845–1848 period is discussed in Section II and footnote 10 above. From about 1864 interest grew concerning the approaching years 1866 to 1873, since numerous prophetic interpreters (the number was frequently placed at more than one hundred) had concluded independently that the world must end by 1873 at the latest and more likely during 1866 or 1867. See the newly established prophetical journal *The Rainbow* I (1864) 470; II (1865) 367. Prophetical conferences were held in various English cities during 1863 and 1864. (See *The Rainbow* I 36, 308, 428–429.) Apparently helping to substantiate prophetic calculations was the idea that the seven-thousandth year since Creation would fall soon and usher in the earth's seventh millennium, to be introduced by the Advent. In 1866 Philip Henry Gosse, F.R.S. (father of Edmund) published his *The Six Thousand Years of the World's History Now Closing; A Table of Scripture Chronology, with Notes*, claiming "The probability that 1866 is the *very* year, the *annus mirabilis*, is . . . immensely augmented by the convergence of the great prophetic periods of Scripture." (Quoted in *The Rainbow* III [1866] 190.) Titles listed in the *English Catalogue of Books* for 1865 show forty-one books on prophecy, the Advent, and related topics, dropping to twenty-four in 1866 and thirteen in 1867. *The Rainbow*, a monthly, published fifteen poems on the Advent in the three years 1865–1867 and reviewed four books of such poems. Poignantly, John Cumming's book *The End of the World in 1867; Two Lectures Delivered in Free Trade Hall, Manchester* (London n d), 16–17 carried advertisements for several books about Heaven (informing the faithful what life would be like in their new home): *Across the River: Twelve Views of Heaven*; John Angell James *Heaven; or, The Triumphant Church in Its State of Celestial Repose*; Thomas Guthrie, D.D. *Earth to Be Our Heaven*; or, *A Restored Earth the Future and Final Residence of the Saints*; C. H. Spurgeon, et al *In Heaven; Glimpses of the Life and Happiness of the Glorified*; and Norman Macleod, D.D., et al *Recognition of Friends in Heaven*.

[24] Suspending publication of *QJP* after twenty-five years (XXV [1873] 318) Horatius Bonar thought Broad Church liberalism had become the single "greatest hindrance" to prophetic study.

ized five great trends that spoke more eloquently of the end of time than all "questionable interpretations of prophetic symbols, and . . . doubtful calculations of prophetic dates": "The rapid growth of open, and the wide diffusion of covert infidelity on one hand, and the gigantic strides which the Papacy is taking on the other hand, — the state of captivity to which, by their joint operations, the Church of Christ in this land is reduced, — the wide spread of radicalism, and the daily increasing inability of the conservative elements in the different states of Europe to resist its progress, — above all, the combination of numberless dissentient and antagonistic principles in one concordant and deadly hostility against God's ordinance in Church and State." Surely these portended "the final struggle between Christian and Anti-christian principles, in the midst of which Christ will appear for the redemption of His Church."[25] Another writer in 1858 listed five *good* "signs" (the spread of knowledge, human attempts at self-regeneration, interest in the Jews, widespread preaching of the Gospel, the gathering of the elect) and nine *evil* (the world's restlessness, anarchy or lawlessness, immorality, prevalent theological error, such religions as Mormonism, atheism, progress of the Papacy, wars and rumors of wars, and disbelief in the approaching Advent).[26] In their turn such varied phenomena as Chartism, anti-Tory newspapers, militant dissent, influenza epidemics, various attempts (educational, literary, philosophical, political) to regenerate the world by human effort alone, commercial speculation, disasters by land and sea (including railway accidents), the California gold rush, the Great Exhibition of 1851, the American Civil War, and the publication of *Essays and Reviews* were singled out as harbingers of the end.[27] Generally, writers about the "signs" seem to have been conservatives who saw portents in whatever events or trends they disapproved, whatever to them represented "disorganization, individualism, dispersion, or insubordination." They were reactionaries consciously opposed to the idea of progress, despisers of republicanism who awaited "a Monarchy of which Christ is the one King, with his risen Saints seated round him on the throne, ruling in righteousness over an obedient earth, into which no voice of sedition or disaffection can enter."[28]

[25] IX 49–50.

[26] *QJP* X (1858) 352–363.

[27] Joshua W. Brooks "The Signs of the Second Advent in the State of the World at Large" *The Second Coming, The Last Judgment, and the Kingdom of Christ; Being Lectures Delivered During Lent, 1843, at St. George's, Bloomsbury, by Twelve Clergymen of the Church of England* (London 1843) 136–191; *QJP* II (1850) 6–8; X (1858) 295; V (1853) 227; VI (1854) 14–24; III (1851), 267–275; XV (1863), 57–69; XIV (1862), 123–138.

[28] *QJP* I (1848–49) 56–61; II (1850) 1–15.

Many of the leading historicist interpreters, if once granted their initial assumptions about the nature of prophetic communication, seem sober, scholarly men, whose books demonstrate minute mastery of Scriptural study, wide reading in history, and encyclopedic awareness of earlier interpretations. For what is admittedly the extreme instance, consider the Rev Edward Bishop Elliott, Incumbent of St Mark's Church, Kemptown, Brighton, Prebendary of Heytesbury, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, whose four-volume *Horae Apocalypticae; or, A Commentary on the Apocalypse, Critical and Historical, Including also an Examination of the Chief Prophecies of Daniel* (fifth ed, London 1862), dedicated to the Earl of Shaftesbury, is a model of lucidly written exposition totaling 2,584 pages with almost countless footnotes containing some ten thousand references to ancient and modern works.[29] The fourth volume has more than 250 pages of appendices, including a detailed history of prophetic interpretation and an analytical refutation of "the chief counterschemes of Apocalyptic interpretation." Such scholarly writers were respected even when they failed to convince. But as a type often produces its own caricature, other books appeared sensationalizing the findings of the primary interpreters, or proffering their own wilder prognostications arbitrarily identifying contemporary rulers with apocalyptic symbols or setting detailed time-tables for the outbreak of bloody wars and exact dates for the termination of the world. It was this sort of thing that the *Quarterly Journal of Prophecy* in 1865 branded as "sensational prophecy . . . more injurious than sensational fiction. . . . To make sensational capital out of prophetic truth seems to us woeful irreverence for Scripture; and indicates an audacity, as well as heartlessness, which ought to be discouraged by every sober-minded student of the Word."[30]

[29] Though I have examined Elliott's volumes and read portions of them with due astonishment, I must accept the word of Froom III 716 for the number of references.

[30] XVII 396. One such writer was a physician, John Thomas (later the founder of the Christadelphian Church), who had emigrated from England to the United States but, on the outbreak of the 1848 revolutions, returned to lecture on his own formulations from prophecy, giving by 1850 more than 170 lectures to working-class audiences throughout England and receiving more than a thousand subscriptions to his book *Elpis Israel; Being an Exposition of the Kingdom of God, with Reference to the Time of the End, and the Age to Come* (London ca 1850; examined in the American ed, New York, 1851). He set the Advent for 1906, preceded by a forty-year Time of Trouble to begin 1864 to 1868, in turn to be preceded (from 1848 forward) by events "which will make the ears of the nations tingle and their blood run cold." Another was one M. Baxter, identified as Missionary of the Church of England at Onadorga, Canada West, whose *The Coming Battle, and the Appalling National Convulsions Foreshown in Prophecy to Occur during 1861–67, according to the Opinions of Revs. Bickersteth, Cumming, Croly, &c., &c., &c.* (London 1863) had sold some thirty thousand copies by 1866. Baxter also produced *Louis Napoleon: The Destined Monarch of the World* (ca 1864) "proving" that Napoleon III was the prophesied Antichrist. (See *The Rainbow* I [1864] 64–75, 379; III [1866] 191.) A third was a Captain W. A. Baker, Royal Bombay Engineers, who in a space of four months conceived

Compared with such as these, a William Dodsworth might seem almost drab. By 1835, if we accept as his the anonymous book the British Museum ascribes to him (see footnote 14 above), he was endorsing the futurist position of Samuel R. Maitland, which eschews all attempts to interpret time prophecies in reference to past historical events.[31] (I believe from comparison with the 1848 book that the attribution is correct.) But also by then, despite his active involvement with Tractarianism, he had acquired something of a reputation for unreliable dabbling with the prophecies. In 1837 the anti-Tractarian *Christian Observer* disposed of him as "a devout, amiable, and zealous clergyman, who, having begun with Mr. [Edward] Irving and Mr. [Henry] Drummond in defending modern miracles, and writing prophetical speculations in the *Morning Watch*, has found for the present a resting-place in the system of the Oxford Tracts." [32] Apparently Dodsworth had earned at least part of the stigma of "Irvingism." As we have seen, he had attended at least the first (1826) Albury conference on prophecy called by Drummond, later the leader of "Irvingism" (Catholic Apostolic Church). Very likely he had, as accused, written for the *Morning Watch*, a premillennialist paper supporting Irving.[33] It even seems that the indefatigable Drummond had purchased a chapel at Margaret Street, London, in 1829 and installed Dodsworth there, according to a recent account, expressly "to propagate Irvingism within the Church of England. . . . not to drift from Anglicanism, but to leaven it with Catholic Apostolic ideas." [34] But Dodsworth soon became caught up with the new Oxford Movement ideals and practices, though his early zeal for the Second Advent never waned. Thus he remained a sort of hybrid anomaly among the leading Anglo-Catholics. Of course, it was

---

a fantastic system of interpretation published as *The Day and The Hour* (ca 1865): "At present we have ascertained that neither the Queen nor any of her children will ever die; that the Queen will retire from public life, and that the Prince of Wales will become Prince Regent, that in this capacity he will cause the restoration of the Jews to Jerusalem on March 10th, 1875; that prince Leopold will take the executive management of the restoration. That the Emperor Louis Napoleon will commence his career as Antichrist on March 10th, 1875, and be fully revealed in that character on April 9th, 1875, and will be sent into perdition by Christ Himself on September 20th, 1878." (See *The Rainbow* II [1865] 439.) In the final number of *QJP* XXV (1873) 314 Bonar lashed out again at "prophetical sensationalism": "Sober-minded and wholesome literature is at a discount; but a sensational pamphlet, fixing some date, or depicting some personage, or foretelling some particular change, circulates by thousands."

31 *The Churchman* VI (1842) 46–47 classed Dodsworth with the futurist interpreters.

32 XXXVII 187.

33 See *Morning Watch* I (1829) 62–71, 518–524, 728–735, signed with the initials "W.D."

34 H. F. B. Mackay "A Hundred Years in Margaret Street" *Followers in the Way* (New York 1934) 183–184. Mackay in 1934 was rector of All Saints, Margaret Street, on the site of Dodsworth's former chapel.

always quite proper to watch for the Advent, yet Dodsworth's peculiar emphasis was disturbingly atypical. Whether or not the 1835 book on the Advent is his, he signed his name in 1836 to *Advent Lectures*, which the *British Critic* rebuked for betraying "something of *peculiarity*, something of fancifulness, and something of mysticism." The reviewer wished Dodsworth "had employed himself upon a subject more practical and less enveloped in mysterious and uncertain speculation, than the *circumstances* and the *time* of our Lord's Second Coming." The reviewer appended several lengthy extracts from the book to prove that such an emphasis on the all-importance of the Advent would "*sound* like a discouragement to Christian *activity*. What we really want is a due mixture of *action* and *contemplation*." [35] Before the Rossettis joined his new Christ's Church, Albany Street around 1843, Dodsworth had demonstrated a sufficient capacity for Anglo-Catholic *action*; but in his *contemplation* he held tenaciously to a premillennialist zeal acquired years before in the heady company of Jane Welsh Carlyle's old suitor, the incomparable enthusiast Edward Irving. A man who had responded to the differing spells of both an Irving and a Newman was waiting at Albany Street with a spell of his own for the two teen-age daughters of Gabriele Rossetti, Italian exile-poet and great lover of Dante.

V

By the time Dodsworth left Albany Street, and the Church of England, Christina Rossetti, just turned twenty, had acquired an imaginative preoccupation with the Second Advent and the Judgment Day that has no counterpart in any other English poet since Cynewulf who even approaches her poetic stature. It may be impossible to recover her subsequent personal opinion of the man who had renounced the Church he had helped teach her to love and who, incidentally, probably influenced James Collinson, her fiance, whom she *may* have loved, to renounce it even before he himself did. As Christina passes from girlhood into maturity her poems about the Advent say less about the shortness of time, as fallible man counts shortness; but the

[35] 4th ser xxi (1837) 526–527. The *Brit Mus Cat* lists Dodsworth's book, but the Brit Mus copy had been mislaid when I twice wrote for microfilm. The extracts show an uncompromising premillennial position pessimistic about schemes for converting the world by missionary activity. The *British Critic* reviewer wrote: "This whole scheme . . . beautiful as it appears, and cheering as is the prospect which it holds up to the Christian, must be pronounced as nothing better than a splendid romance. IT WILL NOT BEAR THE TEST OF SCRIPTURE: and it is from Scripture alone that any knowledge on this subject can be obtained." As a strong supporter of the Tractarians, Dodsworth might have been granted greater immunity from such criticism in the *British Critic* after the Tractarians took it over completely the next year. See Esther Rhoads Houghton "*The British Critic* and the Oxford Movement" *Studies in Bibliography* xvi (1963) 119–137.

overwhelming vision of the First Resurrection and the dread day of Judgment seems never far from her consciousness.

> Man rising to the doom that shall not err, —
> Which hath more dread — the arouse of all or each?
> All kindreds of all nations of all speech,
> Or one by one of *him* and *him* and *her*?
> While dust reanimate begins to stir
> Here, there, beyond, beyond, reach beyond reach;
> While every wave refashions on the beach
> Alive or dead-in-life some seafarer. . . .
>
> God bring us all rejoicing to the shore
> Of happy Heaven, His sheep home to the pen.
> (*Poetical Works* 255)

It would also be desirable for Christina Rossetti's biographers, as well as her critics, to consider fully this involvement with the Second Coming. No reader who has even partially suspended his disbelief before the overelaborated persuasiveness of the late Mrs Packer's book-length conjecture of Christina's long obsession with the married William Bell Scott will suppose that all the motivations of her strangely moving poetry can be explained by a study of her theology. But even Mrs Packer's thesis would have been none the weaker for including a greater awareness of the devastating displacement that can accompany an ever-palpable vision of eternal Judgment and Reward whose coming may possibly (and it is "a plain Christian duty" [Dodsworth] to assume *probably*) burst upon the world before one dies:

> Weeping we hold Him fast who wept
> For us, we hold Him fast;
> And will not let Him go except
> He bless us first or last.

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Our cover engraving is the frontispiece from a pamphlet in the Rare Book Division, *The Air Balloon; or, A Treatise on the Aerostatic Globe* . . . (London 1783). As today, space travel was a common amusement to the people of Blake's and Foote's London in the 1780s; and this interest found its literary expression in the theatrical pieces Mrs England has been discussing in her essay which began in the September issue. It will be interesting to see what *Islands* appear in the dark spaces of today's age of exploration.

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Index to *Close Up*, A Pioneer in Motion Picture Aesthetics

By MELINDA WARD

THE FIRST PERIODICAL to deal with the motion picture as an art form was *Close Up*, published from July 1927 to December 1933. Edited by Kenneth Macpherson, with Bryher's assistance, ten volumes with fifty-two issues were printed. Though published in England, its coverage was international, with articles in both English and French; it sought to formulate an aesthetic for the new art of motion pictures, little more than thirty years old.

With contributors as varied as S. M. Eisenstein and Gertrude Stein, there was coverage of all phases and aspects of cinema around the world, with articles by such well-known writers and film-makers as Marc Allegret, V. I. Pudovkin, G. W. Pabst, Eugene Deslaw, Hanns Sachs, and Marianne Moore.

Content and scope varied from issue to issue, but overall included: film reviews, stills, film book reviews, articles about directors or on censorship, as well as about a full range of technical problems and innovations, such as the introduction of sound. An entire issue was devoted to the Negro in film, as actor and as thematic material.

Close Up should be invaluable to the historian, biographer, and aesthetician of the film; and in order to make it more accessible, it has been indexed primarily according to film, subject, individuals connected with the making of films, country, and names of theatres and societies — rather than by title or author of an article. Where the magazine refers to a film in another language by both the original title and its English translation, only the English title is used in the index. For the earlier issues, the illustrations, which were gathered in plates, are indexed by the preceding text page number with the abbreviation "ff" (following). Illustrations in the magazine were duplicated on the covers of some issues; it is the interior appearance which is indexed.

A complete file of *Close Up* may be consulted in The New York Public Library's Theatre Collection, Research Library of the Performing Arts at Lincoln Center.

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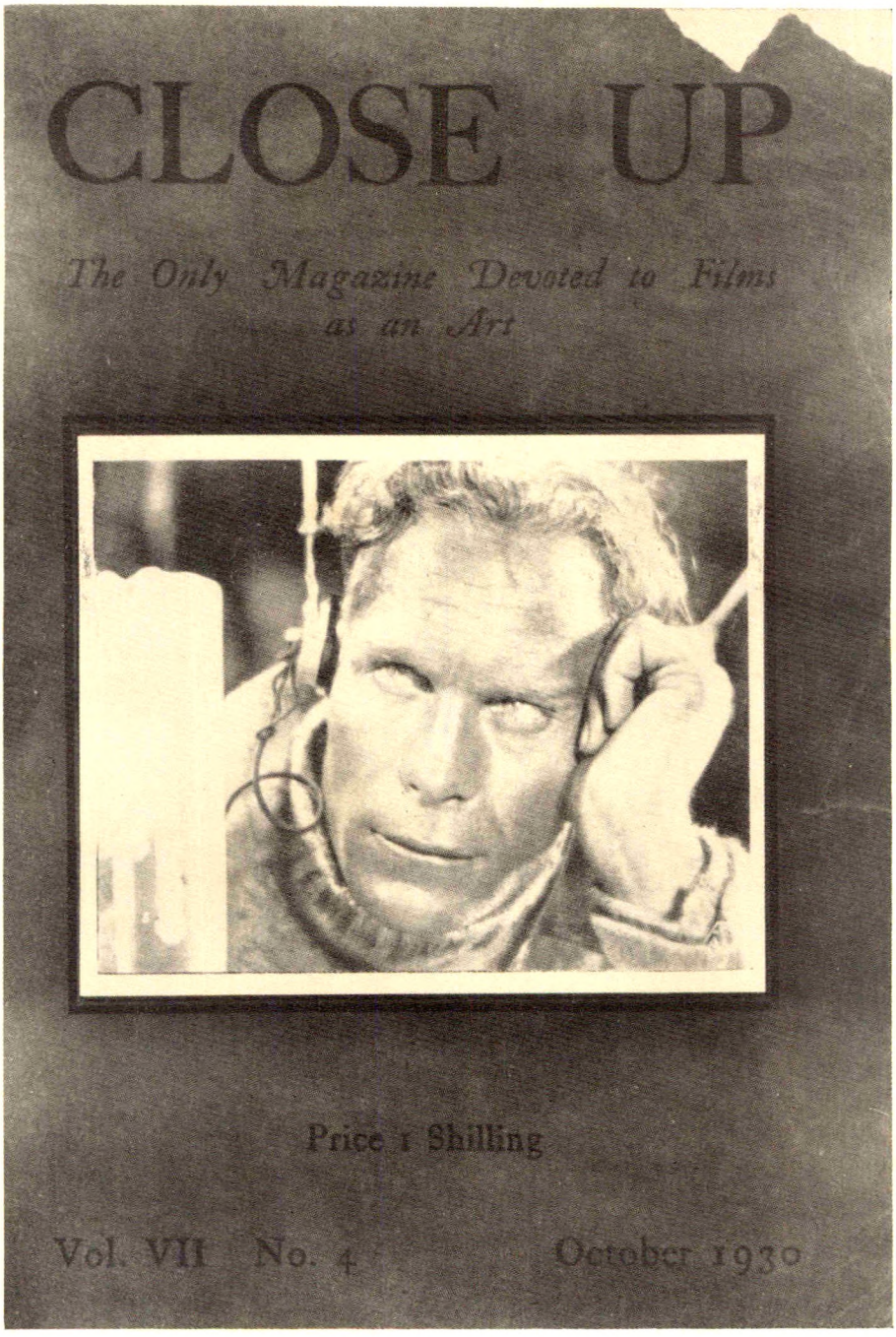
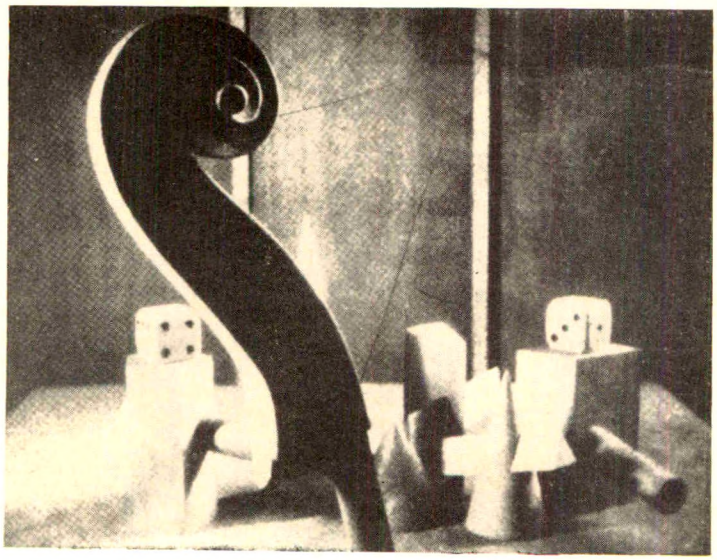


Later issues used stills on the cover: this is from Dr Arnold Franck's *Storm on the Mountain*. *Theatre Collection*



Above: A still from a Man Ray art film (*Close Up* 1/2 Aug '27 ff p 40).

Right: "The perfect portrait study conception! *Little Miss London*, a British Instructional indiscretion," (*Close Up* 5/1 Jul '29 ff p 268). *Theatre Collection*

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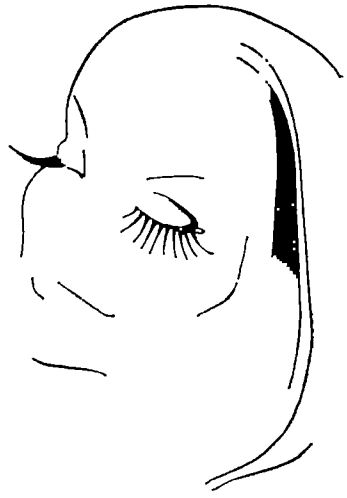

A linear editorial on the Garbo myth (*Close Up* 7/3 Sept '30 ff p 170).
Theatre Collection

A Check List of Modern Plays Based on Classical Mythic Themes

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THE POPULARITY OF MYTH in the twentieth century has been well established, in the arts and in the world of ideas. There is a plethora of modern critical writings which survey and analyze the various ancient mythic themes, ranging from Jessie Weston's *From Ritual to Romance* to the very recent *Myth and Literature: Contemporary Theory and Practice* by John B. Vickery. In view of the quantity of primary and secondary material, one is surprised to find that locating modern examples of ancient myths is surprisingly difficult. General studies of myth make only passing reference; for example, *Myths of the Greeks and Romans* by Michael Grant does cite modern examples but not plentifully or systematically. Bibliographies of drama which have cross-indexes by subject are selective in various ways and cover limited time-periods. The annual bibliographies in scholarly journals have sections listing critical treatments of myth, but none specifically for creative works of this type. Scanning general lists of creative works is not very satisfactory because, in many, the relationship to the ancient source is not obvious. Some plays, of course, bear the same title as the ancient ones. Others are retitled, but their substance is basically a modernization of the material. Still others, however, have only a most indirect resemblance to the source material; yet these are often the most rewarding for comparative study. The fact is that there are no extensive lists or easy ways of discovering the many poems, novels, and plays which are mythic in content.

This check list concerns itself solely with modern dramatic versions of classical myths, modern here referring to plays written from the 1890s to the present. Any material written in dialogue form for stage performance has been considered: hence, opera has been included; the dance has not. By classical myth is meant what is generally considered part of Greek and Roman mythology, excluding the borderline areas of folk tales, fairy tales, fables, and legends. There are many modern plays which may well be called mythic but which, rather than being classical, are Biblical, Oriental, even original; but we have restricted this list to the classical, a sufficient topic in itself and one which poses none of the problems, that may arise for other periods, of what is and is not myth.

This check list is not an exhaustive compendium of every twentieth-century drama which has its roots in ancient myth. Works of minor interest and plays which pretend to be nothing more or less than translations from the Greek or Latin are not cited. We have endeavored to provide a list, then, of the significant examples of the type.

The plays are grouped according to the principal mythic character or theme in the work, arranged alphabetically. Under each heading, the plays are alphabetical by author, with significant translations noted. First production dates, where available, are given within brackets; for the others, publication dates are provided.

ADONIS, *see* VENUS

AGAMEMNON, *see* ORESTEIA

ALCESTIS

Aldington, Richard. *Alcestis*. 1930. (English)

Bonnard, André. *Alceste*. 1948. (French)

Eliot, T. S. *The Cocktail Party*. [1949] (English)

Valency, Maurice. *The Thracian Horses*. [1942] (English)

AMPHITRYON

Behrman, S. N. *Amphitryon 38*. [1938] Adapted from Giraudoux. (English)

Giraudoux, Jean. *Amphitryon 38*. 1929. (French)

Porter, Cole, Dwight Taylor and Reginald Lawrence. *Out of This World*. [1950] (English)

ANTIGONE

Anouilh, Jean. *Antigone*. 1944. (French)

Bonnard, André. *Antigone*. 1960. (French)

Brecht, Bertolt. *Antigone*. 1948. (German)

Galantiere, Lewis. *Antigone and the Tyrant*. 1946. Adapted from Anouilh. (English)

Hasenclever, Walter. *Antigone*. 1919. (German)

Honegger, Arthur and Jean Cocteau. *Antigone* (opera). [1927] (French)

Logue, Christopher. *Antigone*. 1960. (English)

Orff, Carl. *Antigonae* (opera). [1949] Based on Hölderlin. (German)

APOLLO

Giraudoux, Jean. *L'Apollon de Maisac*. [1942] (French)

Renamed *L'Apollon de Bellac*. 1946. (French)

Valency, Maurice. *The Apollo Bellac*. 1954. Adapted from Giraudoux. (English)

ARIADNE

Baring, Maurice. *Ariadne in Naxos*. 1911. (English)

Hofmannsthal, Hugo von. *Ariadne auf Naxos*. 1912. (German)

English trans by Alfred Kalisch. 1913.

Marcel, Gabriel. *Le chemin de Crête*. 1936. (French)

English trans by Rosalind Heywood, *Ariadne*.

Strauss, Richard and Hugo von Hofmannsthal. *Ariadne auf Naxos* (opera). 1916. (German)

CIRCE, *see* ODYSSEUS

DIONYSUS

Cocteau, Jean. *Bacchus.* [1951] (French)

O'Neill, Eugene. *Lazarus Laughed.* 1927. (English)

ELECTRA, *see* ORESTEIA

EUROPA

Buckner, Robert L. *Europa.* 1936. Based on Robert Briffault's epic novel. (English)

Kaiser, Georg. *Europa.* 1915. (German)

EURYDICE, *see* ORPHEUS

GYGES

Gide, André. *Le roi Candaule.* [1901] (French)

English trans by Jackson Matthews, *King Candaules.* 1952.

HELEN, *see* THE TROY LEGEND

HERACLES

MacLeish, Archibald. *Herakles, A Play in Verse.* 1967. (English)

Wedekind, Frank. *Herakles.* 1917. German.

HIPPOLYTUS *and* PHAEDRA

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Prints Division

The Satiric Blake: Apprenticeship at the Haymarket?

By MARTHA W. ENGLAND
Queens College

PART II, CONCLUSION

APPENDIX A

Sources of Information about Samuel Foote

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APPENDIX B

William Hayley's Theatrical Writings

John Genest, from time to time, inserted in his chronological account of the London stage various short essays on actors, authors, or topics which were timely. At the close of the period under our consideration he placed an essay (VI 325–8) on William Hayley. The summer of 1784 was a time when Hayley seemed to his contemporaries to be a person of importance in the London theatre.

In 1784 Hayley published five plays written for the private theatre, and in 1789 three others were published. Two of his plays were given professional staging in the summer of 1784 at the Haymarket. Later at Drury Lane (1789) and at Covent Garden (1790) he had two other professional stagings. Both Genest and the periodicals of the time, especially the *London Chronicle* and *Lloyd's Evening Post*, remind one of Hayley's reputation in his own day. The prologues and epilogues were printed in the newspapers. Laudatory poems addressed to him also appeared.

His tragedy staged that summer was *Lord Russell*. By coincidence another play by the same name, written by the Rev Dr Stratford, was staged at Drury Lane almost at the same time. Although Dr Stratford's play was put on at one of the major houses, it was not given professional performance, as Hayley's plays were, but was played by a group of his friends. It was never published. See Baker, Reed, & Jones *Biographia Dramatica* (London 1812) II 380, where both plays named *Lord Russell* are discussed. Hayley's is praised there; Stratford's is dismissed thus: "It was, we remember, a wretched piece." These two plays show in two different ways the relations between amateur and professional theatricals. The line between amateur and professional stage work was a line which might be passed over, as Hayley had done. Ostensibly he wrote for private theatricals; still he was flattered to have many professional stagings of his works. Blake may likewise have aimed at private theatricals without ruling out hope of professional staging.

Blake seems to be drawing for material upon characters and situations known to him from his personal circle of associates. Hayley did the same, and admitted it. Blake brought the great Doctor Johnson into his piece. Although Hayley did not admit that he had done so, Genest said that it was hardly possible that Doctor Johnson was not the "original" of one of Hayley's characters — in a play which was not publicly staged. The character is Rumble in Hayley's comedy *The Mausoleum*. Rumble is not actually "among the shades," but he is both satirized and made lugubrious by being shown as a professional writer of epitaphs.

Appendix C

Language — Blake's and Foote's

In an age which thought of itself as reasonable, the general comic techniques included the illogical thinly masked as reason, failure of language to communicate, "mental deafness," and absence of mind. Stage language was greatly influenced by Samuel Foote. Fitzgerald studied these influences, and Forster paid especial attention to Sheridan. Allardyce Nicoll (p 178–190) quotes some authors who felt Foote's influence. Blake felt it also; but just as Sheridan's perennial charm comes from his own urbane skill rather than from specific debts to Foote, so in like manner Blake in *An Island in the Moon* uses the techniques for purposes which are so truly his own that the similarities serve chiefly to point up the more important differences. Yet the debt should be acknowledged.

Foote's followers used his tricks of language, but simplified them. Even after *The Rivals* was on stage, Sheridan further simplified Mrs Malaprop's dialogue. Blake's language, in contrast, is as dense as Foote's at times, though he (and Foote also) at other times used the simpler forms of comic irrationality. When a happy guest says between guffaws, "I should die if I lived here," Blake's paradox is in the manner of Sheridan. Blake plays with the word "phisiology" as Arthur Murphy plays with the same word. In *The Apprentice* by Murphy, a stage-struck lad answers rational questions with semi-relevant tags from *Hamlet*, and Blake also uses something like the children's game of "Cross Questions and Crooked Answers."

Foote and Blake use more complex language, and they use blacker comedy. Foote pilloried on stage well-known London people, who were alive and vul-

nerable, in the oddities of mental obliquity. Blake also dramatized a deeper alienation than Whitehead, Pilon, Murphy, Sheridan, or Mrs Inchbald staged. Foote's living models are discussed at length by Fitzgerald. Foote and Blake, for example, cause their characters to quote themselves repeatedly. Sane people may at times quote themselves, and may even develop a tic of this sort; but Foote's models were known to his audiences, and were not sane. Since it is my thesis that Blake heard Foote, it is appropriate that I appeal to oral tradition, to one of Foote's verbal arias which lived only in oral tradition until Maria Edgeworth committed it to print in 1825. The story of the Grand Panjandrum (and Foote's was the first use of this word) is in *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*, and Fitzgerald (p 108–111) gives the situation from which it came, the translations into Greek and Latin, and the comparisons with Lewis Carroll and W. S. Gilbert. It was intended to be an exercise in memory unassisted by logic or phonetic associations. The best example of this mode of discourse in the printed plays is Mr Aircastle in *The Cozeners*. On stage, Foote's genius for the impromptu was joined with a remarkable verbal memory. He was master of a form of speech which seemed a random flow of words. Just when his auditors were persuaded that this stream of free association could never be repeated, he would repeat it verbatim or with variations which obviously were purposeful. Blake's opening scenes (Chapters 1–6, in my arrangement Act I, scenes i–iii) show a high concentration of these techniques: the use of nonsensical "arias," mental deafness, and black comedy.

The piece has no plot. Nothing "happens." But it has a movement, and this is the typical movement of *Tea at the Haymarket*. In a Jonsonian masque, the audience was the court. In Johnsonian theatre, the court was the audience.

> The drama's laws the drama's patrons give,
> And we who live to please, must please to live.

Tea assumes that the relation is as host to guest, and moves through various comic dissensions on stage to the final celebration of a union which is democratic and sociable, rather than a comic *plaudite*. Blake's opening scenes are the point of departure for his piece, and they define the problem. Some of the themes have been discussed, but I wish here to show how the whole is shaped by the name of Chatterton, and circles around that name.

Quid sings of Phebus, Aradobo asks who Phebus was, and Obtuse Angle answers with a verbal aria in rapid tempo which flowers in multisyllabic cadences only to come down to a very flat closing.

Aradobo catches a word here and there, and asks if Phebus understood engraving. Obtuse assures him that he did, and Aradobo concludes, "Well, he was as great as Chatterton." At this point Tilly Lally catches a word and asks who was as great as Chatterton. But Obtuse has lost the thread of his own conversation and says that he does not know. He passes the query on to Aradobo, who by now has forgotten where it all began, and says, "Why sir, the gentleman the song was about." But Tilly Lally has not heard the song, and Obtuse when questioned answers only, "Pooh." Suction (who is able to hear) tells him the song was about Phebus, and Aradobo agrees that this must have been the case. "Pray Sir said Tilly Lally who was Phebus." So we are back where we started.

Obtuse is willing to try again, and explains how "the heathens in the old ages usd to have Gods that they worshipd & they usd to sacrifice to them you have read about that in the bible." Aradobo, thus prompted, clearly recollects having

read about Phebus in the Bible, but Obtuse corrects him, and Tilly Lally leaps to the conclusion that Aradobo has confused Phebus with Pharaoh, thus provoking a long discussion about the propriety of using Biblical names.

Later the subject is resumed when Aradobo and Obtuse evaluate Chatterton's knowledge of mathematics (an irrelevancy which to Blake was as apt as thinking of the God of Poetry as being an expert in geometry and mechanics). Aradobo closes the Chatterton episode with his tribute to Chatterton, a companion piece to Obtuse's tribute to Phebus. The Phebus and Chatterton exchanges, each with the flat opening and the multiplication of syllables, which is in turn brought down to a flat closing, are similar in structure, as the two tributes are similar in their ignorance of the nature and source of true poetry.

The movement toward unity in *An Island in the Moon* is accomplished by song. From the first the Philosophers are a unified brotherhood into which the other stage characters are to be drawn, drawing the audience along with them. In the three opening scenes, only the Philosophers sing. The songs are not well received on stage. Although in a later scene "Honour & Genius" is given a reprise and at that time the song indicates communal enjoyment, when it is first sung the only response is that Aradobo sucks his underlip. Quid's song about Phebus causes Mrs Gimblet to feel very uneasy; Tilly Lally laughs, not at the song, but at her, for he says he has not even heard the song. The mental deafness which allows a man to fail to hear a song which was sung by someone who must have been quite near him is precisely the "problem" of the piece. It is scene iv before a song is praised; from then on, songs might be criticized, but there is communal interest and participation.

In these opening scenes Blake introduces themes which were to be lifelong interests of his. The choice of Chatterton is significant. Blake was only five years older than the "wonderful boy." The official investigation of Chatterton was made by the Society of Antiquarians; in 1772 Blake was apprenticed to the Society's engraver, James Basire. The influence of Chatterton in Blake's early poetry is quite clear. His annotations to Wordsworth's *Poems* of 1815 prove that his enthusiasm for Chatterton was undiminished at that date. The three Philosophers take no part in the chat about Chatterton, and when Quid summarizes it for Suction after the guests have departed, he may have been commenting on actual conversations Blake had heard. Certainly he is alluding to the investigation by the Society of Antiquarians. Quid's satire is directed not at the names he calls, but at the conversation he has listened to.

> Homer is bombast & Shakespeare is too wild & Milton had no feelings they might be easily outdone Chatterton never writ those poems. a parcel of fools going to Bristol — if I was to go Id find out in a minute. but Ive found it out already.

That is, he has already made up his mind about the value of Chatterton's work, and has concluded that the poems were "Ancient," as he still said in 1815.

Appendix D

Handel and Milton — and Blake

The power of these two names in the eighteenth century is such that any generalization aiming at the truth will seem, and indeed will be, an exaggeration. Edward Malins, for example, begins his study of *English Landscape and Literature*

with Horace Walpole's statement that Milton was the poetic inspiration of English landscape gardening. Immediately he begins qualifying the statement, and yet his book circles around Milton's Paradise as an ideal.

The influence of Milton on Blake can hardly be exaggerated; some of Blake's poems date from 1770 (he was born in 1757), and by 1774 he thought of himself as a poet, and a poet in some special relation to Milton. His career as a writer has parallels with Milton's. There was an early pastoral period, with evidence of great admiration for Shakespeare, an admiration which in both poets was so absorbed that it is not openly in evidence at later dates, although the effect of Shakespeare is pervasive. *An Island in the Moon* is antimasque; *Comus* is masque. There was in each case a period of polemical writing, with important prose works (*The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*) which, in both cases, burst out in prose "song," autobiographical revelations, and visionary passions. Then there was a period of epic and tragic grandeur.

The generalizations are true; Milton's influence is of supreme importance to Blake. And yet as soon as one makes the generalization, one must begin qualification. Blake challenges Milton in all periods. The early pastoral writings contrast with Milton's in their use of Hebrew, rather than classical, models and by focusing more intently upon the native English scene and English history. *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, the major prose work of Blake's engraved canon, has much in common with Milton's *Areopagitica* and anti-prelatical tracts. *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* — a blend of satire, aphorism, autobiography, literary opinion, and ecstatic vision — is certainly anti-prelatical, certainly concerned with political revolution, the printing press, and the freedom of art. Yet it contains Blake's most famous attack on Milton. *Milton* and *Jerusalem* were written to correct Milton's errors, but had to be written with Milton's own strength and spirit. It is not idle, therefore, to consider the place of Milton even in *An Island in the Moon*, most especially in view of the fact that Blake's *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* had their genesis here, and this, Blake's most characteristic pastoral writing, stands in a similar ambivalent relation to Milton. Blake's organizing of the pastoral word around the figure of the Child is too important a literary event for me to fail to take seriously its genesis. I take it too seriously, as a matter of fact, to attempt any summary of the problem. *An Island in the Moon* offers a clear surface of 1) awareness of how Milton and Handel pervade the pastoral scene, and 2) cheerful satire of the clichés in which the stage at one level expressed its reverence by theft of snippets. I aim merely at supplying some background for both attitudes. My only point at the present is: "Here speaks the Man of the Town, William Blake."

Milton learned and loved music in his early years. In later years, he collaborated with his friend Henry Lawes in the pastoral masques, *Arcades* and *Comus*, and, much later, gave John Dryden permission to rhyme up an opera libretto from his deliberately unrhymed *Paradise Lost*, thus setting a precedent for tampering with his texts for such purposes. Given this inch, stage people took many ells in the eighteenth century. In 1737 Paolo Rolli made *Comus* into the opera *Sabrina* for the Haymarket Theatre. In 1738 Thomas Arne produced his *Comus*, later a vehicle for Garrick's acting and for many famous actors. Arne's *Comus* was on stage in 1783–4.

Influenced by Arne, Handel wrote *L'Allegro, il Penseroso, ed il Moderato* (1739). The libretto was arranged by Charles Jennens, the third section, "The Moderate

Man," being largely Jennens' own work. Handel's *Occasional Oratorio* has a text made from Milton's translations of the Psalms. Handel's *Samson* is based on *Samson Agonistes* with other works by Milton added. This process of addition from other works was as common as the processes of subtraction and arrangement. *Lycidas* was staged as a masque in 1762. *Paradise Lost* was given as an oratorio at Covent Garden in 1760. In addition to such practices, Bickerstaffe borrowed "Let Me Wander" to be sung as "My Dolly" in *Love in a Village*. Gay borrowed Handel's march from Rinaldo for *The Beggar's Opera*. Eight tunes from Handel were used by Fielding in *The Grub-Street Opera*. When Garrick rewrote *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as *The Fairies*, he worked into his Shakespearean text various passages from "L'Allegro" and *Arcades*. Actors posed like Shakespeare's statue in Westminster Abbey and recited Milton's tribute to Shakespeare.

The making of pastiche texts from Handel and others from Milton was a perfectly respectable practice. The entire principle of the contrafacta shocked nineteenth-century people and shocks twentieth-century people when they recognize the sources of their religious songs; but it did not shock Handel. He borrowed the tunes of other composers and made them over with religious words. He did not do this in *Messiah*, but he used his own secular Italian songs in that work, as contrafacta with words from the Bible. John and Charles Wesley made many of their great hymns as contrafacta, frankly taken from stage tunes, and they named their tunes so as to call attention to the fact. Charles Wesley's nadir was a contrafacta made on the tune "Nancy Dawson," published in 1749, before Samuel Foote had given this notorious song greater prominence by having it recited with gestures on stage by a character representing Thomas Sheridan, as a model lesson in oratory. The constant parodying of Handel is a story best told by Paul Henry Lang, who not only understands the parody, but also understands why Handel himself enjoyed the works.

Blake is "quoting" Milton in one way or another in many of his songs in *An Island in the Moon*. "Old Corruption" alludes to Paradise Lost, Book II — the birth of Death. "Phebe and Jellicoe" by words and images "quotes" "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso." "Hail Matrimony" in another way quotes "Hail, wedded love" and combines it with "L'Allegro" by the lines:

> That lightly trip on beauty's toe
> Or sit on beauty's bum.

In similar vein "Honour & Genius" is quoting Handel, and "William the Prince of Orange" is quoting Handel. Blake's "Doctor Clash" is quoting those stupid "Doctors of Music" who had the title which Handel did not have.

Appendix E

Daphnis and Amaryllis

This stage pastiche was put on at Drury Lane in 1762. The same work was published under this title and as *The Spring*. Most of the music is adapted from Handel; most of the words are adapted from Milton.

James Harris (1709–1780), cousin of Shaftesbury, was born at Salisbury and educated at Wadham College, Oxford, and at Lincoln's Inn. He was a philologist and the author of *Hermes* (1751), an important study in esthetics. Handel was

his friend, and visited Salisbury. Harris's papers are a source of information about the composer. Harris was an excellent amateur musician and took an active part in the local music festivals at Salisbury, being highly commended for his conducting of Handel's works. In 1761 he entered Parliament. In 1762 he succumbed to the yearning to write for the stage which at times tempted almost every lettered man of the century. *Daphnis and Amaryllis* was the result. In 1763 Harris became Lord of the Admiralty and Lord of the Treasury; in 1764, secretary and comptroller to Queen Charlotte.

Daphnis and Amaryllis is a mood-piece, picturing a pastoral world untroubled except by the threat of the lovers' being separated because Daphnis must go to war. In Act II a messenger enters and announces that the war is over. That is all the piece has by way of plot, but it offers an example of the composite pastoral vocabulary that Blake is parodying in *An Island in the Moon*.

Harris' shepherds sing:

> The bleating flock, an humble cot,
> Of simple food a store:
> These are a blest unenvy'd lot —
> We ask the Gods no more.

The three Philosophers, led by Quid the Cynic, desire no unenvied lot, but "Honour & Genius." In the repetitious style of a Handel tune, they use the song in Act I. In Act II it is repeated over and over to betoken complete contentment.

This entire section in Act II satirizes a tradition. One of James Harris's shepherds in very complimentary words begs Amaryllis to sing. Little Scopprell, between repetitions of his own singing of "I ask the Gods no more," goes through a satiric version of this stock situation.

> Miss Gittipin said he you sing like a harpsichord let your bounty descend to our fair ears and favour us with a fine song.

She responds, not with a conventional pastoral song, but with the children's song, "This frog he would a wooing ride."

> Charming truly elegant said Scopprell
> And I ask the gods no more

which last might be interpreted as one way of asking her to stop. Sipsop says, "Hang your serious songs," and begins to sing an Italian solfeggio. A "charming and truly elegant" English song is "serious," compared with Italian falderol. But Quid breaks in, rejecting Italian operatic tunes, saying, "English Genius for ever here I go." And Quid returns us to the Milton-Handel aura (heavily satirized) when he sings, "Hail Matrimony." The two songs that follow Quid are also manifestations of "English Genius." Obtuse Angle's "old ballad" about Thomas Sutton, and the closing song, "Good English Hospitality," which is modeled on Fielding, are on the "English" side in a controversy of long standing.

On one side were Bonocini, Farinelli (the most famous of the Italian castrati), and foreign nonsense. On our side were Milton, ballad and ballad opera, Fielding, Gay, and Hogarth, who pictured a ridiculous society woman saying, "One God and one Farinelli." Handel, although he was not exactly "English" and although

the operas with which he opposed Bonocini had Italian libretti, was recognized in this controversy as being a great "English Genius," and Quid is on his side. Blake himself may be nearer to John Byrom's point of view: Byrom could not quite see Handel as an "English Genius" and coined the phrase "tweedledum and tweedledee" to describe the comparative "foreign-ness" of the two rival composers.

> Some say, compared to Bonocini
> That Mynheer Handel's but a ninny.
> Others aver that he to Handel
> Is scarsely fit to hold a candle.
> Strange all this difference should be
> 'Twixt tweedledum and tweedledee.

James Harris' last song in Act I begins:

> See, we trip it as we go
> On the light fantastic toe.
> Fleeting figures form the dance
> While we cross, retire, advance.

He compares the figures of the shepherds' dance to Fortune's Wheel.

> Nymph, that lead'st the jocund train,
> Be not of your honours vain.
> Fortune wheels; a moment pass't,
> Thou shalt find thyself the last.

Swains, nymphs, song, dance, and the election of a rustic Queen of Beauty are part of the standard vocabulary of the pastoral, and Blake uses them in Miss Gittipin's song about "Phebe and Jellicoe." This is not a parody of Harris, but a compressed satire of a type of song, set in tetrameter couplets, and alluding to "L'Allegro": "Lightly tripping on a row." The standard equipment of lambkins and grots can be seen, and even in so brief a song, Blake inserts an "Il Penseroso" figure, the Pilgrim who passes by and observes the village folk, who are, of course, all in love, in accord with the pastoral norm.

Harris's last duet in Act II is fashioned from Eve's words, "Sweet is the breath of morn." Harris left the lines in unrhymed pentameter, but by far the more common practice was to reduce Milton's pentameter to tetrameter and rhyme the lines in couplets. Thus altered passages adapted from *Paradise Lost* could be patched together with bits from "L'Allegro" or "Il Penseroso." Blake's song, "Hail Matrimony made of love," is satirizing not Harris but those practices which Harris did not actually use. Harris made a pastiche, but a respectable pastiche. Only "Honor & Genius" is an actual parody of Harris, but his piece serves to demonstrate the principles Blake has in mind.

Since Blake is lining up all the "good guys" of "English Genius" for satirizing, he does not spare the "English Blake." Scopprell interrupts this song just as Quid-Blake is singing of "Matrimony's Golden Cage," hinting at Blake's own song, "How sweet I roam'd," published the year before.

Appendix F

Blake's Street Cries

There are few syllables in Blake's two street-vendor songs, and most of these appear to be mere nonsense. Yet from this frail peg I will suspend some ponderous generalizations concerning Blake's dramatic and musical sense, stage tactics, and skill in theatrical form. The means he employs in manipulating his audience are worthy of *Tea* at top form; the ends he seeks are truly his own.

Consider the placing of the two songs within the whole piece. The entire company has been "turned on" by the Philosophers' pledging of the Grand Cham in toast and song. It would be tactless to work up to such a climax of merriment only to turn it off abruptly. From this most Footian of scenes, Blake moves us into the tradition of Shuter, Foote's pupil. Shuter's *Cries of London* was called a "roratorio," and often had an admixture of animal imitations carried over from his operatic "cat" and his "cantata," *The History of Mr. Shuter and the Sow*, just as Blake's "Want Matches?" probably absorbed some of the bat cries from the preceding Johnsonian elegy.

George Winchester Stone Jr in *The London Stage* (IV cxxxvii, cliii,–iv, 70, 93, et passim) documents Shuter's *Cries*, his imitators (Morgan, Vernon, and others), the dances derived from his specialty act, the playing cards which portrayed the vendors. Any or all of this mixture may have been resurrected at the Haymarket during the summer of 1784 (Genest VI 316, 318, 319) when Shuter, Foote, and Weston were staging "Among the Shades." Blake is in the true Haymarket tradition here.

When I say that the next song, "I Cry My Matches," is a Blake original, I speak from years of searching for a predecessor. Children were used extensively in the entertainment world — as performers on instruments, singers, actors, and, especially, dancers. Garrick made frequent use of children on stage; and in the lower reaches of the theatrical world, so did Christopher Smart. Lives of children who delighted London audiences are in some instances thoroughly documented, Mozarts and Wesleys being examples. Little Mozart, playing joyously and triumphantly before London audiences, had his own dignity; and so did the otherwise unknown Miss Cassandra Frederick, who at the age of five and one-half played the harpsichord in her own benefit show. I know of no evidence whatsoever that these children were mistreated. But on stage there was no hint that children should be the object of social care or pity for their helplessness.

Our interest in *An Island in the Moon* has always been and will remain based chiefly on those songs of childhood and what grew out of them. The song of the little match-vendor is a clear premonition of those three famous songs which were to come later, and I myself would stage it so as to underscore this quality.

Mrs Nan and Aradobo have been enjoying and adding to the racket of "Want Matches?" Then Aradobo, the stupidest of our lunatics, remembers that "the boys in the street sing something very pritty and funny about matches." And Mrs Nan sings:

> I cry my matches as far as the Guild Hall
> God bless the duke & his aldermen all.

The children in Blake's songs never ask openly for our pity. "I Cry My Matches" is surrounded by the irony and pity which the child does not openly express. So sing Blake's chimney sweepers and his little black boy.

Why did Blake choose matches? The two songs must, of course, sell the same thing, for they relate to one another as contraries. The first song was shaped to fit the second, I think; although the first song might have sold brooms or fresh vegetables or anything, the second song must sell matches. Charles Hindley wrote his *History of the Cries of London Ancient and Modern* in 1884, after Dickens, after Hans Christian Andersen's little match girl had entered English nurseries. One might expect him to reflect some sentiment for street children. Such is not the case. They are nuisances. The cry of chimney sweepers amuses him when it does not annoy him. Little match vendors "make the most noise though they have the least to sell." But even this author admits that the sound at times is "wonderfully languishing and melodious." Blake's words are his own. I suspect he meant the tune to be as close as possible to the familiar sound of the little match vendors of London streets. If research could locate those notes, they should be used. In any case, the tune should be one that even Aradobo would think both "funny" and "pritty," and even Hindley would hear as "wonderfully languishing and melodious."

Appendix G

"Good English Hospitality"

I have compared this song to "The Roast Beef of Old England," from *The Grub-Street Opera* by Henry Fielding. Albert B. Friedman has made the same comparison in his discussion of Blake in *The Ballad Revival*, and, in conversation, has agreed with me that the song is an excellent illustration of the wide range of degrees of "blackness" in Blake's black comedy. A similar song by Richard Leveridge had antedated Fielding's, but "Roast Beef" soon surpassed Leveridge's in popularity, and lives on as a happy and not completely serious celebration of England's glorious past.

Surely it was in this mood that the audience at Covent Garden heard it on Tuesday, June 9 1767, when the records noted that the audience "call'd for the music to play *Roast Beef*, would not suffer the play to begin till their Request was complied with." (In passing, we note that Eve's words to Adam formed part of the program that night, "Sweet is the breath of morn." See *The London Stage* IV 1255.) And perhaps this is the mood in which Blake meant "Good English Hospitality" to be heard. I have closed my Act II with it, a type of song that has proved its effectiveness on many stages. Fielding wrote:

> When mighty roast beef was the Englishman's food,
> It ennobled our hearts and enriched our blood,
> Our soldiers were brave and our courtiers were good,
> Oh, the roast beef of Old England.

This seems cheerful enough. But Fielding's name was living history in the Haymarket. Just such "cheerfulness" as this had closed the Little Theatre and brought about the Licensing Act of 1737.

"Roast Beef" was printed in *The Grub-Street Opera* — but Fielding, although he dared much, did not put *The Grub-Street Opera* on stage. It was an expanded

version of *The Welch Opera*, which he did stage; the expanded version was only printed.

Within its context, "Roast Beef" is not quite such innocent good cheer as it seems now, but was sharp satire of the Royal Family. It is sung by the cook at the palace, and the point is the stinginess of the ruling house. There is nothing good to eat in the cook's domain, and there seems no very bright future for a country nourished on so sparse a diet.

Since *Tea* was an evasion of the law made necessary by such satires, and Blake is writing in the tradition of *Tea*, the interpretation of Blake's song is a question which is open at both ends, and a stage director would have a wide choice of how to read it: an innocent comic festivity, or a terse and searching social commentary.

The same point can be made with reference to the closing song of the piece, "William the Prince of Orange." The song seems to me to have its roots in songs written to celebrate the marriage of the Princess Royal to William, Prince of Orange. Handel's own tribute to that occasion was sincerely loyal. But *The Wedding* (not by Fielding) was a more caustic comment on the Royal Household than Fielding's. The celebration of that wedding was a complex chapter in London theatrical records. It cost theatre men a pretty penny, and memories of enforced expenditures sometimes are enduring. Although in my own staging I probably would opt for good cheer in both songs, I call attention to the fact that theatrical history would support quite other interpretations, and there is no doubt that Blake's politics would certainly sanction such interpretations.

Appendix H

Blake and Handel

Blake's first Biblical story was *Samson*, published in 1783 in *Poetical Sketches*. It stands last in the book. The material was written, he says in his preface, from his twelfth to his twentieth year, 1769 to 1777. His text of *Samson* shows his knowledge of the Bible and Milton's writings. Did he know also Handel's oratorios? Blake could read at home, but it is not assumed that he was able to read the complicated score of an oratorio by Handel, and he would have been dependent upon public performances to a much greater degree than in the case of Milton and the Bible.

My question is unanswerable, and perhaps merely adds a needless complication to an already complex question. We know that Blake had to fight always against Milton's interpretation of the Bible, and he fought on two battlefields: Milton's interpretation of the *meaning* of the Bible, and Milton's *shaping* of the Bible. Those who know Handel from long singing and long rehearsals know how potent a force is the "shaping spirit" of Handel's imagination and art. George Bernard Shaw remarked on the conviction prevalent among English-speaking people that Milton wrote the Bible. The truth behind Shaw's joke is apparent, but, coming from a music critic, it is an incomplete and imperceptive statement. Surely Shaw must have been aware that, for the English, Handel wrote a good deal of the Bible. Once the sound of Milton gets into the human frame, it is liable to be there to stay. The same is true of Handel. Blake had ample opportunity to be thus affected.

The libretto of Handel's *Samson* by Newburgh Hamilton is an example of that eighteenth-century practice of forming a pastiche of Milton's words, and it is one of the more sophisticated examples. Milton, in writing his classical tragedy *Samson Agonistes*, carefully and deliberately omitted all Christian theology, any hint of an afterlife, and any impulse to interpret his hero as an Old Testament type of Christ. Hamilton, however, selected words from Milton's other writings and placed them at points of special emphasis in the oratorio so as to supply those elements which Milton had omitted. Act I of the oratorio ends with words from Milton's poem "On Time." Act II ends with words from "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity." Act III ends with words from "Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester" and "At a Solemn Musick." We are not to conclude that Blake, in making Samson's life in many ways a parallel of the life of Jesus, was following Hamilton and Handel; but he was following neither Milton nor the Bible.

Milton, Handel, and Blake all use the spelling *Dalila*, and all represent (or misrepresent) her as Samson's wife.

Milton used one Chorus — the Israelites. Hamilton and Handel with fine effect added a Chorus of Philistines. Blake also used a Chorus of Philistines prominently.

The libretto of the oratorio made Manoah, Samson's father, a very strong and appealing figure. Handel loved to write musical characterizations of noble-spirited fathers. Paul Henry Lang (204) makes this generalization and applies it to the music of Manoah. Handel's music adds great power to the characterization of Manoah. Blake also makes Samson's father into such a figure, and draws parallels between him and Abraham, father of Israel, and Joseph, father of Jesus.

Samson's duet with Dalila in the oratorio opens with the word "Traitress," and the music reiterates the word into prominence. The "lords of Philista" in Blake's *Samson* address Dalila as "traitress." Blake's images of animals and metals have some similarity to images used in the libretto.

Blake's fragment is largely dialogue between Samson and Dalila, in which he tells her the story of his life. Blake stressed, as neither Milton nor Handel did, the mother and the infant Samson. Parallels between Samson and the Savior are made for the most part with respect to his birth. The visitants who announce his birth suggest the angels who prophesied the births of Isaac and Jesus.

Hamilton's libretto gave Handel the chance to write some of his fine pastoral music in a solo by Dalila:

> With plaintive notes and am'rous moan
> Thus coos the turtle left alone.
> My faith and trust, O Samson, prove,
> But hear me, hear the voice of love.

The sinuous enchantment of Handel's music turns the lyric into a "dark pastoral" of dramatic effectiveness and seductive beauty.

Blake's Dalila is the first of many such portraits which he created in words and pictures throughout his career. The text and pictures of *Jerusalem* at many places are dominated by these portraits. Over and over, he drew the terrible seductress, weeping, always weeping, her tears and her liquid songs being two of her chief means of seduction. Blake may have neither had nor needed any assistance from Handel's pastoral music in launching himself in this sort of character portrayal, but we can at least recall how deeply Handel impressed the England Blake knew.

We may recall this fact when we look at the closing of *An Island in the Moon*, where he places Handelian associations in his text, and where the closing song takes as its object of jest the heroic figure of "Prince William of Orange." Blake's syllable count is 4, 6, 6, 5, then 5 and 4; then 10 and 8, 10 and 8, then 6 and 8. When he begins the description of the figure on the white horse, suggesting the triumph of the Apocalypse, the long rolling rhythms suggest Handel, and suggest the long, rolling, unrhymed lines of Blake's later prophetic works. Perhaps he made a start here toward the closing of *Jerusalem*. In creating his own form, so that he should not be enslaved by another's, he may have had Handel to fight as well as Milton, and Handel's baroque glory to "forget" as well as the ordinary sound of English fourteeners.

No argument is needed to persuade any reader of Milton that Blake knew him well, when he opens his first Biblical story thus:

> O Truth, that shinest with propitious beams, turning our earthly night to heavenly day, from presence of the Almighty Father! thou visitest our darkling world with blessed feet, bringing good news of Sin and Death destroyed!

The man who wrote that passage knew well "the Bible according to Milton," and was already fighting against its form and interpretation as he saw and felt them both but fighting, as he always did, in Milton's own strength.

People who know Handel also come in time to listen for certain "loaded" words. Blake's fragment ends with the Angel saying, "My name is wonderful." That word is not Handel's word, except as many rehearsals and performances have made it his. The chorus in *Messiah* at this point has been restrained in silence for some time. Conductors all know that they must prevent the chorus from bursting out in decibels that would be ludicrous: WONDERFUL! But rehearsing and performing Handel is great fun, and once in a while a conductor even in performance will let the chorus have its fun. Listen to the recording by Sir Thomas Beecham and you will see what I mean. WONDERFUL! comes out with a great shout that would be ludicrous if it were not so exciting. Blake tamps the word down. " 'My name is wonderful; enquire not after it, seeing it is a secret; but, if thou wilt, offer an offering unto the Lord.' / THE END."

In *An Island in the Moon* there is as much satire of Handelisms as there is satire of Miltonisms. I suggest (though I cannot prove, nor even assert) that Blake may have been fighting on another front than the Milton-line for his freedom to read the Bible for himself, black or white as he saw it, and to shape it according to the spirit of his own imagination.

Appendix J

London Theatrical Seasons 1782–1784

This brief documentary and discursive summary of the seasons immediately preceding Blake's writing of *An Island in the Moon* will set the scene for his piece. It was a time of intense interest in the stage and in Handel's music. The coming of Sarah Kemble Siddons to Drury Lane in 1782 forms a natural land-

mark from which to begin;[1] and the terminal date is the end of December 1784, when *An Island in the Moon* was completed. Mrs Siddons made a brief appearance on the Drury Lane stage earlier, but when she returned the great actress "like a torrent swept all before her." She appeared in seven plays that season.[2] People in her audiences fell into fits. The Royal Family, though much preferring comedy as a rule, saw all her roles and made her preceptress to the Princesses.

She played no Shakespearean roles that first season, but before her next season opened, she visited the ailing Samuel Johnson and discussed which roles she should play. Two of the three they chose she played in her second season — *Measure for Measure* and *King John*. John Philip Kemble joined his sister that season and played King John to her Constance, supporting her in four other plays.[3] "Gentleman" Smith outranked the newcomer Kemble and usually played opposite her, but Kemble had a good season, playing Hamlet, Cato, Edward the Black Prince, Shylock, Richard III, and Sir Giles Overreach in addition to the five leading roles he played with Mrs Siddons. Other members of the remarkable Kemble family were on stage in London. Tom King was a popular attraction, especially in Sheridan's comic roles which he had created. At Covent Garden John Henderson was giving stiff competition with his Hamlet, Iago, Sir Giles, Falstaff, Lear, Richard III, and Tamerlane. In December 1784 there was a sense of anticipation of even greater things to come. On February 3 1785 Mrs Siddons played Lady Macbeth, and "from that hour her domination of the passions was undisputed."[4] In March she played Desdemona and in April attempted Rosalind to Tom King's celebrated Touchstone. But even during the period 1782–1784, twenty-one plays of Shakespeare were on stage in London, and in other ways it was a rich repertoire.[5]

The question has been raised: Did Blake's pictures show any reaction to Mrs Siddons. None is apparent to me. His *Jane Shore* dates from before her appearance in that popular role. "Queen Katherine's Dream" came after the revival of 1806 (in 1809), but is not Siddonesque in any obvious way. Johnson had urged her to

[1] No complete file of the *Public Advertiser* for this period has been conveniently available to me recently, but other periodicals have been used as supplements to Genest's partial account (VI 251–358), Hogan's *Shakespeare in the Theatre*, Baker's *Biographia Dramatica*, and memoirs of the Kemble family.

[2] *Isabella, The Grecian Daughter, Jane Shore, Fatal Interview, The Fair Penitent, Venice Preserved, The Mourning Bride.*

[3] *Tancred and Sigismunda, The Gamesters, The Carmelite, The Earl of Warwick.*

[4] James Boaden *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons* 2 vols (London 1893) II 305.

[5] Twelve plays have been mentioned (all three "Falstaff" plays were on). Others were: *Two Gentlemen of Verona, Romeo and Juliet, The Tempest, Twelfth Night, Cymbeline, Much Ado about Nothing, Henry V, Henry VIII, The Winter's Tale.* Dryden's *All for Love* was on, but only Dublin saw *Antony and Cleopatra* during this particular period. Garrick's *Florizel and Perdita* was on stage in London; his *Catherine and Petruchio* was staged in Bath, but not in London.

Garrick's own stage comedies were on stage, as were all Sheridan's dramatic works. Goldsmith's *The Good Natured Man* was on, but not *She Stoops To Conquer* just at this time. Of course *Tom Thumb, The Beggar's Opera*, and *The Rehearsal* could be seen. Also: *Volpone, Every Man in His Humour, The Alchemist*, Massinger's plays *The Maid of Honour* and *The Mirror, The Country Wife, Love for Love, The Way of the World, Oroonoka, The Orphan, The Recruiting Officer, The Conscious Lovers, The Plain Dealer, The Double Dealer, The Suspicious Husband, The Provoked Husband, Zara, Zenobia, A Wonder, Lionel and Clarissa, She Wou'd and She Wou'd Not*, Hannah More's *Percy*, Home's *Douglas* (with Mrs Siddons playing Lady Randolph), Dryden's *The Spanish Friar*, and an anonymous revision of Dryden's *King Arthur* called *Arthur and Emmeline* with Kemble as King Arthur.

stage *King Henry the Eighth*, but it was November 25 1788 before she played it in London, "in obedience" to him, and when her great success came (with Lady Macbeth it was considered her finest achievement), "she had but one abatement to her triumph, that it could never now be witnessed by her admirer, Doctor Johnson."[6] The revival of 1806 with other Kembles in the cast enhanced the glamor and the legend of her Queen Katherine. This revival is the basis for the famous picture of the Trial Scene, said to be her best portrait. Critical acclaim dwelt on the Trial Scene; Blake's three pictures show the death-bed visions. Mrs Siddons must have died magnificently, as she always did, but in the revival she was willing to share the spot-light with the maid Patience, who sang Handel's "Angels ever bright and fair." Blake asserted his right to visualize historical characters in his own way. Subtler eyes than mine may be able to discern the overwhelming actress in Blake's art. And it is true that the two supreme artistic productions so closely related in time may be viewed as contraries in the Blakean sense.

Six plays by Samuel Foote were on stage during this period: *The Author*, *The Lyar* (both commenting on stupid and venal critics who stand between an honest artist and deserved success, a theme taken up by Blake's Philosophers), *The Commissary* (with Doctor Catgut, possibly a model for Blake's Doctor Clash), *The Englishman in Paris* (with its jokes about "good taste"), *The Devil upon Two Sticks* (with satire of hospital procedures. Doctor Hellebore's slide lecture, and jokes about space travel), and *Piety in Pattens*, the basis of Foote's *Primitive Puppet Show*. Some were given as main attractions, some as after-pieces. *The Cozeners* was on in Bath, not, I think, in London at this time. *The Minor* had been staged in 1780, and a ninth edition was printed in 1781. Other publications included: *The Nabob* (1778) with Whittington's cat in the printed play, *The Orators* (1780), *The Mayor of Garratt* (1780), *Taste* (4th ed 1781), *The Author* (1782), *The Bankrupt* (1782), and *The Commissary* (4th ed 1782). Reviews in periodicals added to Foote's publicity, as did such a book as *Dramatick Miscellanies* by Thomas Davies, both in itself and in reviews. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, for example, printed Davies' entire account of Foote's playing of Bayes in *The Rehearsal*. In addition, Foote's work, like Handel's and Milton's, existed to be mined to enrich the work of others. The "Eulogium" to his *Primitive Puppet Show*, for example, was used as if it were an aria, detachable from the original work. His most famous single paragraph was "The Devil's Definition," his description of a Jubilee as Garrick had perpetrated the Shakespeare Jubilee in 1769. The paragraph does not appear in the printed version of the play with which it was associated, *The Devil upon Two Sticks*, but it was carried by almost every periodical in 1769, even appearing in the *Annual Register* for that year, and was on stage in various forms, refuted by George Colman in *Man and Wife*, rhymed into a song by Garrick in *The Jubilee*. Another sort of adaptation can be seen in the satire of the medical profession in *The Devil upon Two Sticks*; originally it had its background in the riots of 1766 and 1767 brought about by quarrels between the Fellows and the Licentiates of the Royal College of Surgeons, but Foote in his lifetime and others then and later altered the text to make it apply to current events. Like arias, his work could be separated from context; like cadenzas, new material was interpolated; like Handel's roulades and appogiaturas, Foote's turns of speech influenced the form of speech on stage.

[6] Boaden II 383, 378.

Handel and Milton were also "popular theatre" and were altered, parodied, and juxtaposed with stage material in a manner which would offend our own time. The Handel Festival of 1784 is reflected in Blake's *Island* in satiric parody, but its effect is pervasive. In Blake's day, *Messiah* might be followed by one of Foote's farces as an after-piece. The Handel Festival was in many respects consciously modeled on Garrick's Shakespeare Jubilee, and at the height of Festival excitement, there was a joint Shakespeare and Handel Jubilee on stage, ending with a pageant and procession similar to those which closed all London stagings of Garrick's Jubilee. Milton was on stage in Handel's *Samson* and *L'Allegro and Il Penseroso*, in Dr Arne's *Comus*, and in altered and parodied form also. Whenever *The Beggar's Opera* is staged, Handel's March from *Rinaldo* is there. Whenever *Love in a Village* (the first musical comedy in the modern sense) was on stage, Handel was there, and so was Milton, in a way. "My Dolly" is Handel's tune, and the original words are from "Il Penseroso." The audiences "heard" those words, for, as Allardyce Nicoll has said, part of the pleasure came "from the subtle juxtaposition in the mind of the auditor of the *original* tunes and words and of the new words written for the music" (III 192). Blake's *Island* is full of allusions to such practices and of satire of this derivative pastoral vocabulary, not satire of Handel, Milton, or the pastoral.

Another question has been put to me: Are Blake's illustrations of *Comus* based in any way on the stage version? And again my answer is "Not in any way obvious to me," except that they appear under that title, which was given to Milton's masque by eighteenth-century stage folk — indeed, the lovely pictures themselves would inspire a modern stage designer by their formal patterns and exquisite coloring. Both Dalton's and Colman's libretti for *Comus* use an interpolated scene which was extremely popular and influential, but Blake makes no use of it. The two Brothers undergo temptation by Comus' followers, and songs and speeches are interpolated from Milton's other works. The chief "temptations" are (to put the matter briefly) to succumb to the moods of "L'Allegro" on the one hand, or "Il Penseroso" on the other, somewhat taking the same line of thought as Handel's *L'Allegro and Il Penseroso*. His librettist, Charles Jennens, decided that these two moods were to be viewed as extremes, and the total work needed another section, *Il Moderato*. And so the opus is arranged. But Blake's illustrations of Milton's three poems seem to show that Blake felt no need whatsoever for any moderate middle ground. I do not speak lightly of stage work. I have enjoyed every performance of *Comus* I have ever seen, and am in favor of almost anything that keeps Milton before the public. But Blake's pictures of these three poems are a different matter. Fruit of deep love and study of Milton, they are as true to Milton as they are true to Blake's own nature. Product of a mature artist, they may be his best book of directions for entering the pastoral Kingdom whose only passport is youth.

From Dr Mary Etta Knapp comes a suggestion of a possible relation between Blake's "Laughing Song" and one of the popular music-hall numbers of the day. Dr Knapp's knowledge of popular verse of the eighteenth century is almost fathomless, and from it she dredged up "The Crying and Laughing Song" sung by Joseph Vernon at the public gardens. Vernon, a talented performer, died in 1782; the

song was published about twelve years earlier.[7] The title suggests a possible relation, and the refrain is similar to Blake's "Ha ha he."

I have mentioned bits and pieces which may have come to *An Island in the Moon* from some of Foote's imitators — a "Miss Filligree" in *A Trip to Scotland* by William Whitehead, revived in 1782, who may have become Blake's off-stage character Miss Filligreework. And a bookseller named Quarto who may have prompted Blake to name his bookseller "the Dean of Morocco," Quarto being a character in *Aerostation: or the Templar's Strategem* by Frederick Pilon, staged at Covent Garden in the fall of 1784 and printed that year. Based on the balloon experiments, the play quips about the legal problems arising from space travel and about women's fashions inspired by ballooning, balloon caps, hats, aprons, and sacks. The issue of the London *Chronicle* which praised the play as one of those "trifles light as air" with the "happy knack for catching at topics of the day and raising a hearty laugh on subjects familiar to the town," printed also a verse sent in by a subscriber (56, 365b) that will show how balloon fashions for ladies had become for the nonce a part of vocabulary. It is titled, "A Caution to those Ladies who have ventured to wear Garters inscribed with the Name of that rising Genius, Mr. Lunardi."

Ye bright British fair,
Who loves bubbles of air,
And for fashion your safety will barter;
Lunardi the bold
At your knees can't be cold;
He'll rise to the Zone from the Garter.

None of Pilon's jokes have even this mild degree of suggestiveness. Newspapers had greater latitude in such matters than the London stage.

A Mogul Tale: or the Descent of the Balloon, staged at the Haymarket in the summer of 1784, raises more complicated questions. The more obvious matters have been dealt with: it is a successful Haymarket farce, about space travel, set in an Oriental garden which was thought to be on the moon. It was the earliest stage piece of Elizabeth Inchbald, and can be read in her collected works. A close friend of John Philip Kemble, she was encouraged by him. Her life was fraught with more paradoxes and improbabilities than her fictions. She was capable of searching social comment, as in *Such Things Were*, a drama based on the career of John Howard, hero of prison reform, played in 1787 by Mrs Siddons. Later Mrs Inchbald translated French and German drama for the London stage. The plot of *The Mogul Tale* is simple: since space travel has become a common amusement of Londoners, we accept for the purposes of farce the notion that a doctor sets off with a London cobbler and his wife in a balloon and by accident arrives in the seraglio garden of an Oriental mogul. The three Londoners assume that he is cruel, easily duped, ignorant of Western science and Western ways. The mogul first threatens them with torture, then reveals both his knowledge of Western civilization and his moral superiority to it. He rebukes their deceit and aids them in getting home. The doctor promises that he will tell the story — hence *The Mogul Tale*. The farcical "lunar" viewpoint from which London society is

[7] *A Collection of All the Songs Sung This Season at Vauxhall, Ranelagh, Marybone Gardens* . . . [London, C. Sympson 1770?] — British Museum.

criticized may possibly relate it to *An Island in the Moon*. And there are other things in the piece which may relate it to Mozart's *Singspiel, The Abduction from the Seraglio*. Since the relationship has never been mentioned by writers on Mozart's operas, the discussion is of some tangential interest. More central to the question of Blake's sources is David V. Erdman's query about *The Mogul Tale*: If Blake knew the piece, is it possible that he felt some influence in his writing of the much more serious satire, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*?

Once again we return to the matter of comedy's freedom of public domain, and the swiping which went on willy-nilly. Modern standards of propriety raise such moral questions as: Did Garrick write or steal one of those songs in *Florizel and Perdita*, and so on. But the swiping was universal, and was international in scope. London had loved *The Barber of Seville*, and when Beaumarchais staged its sequel, *The Follies of a Day*, Covent Garden more or less officially detailed Thomas Holcroft to go to Paris in 1784 and take it down word for word from repeated and surreptitious hearings in the Paris playhouse. Rossini and Mozart had not as yet performed their praiseworthy confiscations of this material, but Mozart had staged in Vienna the year before one of his more complex violations of copyright, although there were no copyright laws, and even Holcroft's prank was the act of a perfectly respectable gentleman. Early in the century the German *Singspiel* had grown from English sources. By the time Mozart wrote *The Abduction*, confusion of sources was worse confounded, and the many "seraglio" pieces of the century are an extreme example of such confusion. In a brief after-piece, the author's conscious borrowings might make a long list, headed by Dryden and Marmontel, while unconscious borrowings might include anything about King Solomon or Solymon the Magnificent, two quite different characters who became mixed up in the public mind. King Solomon, because he was a Biblical character, could not be staged as an actual member of the *dramatis personae* except under special stage conditions (such as oratorio). Solymon, on the other hand, could be the central character of a stage farce, however this might violate his historical character. These two characters had merged with other Oriental sages to form a sort of composite stage-sage, who could not *be* King Solomon, but was often named something suggesting him, such as Selim.

The rules of propriety are bewildering, and shed light on Blake's jokes in *An Island in the Moon* about the propriety of mentioning the name of Pharaoh in light conversation. It was at the time, if not a genuine problem, at least grounds for a genuine joke. For example, in 1781 and again in 1782 *The Fair Circassian* by Samuel Jackson Pratt was staged in London. Pratt's play was a dramatization of an inoffensive novel by Hawkesworth, but for the sake of cashing in on a big popular success, he used the name of an unstaged and quite unstageable drama, a "kind of opera," *The Fair Circassian* by Samuel Croxall. This had been published in the year of the South Sea Bubble (when, I have been told, financial insecurity brought about a florescence of pornography). Croxall's *Fair Circassian* jestingly professed to be the true story of the Song of Solomon, based on archeological discoveries. His *Circassian* was still in print after sixty years. Whereas I find Croxall's work offensive, it offended no one in his day and in no way hindered his advancement as member of the clergy of the Church of England.

Casual as this confiscation of material was, Mozart had a little trouble about the borrowings in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*.[8] His librettist borrowed from

[8] Edward J. Dent *Mozart's Operas: A Critical Study* 2nd ed (Oxford University Press 1947) 71

an earlier German libretto, which had borrowed from two pieces by Isaac Bickerstaffe of Drury Lane, who in turn had borrowed lavishly from Dryden, Marmontel, and others. No one today is bothered by this muddling of sources, but some modern hearers are bothered by what seems to be a muddling of moods. Osmin's detailed description of tortures was accepted as good clean fun, but sometimes today is thought to be less amusing. Selim, a speaking role in the *Singspiel*, has displeased New York music critics when he interrupts the farce to deliver what one reviewer called "a U.N. oration." Mozart's Pasha Selim has the young lovers in his power. They have broken his laws and are trapped in his seraglio. Then he discovers that Belmonte is the son of the man who long ago degraded and harmed him. He leaves the stage saying he and Osmin will prepare to torture the captives. Belmonte admits that he deserves death, and Constanza answers with the beautiful aria, "Was ist der Tod?" Selim returns and says he has learned too much from Belmonte's father to follow in the footsteps of such inhumanity as Christians practice. He frees them and instructs Belmonte to tell his enemy what he has done.

The Mogul Tale has a similar speech of confrontation and reversal which resolves the plot in like manner and serves the same purpose of character revelation and philosophical statement:

> Tremble for your approaching doom. You are not now before the tribunal of a European, a man of your own colour. I am an Indian, a Mahometan, my laws are cruel and my nature is savage — You have imposed upon me, and attempted to defraud me, but know I have been taught mercy and compassion for the sufferings of human nature; however differing in laws, temper, and colour from myself. Yet from Christians, whose laws teach charity to all the world, have I learned these virtues? For your countrymen's cruelty to the poor Gentoos has shown me tyranny in so foul a light that I was determined henceforth to be only mild, just, and merciful. — You have done wrong, but you are strangers, you are destitute — You are too much in my power to treat you with severity — All three may freely depart.

Her usage differs from the German libretto in ways which are typical of the London after-piece: the plot is even more nonsensical, and this nonsense is derived from current events of the balloon experiments; and the motives of her Mogul also are derived from current events rather than private history — British exploitation of the East. It is possible that she knew of Mozart's work, and possible that Blake knew her Haymarket piece, possible that he had it in mind when he used his farcical frameworks to satirize England.

Although it is my thesis that Blake saw Foote on stage, I have said I would give all evidence of other sources of knowledge of Foote's techniques. One stage piece of 1784 may go far toward refuting my thesis.

Let us assume for the moment that Blake knew and cared nothing about Foote at that date, but was even then interested in William Hayley. Publicity given Hayley's plays at the Haymarket might have attracted him there. During these days, an after-piece was being staged there which might have given him everything he needed.

In 1779 just after Garrick's death, an ill-natured skit was published, but never staged nor offered to a theatre for staging, called *Garrick in the Shades: or A Peep into Elysium.* At the Haymarket in the summer of 1784 an operatic farce was staged which reversed the title and reversed the mood from carping condemnation to happy memories of three heroes of *Tea: A Peep into Elysium: or Foote, Weston, and Shuter Among the Shades.* Set in the good old formula of satire of opera, it was a quick one-act summary of the three comedians. Foote's part was taken by John Bannister, veteran of years of stage work with Foote. William Parsons played Shuter, and would not have omitted the *Cries of London* from an operatic farce. The prime rôles and prime jokes were updated to fit current events, but older jokes than Foote's were used, as he used them, one being the "Epilogue Spoken on an Ass." If Blake knew the work of the Old Maestro, this would have been a good review. If he did not, the basic method was on stage for the seeing.

I do not think *An Island in the Moon* is aimless and incomplete and un-funny. It seems well-shaped, accurately aimed, stage-worthy. The stock jokes come through with freshness, and carry with them a striking sense of his own personality. Blake is playing Quid the Cynic, and Foote the Master of Ceremonies, and William Blake, Man of the Town. He plays his rôles very well.

Samuel Foote in *Old Batchelor.* An engraving (1776) in an extra-illustrated copy of Matthews and Hutton's *Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and the United States* (1886).
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Illustrative materials from books in the Jewish Division depict the many allusions to flowers in the Bible, floral decorations used on festival days, and the importance of flowers and other plants in particular rites and ceremonies. Through January.

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FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

An array of illustrations of flower-like structures in the earth sciences, chemistry, physics, and metallurgy, such as crystallization processes and paleontological forms, selected from books in the Science and Technology Division. Through November.

FLOWERS FLOWERS FLOWERS YESTERDAY TODAY

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Ranging from early and rare books with handsome plates to recently published works on ballet and music, the exhibits offer a panorama of books in bloom, as well as a survey of the influence of the flower on the arts, its ornamental and decorative qualities, and its economic and botanical importance. Through December 15.

In the Lobby: the art of botanical illustration, including works by Otho Brunfelsius and William Blake.

In the Landing Cases: flowers in the arts of poetry and cooking; and scientific explorations of the plant world, especially those of Alexander von Humboldt.

In the Second Floor Gallery: books on gardening, flower arrangement, and flowers in the decorative arts.

The Central Building, continued

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MAHATMA GANDHI: A CENTENNIAL EXHIBIT — SECOND FLOOR CENTRAL CORRIDOR

Books by and about the revolutionary pacifist and father of Indian nationalism, letters written by him, and photographs, illustrating his career and the development of his philosophy of non-violence. Through mid-November.

THE GREEN THUMB — THIRD FLOOR PRINT GALLERY

From window boxes to country fields, flowers spring up in lithographs, etchings, engravings, and woodcuts, by such artists as Raimondi, Daumier, Gauguin, and Shahn. Through December.

PEN & BRUSH: THE AUTHOR AS ARTIST — ROOM 318

A Berg Collection exhibit* of art work by authors who were also artists, some amateur, some professional, from William Blake to Denton Welch. Over ninety caricatures, sketches, and finished drawings by Thackeray are on view, as well as works by thirty-nine other artists, including self-portraits by Bernard Shaw, Henry Miller, and Dylan Thomas. Through January.

THE LANGUAGE OF FLOWERS — ROOM 324

Printed herbals and other botanical works from as early as the sixteenth century, from the Arents Tobacco Collection; and, from the Arents Collection of Books in Parts, flower books in which the scientific text rivals in excellence the superbly colored plates. Through January.

FLORAL DECORATION IN MANUSCRIPTS — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

Illuminated manuscripts from fifteenth-century France: four examples of the Book of Hours selected for the beauty and uniqueness of their floral designs. Through January.

* * *

TECHNICAL BOOKS OF THE MONTH — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

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Selections from the Seligman and Hellman collections of Irvingiana consisting of first editions, manuscripts, sketchbooks, etc. Permanent exhibition.

AMERICAN VIEWS — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

A selection of prints from the I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection. Permanent exhibition.

* An illustrated catalogue of the exhibit is available from the Sales Shops at $3.

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DEATH OF ELIZABETH — PLAZA GALLERY

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13 JAN 1970

SETS DESIGNED BY MING CHO LEE — AMSTERDAM GALLERY

Delicately fashioned models of sets by the New York designer Ming Cho Lee for dramatic and musical productions, particularly those for the New York Shakespeare Festival and the New York City Opera. Through November 15.

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Models, designs, and sketches for costumes, stage sets, and theatre buildings document the work of Robert Edmond Jones, Norman Bel Geddes, and George C. Izenour, who pioneered the liberation of twentieth-century theatrical design from its traditionally realistic orientation. Through October 22.

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DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER

20 West 53rd Street

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HUDSON PARK BRANCH

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An exhibition of oil paintings, non-objective in style, by Jo-Anne Maslawski, a Polish artist educated in New York City. Through October.

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION

103 West 135th Street

"Black Musicians," an historical exhibit of photographs, clippings, and programs on the lives and works of black musicians in America, sponsored by the Manhattan-Bronx Friends of the Symphony of the New World. Through October.

NOVEMBER 1969

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The title page reproduced on our cover is from item 77 of E. Kasinec's catalogue, below, of eighteenth-century Russian publications in the Library, and also one of the works in the exhibition currently on view in our Slavonic Division. *Description of the Coronation of . . . the Empress Anna Ioannovna . . .* was prepared under the supervision of the historian V. N. Tatishchev, and is illustrated with a number of fine plates depicting virtually every aspect of the coronation, and a frontispiece of Anna herself, double-chinned and formidably regal. The coronation of Anna (1730), niece of Peter the Great, was a pivotal event in Russian political life — for with her rule an attempt of the higher nobility to impose certain restrictions upon the powers of the empress was squashed. Plate III (opp p 599) reproduces— from the work — the collar of the Russian order of St Andrew, which was the highest order of the Russian empire; on p 614 is the initial letter from the book's text.

The title page of another work both in the catalogue and on exhibit is reproduced on Plate IV. Item 92 is Feofan Prokopovich's *History of the Emperor Peter the Great . . .* (written about 1713). Prokopovich, an erudite Ukrainian clergyman who came to serve Peter in 1716 and became Archbishop of Novgorod and Vice-President of the Holy Synod, was one of the most outstanding panegyrists of Russian absolutism. Both Prokopovich and Tatishchev were important ideologues of the lower nobility and supported Anna in her struggle for power.

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Front Matter

The Christmas Story

From the Library's Spencer Collection, a select gathering of the finest illustrated books and manuscripts, Karl Kup, who recently retired as Adviser to the Collection, has assembled a procession of images of the timeless Christmas story, from the earliest prophecies through the life of the Virgin to the Nativity itself. The Library's newest publication, to be published early in December, *The Christmas Story in Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts from the Spencer Collection* reproduces 55 full-page illuminations in black and white, each accompanied by Karl Kup's full commentary on the biblical story, the iconography, and the manuscripts themselves, with quotations, mainly from the Bible, to set the scene. The book begins, appropriately, with an illuminated initial letter from the De La Twyere Psalter of 14th-century England, within whose circled "C" are combined three illustrations of prophetic and symbolic significance: the hand of God saving Isaac, the Nativity depicted in cozy domestic detail, and the angel's annunciation to the shepherds. In the main section of the book, the illumination is enlarged to show the full beauty of the individual scenes. Other such details have been isolated from the manuscript pages to focus our attention to a particular miniature, but many full-page and double-page spreads are included to give us some idea of the harmonious blending of word, picture, and decorative border in the work of the scribes and illuminators. Different artists' views of the Nativity, the Annunciation, the visit of the Magi, are presented and as we leap centuries Mary and Joseph, ox and ass, fade from or into prominence. We see the simple, intense lines of medieval craftsmen and the elaborate, worldly designs produced for the popes and princes of the high Renaissance.

The first section of the book gives us a view of the Old Testament prophets who look to the messiah's coming, or whose lives were considered prefigurations of Christ. Isaiah, who had spoken of a virgin's conceiving a son to be called Immanuel, is shown in a page from an elegant late byzantine manuscript, holding in his hands a small figure of Christ. Jeremiah is seen standing in lamentation over the cracked walls of an exquisite medieval Jerusalem in a miniature from the gigantic 15th-century French historiated Bible which once belonged to Diane de Poitiers. From the two other sections on the Life of the Virgin and on the Nativity we might mention from among the many Bibles, Breviaries, Books of Hours, Missals, and Psalters, the two manuscripts which supply the greatest number of illustrations for *The Christmas Story*. The cover illustration of the Annunciation and nine other illuminations are from one of the greatest artistic delights in the Spencer Collection, a picture Bible from Northern France of about 1300. In scenes of barest detail against a stylized background of diaper pattern, the 846 miniatures of this manuscript relate the Bible story with eloquent movement and imagination. The Wingfield Hours and Psalter from England of the mid-fifteenth century provides three illustrations for *The Christmas Story*. Its forceful, almost outrageously strange miniatures are filled with images from contemporary English life, and within its elaborate floral borders bound a troupe of strange and joyful creatures. It is one of the pages from the Wingfield Hours which brings this selection from the Spencer Collection

treasures to a splendid and peace-giving end: an unusual variation, set in The Garden Enclosed, of the traditional theme of the crowned and seated Virgin holding the Christ Child.

The Christmas Story is written in the gracious style of a storyteller who has a reverence for the religious significance of the works, a delight in the human story of the artists and their worldly images, and a scholar's working knowledge of the manuscripts themselves. It is a book to read and enjoy for all lovers of the Christmas story and of the art and manuscripts of the first half of this millenium. Copies of this 128-page book will be available, early in December, from our Sales Shops in two attractive editions: clothbound, $7.50; paperbound, $5.00.

New Format for Holiday List

The Library's annual booklist prepared by the Office of Children's Services, *Children's Books Suggested as Holiday Gifts*, will appear in a new and expanded format this year, its attractive two-color cover graced by a new woodcut illustration created at the Museum of the Performing Arts by staff-member Joel Weltman. Each year, for almost sixty years, the Central Children's Room has held an exhibition based on this booklist of the best in new books for children and the best current editions of old favorites; this year's exhibit will open November 24. The list of 455 books is divided into various subjects (Picture Books, Fantasy, etc), with annotations directed to those selecting gifts for children. The 68-page booklet, with full index, is available at $2.00 from our Sales Shops.

☛ These books may be ordered by mail from our Sales Office, Room 50A, Central Building (orders under $10.00 and those from outside this country must be accompanied by check or money order).

Bulletin Price Increase

The December issue of the *Bulletin*, expanded to more than twice its usual size to include Karl Kup's *The Christmas Story* discussed above, will have a special price of $2.00 but will be available to subscribers as part of their 1969 subscription without additional charge.

Subscribers, please note that the *Bulletin* price is going up to $7.50 a year, single numbers 75 cents, as of January 1 1970.

A Dancing Master

This fall the Library added the name of Ted Shawn, dancer, choreographer, festival director, author, and lecturer, to the list of honor on the benefactors' pylon in the main lobby of Central Building. Mr Shawn has contributed generously to the Library ever since 1951 when he and Ruth St Denis, his late wife and dancing partner, gave the huge Denishawn collection to the Dance Collection, now located in the Library & Museum of the Performing Arts at Lincoln Center. This gift of 12,000 photographs, 70,000 clippings and voluminous correspondence, which formed the nucleus of the American section of the Library's collection, not only documents the careers of the two American dancers, beginning with Miss St Denis's first performance in 1902, but also covers the early careers of such well-known dancers as Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, and Charles Weidman, all of whom started with the Denishawn company.

Over the years Mr Shawn has continued to add many important gifts to the Dance Collection. These include nearly 2,000 autograph letters, more than 40 photo scrapbooks, and numerous press-books. In 1968, he gave the dance library two important film collections: The "Jacob's Pillow Collection," consisting of some 150 reels, documenting the

performance of the world's greatest dance artists during the past twenty years at Jacob's Pillow Dance Festival, and the "Ted Shawn Collection" of more than 100 reels, devoted mostly to the activities of the Denishawn company before 1930, and to Ted Shawn and His Men Dancers, the company he formed in 1933. With this company, Mr Shawn opened dance as a profession to men and helped to overcome the American prejudice against male dancers. As a result of his performances, people came to accept what was considered revolutionary at the time. Today, at 78, Mr Shawn continues to direct the dance center, Jacob's Pillow, in Lee, Massachusetts, which he founded in 1940.

Chronologies of the professional appearances of Ruth St Denis and Ted Shawn appeared serially in previous issues of the *Bulletin*. These works, by Christena Schlundt, have been gathered together and published as two separate books, illustrated with many photographs, which are available at the Sales Shops of the Library at $3.00 and $3.75.

The Young O'Neill

The Library's Berg Collection of English and American Literature has acquired a collection of letters, poems and snapshots recalling an early romance between playwright Eugene O'Neill and a young girl of New London, Connecticut, Beatrice Ashe. The correspondence, previously unexplored by O'Neill scholars or biographers, will help fill in a gap in our knowledge of O'Neill's younger years.

The sixty-nine letters, thirteen poems, and seven snapshots belonged to Beatrice Ashe, now Mrs Maher of New London, who was O'Neill's young sweetheart "Bee" from 1914 to 1916. After their romance ended, she never saw him again; and in 1918 she married the future vice admiral James Edward Maher.

O'Neill wrote most of the letters to Beatrice Ashe in 1914 and 1915, but there is a final letter from July 1916, written from Provincetown where O'Neill was directing the first production of *Bound East for Cardiff* at the Provincetown Playhouse. During this period, O'Neill was enrolled in Professor George Pierce Baker's playwriting course at Harvard and his first book, *Thirst and Other One-Act Plays*, was being published.

Biographers have tended to pay minimal attention to Beatrice. O'Neill met her in 1914 when he was 25 and Miss Ashe not quite 18. According to O'Neill's latest biographer, Louis Sheaffer, Bee "had a pleasant soprano voice, sang at social affairs and in church, [and] had dreams of a professional career."

The letters are love letters but they also speak of the progress of O'Neill's own writing, his work with Profesor Baker, his hopes for the future. There is talk of the film *Cabiria* and plays read or seen (from Pinero to Gorki) as well as an invitation to see Shaw's *Captain Brassbound's Conversion*.

O'Neill mentions ideas for one of his earliest one-acters, *Abortion*, and his collaboration with Colin Ford on *Belshazzar*, a seven-act, full-length biblical drama, on which he worked in addition to his classroom assignments. His anti-war play, *The Sniper*, a one-act play, based on the slaughter of the first World War, was considered by the Professor to be "worthy" but "not timely."

The romance inspired a number of poetic pieces. O'Neill wrote to Miss Ashe poems with such titles as "From a Child to a Child," "Just a Little Love, a Little Kiss," and "Upon Our Beach." Of the poems, twelve are unpublished and the thirteenth was partially published in the New York *Tribune* on July 5 1915.

The Reading of Plays in the Eighteenth Century

By PAUL KAUFMAN
University of Washington Library

OUR UNDERSTANDING of the English stage has been greatly enhanced in recent decades through expert textual and critical examination of the plays and investigation of theatrical production. But the individual reading of plays and the consequent vogues in this reading remain unrecognized. To explore the nature and extent of this experience of drama, mainly in the eighteenth century when the evidence became available in significant volume, is the aim of the present study.

The means of such investigation, catalogues of circulating and other "community" libraries, have remained — for some unknown reason — a sealed book to students of literature.[1] Yet these indispensable guides are not esoteric: they are easily accessible. Evidence of the popularity of plays early in the eighteenth century is suggested by an advertisement of an exceptionally enterprising bookseller, George Barton, who announced in the *St Ives Post Boy* of Huntingdonshire on October 28 1718: "Plays, or any other Books [are] to let out to Read by the Week."

Such a laconic phrase is significant both for the history of the rental libraries [2] and for the vogue of play reading. By the second decade of the century there must have developed a demand for individual rental of plays — one can hardly miss the import of the afterthought, "any other Books." [3] The appeal of the drama came before all others, according to the experience of this bookseller with branches at Peterborough, St Ives, and St Neots. George Barton would not have maintained four shops and spent precious shillings in an unusually spacious advertisement had he not known his trade. Such an arresting witness to an evident popularity of plays in that corner of

1 A concise, comprehensive account of these libraries with detailed statistics is this writer's *The Community Library: A Chapter in English Social History*, monograph in *Trans Amer Philos Soc*, new ser 57 Pt 7 (1967), hereafter cited as *Community Library*. In this study it is urged that students of literature, particularly of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, tap these sources. The best collection of catalogues is at the Bodleian.

2 *Community Library* has a facsimile of the page in the *St Ives Post Boy* and points out that the advertisement is valuable for showing at such an early date the wide variety of stock in provincial book shops and the existence of a rental service.

3 The advertisement included the special enticement to borrow (at a merely nominal cost), a play, or "any other book," to enjoy for a whole week. Patrons of Barton's libraries could also change books daily if they desired at a fee of 4 to 7 shillings 6 pence for a period of three months.

the country raises a number of significant questions: the most crucial, perhaps, the extent of such a vogue elsewhere in England.[4]

The only earlier reference to the specific availability of plays in a library open to a group is an invaluable statement by Anthony Wood that in 1668 "the Christ Church men set a library in Short's Coffee hous [sic], viz. Rablais, poems, plaies, etc." [5] While this is obviously a highly restricted kind of collection, the inclusion of drama in the same grouping with poems — and "Rablais!" — is a clue to a popularity not previously recognized. Enthusiasm for the theatre, for attendance at performances, during the Restoration period is of course well attested, as by Pepys, notably.[6] From Pepys as well as from other readers, such as dramatists themselves, critics like Dryden, and writers on actors, comments sometimes reaching the level of criticism have been preserved. But where is other evidence of the *reading* of plays? [7] To infer a wide reading merely on the basis of a work's publication is misleading, except in the case of reprinting, when such reading could be assumed only with caution. Repeated editions, however, do imply the existence of some readers or at least of a certain desire to possess the work. Thus the three folios of Shakespeare appearing after 1623 do represent proof of readers. No direct testimony to actual reading of drama appears except for briefest possible citation or reference: the first in our literature is perhaps in Robert Laneham's description of the library of one Captain Cox

[4] Although we have ample evidence from the circulating library catalogues appearing later in the century that different localities developed widely divergent demands in reading, we could hardly infer merely from lack of evidence elsewhere at this time that the region around Huntingdonshire was unique in its interest in drama. In fact, the extreme poverty of evidence regarding the libraries results in very spotty data, even of the very existence of libraries. Hence the absence of data regarding any other libraries in Huntingdonshire is unfortunately quite typical. A glance at the checklist of these establishments (totaling nearly 400 for all England) in *Community Library* shows no other rental facility in this county and only nine in the three surrounding counties, the earliest being 1745. This does not mean of course that both Hunts and all nearby counties did not have numerous flourishing rental shops throughout the century.

[5] Anthony Wood *Life and Times* ed Andrew Clark (Oxford 1891–1900) II 147.

[6] Certain typical passages from the *Diary* are especially apposite, such as: "I to the Cockpitt, with much crowding and waiting, where I saw 'The Valiant Cidd' acted, a play I have read with great delight, but is a most dull thing acted" (*The Diary of Samuel Pepys* ed Henry B. Wheatley [New York 1900] Dec 1 1662); "Down to Deptford, all the way reading Pompey the Great . . . that to me is but a mean play, and the words and sense not very extraordinary" (June 23 1666); "[My wife] saw the new play, 'Evening Love,' of Dryden's, which though the world commends, she likes not. . . . To the King's house, and there I saw this new play my wife saw yesterday. . . . After dinner she to read in the "Illustre Bassa' the plot of yesterday's play, which is most exactly the same" (June 19–21 1666). Most engaging is his disclosure: "Spent all the afternoon . . . getting a speech out of Hamlett, 'To bee or not to bee,' without book" (Nov 13 1664).

[7] Although a half dozen announcements of lending of publications in general are found between 1650 and 1710 (cited in *Community Library* 6, 7), they seem to be highly ephemeral. One had ordinarily to buy or to borrow from a friend.

in 1575, as he lists "his auncient playes, Youth & charitee, Hikskorner, Nugize, [and] Impacient pouerty." [8] A century later, in Francis Kirkman's *The Unlucky Citizen*, a merchant's son avers that one of his school fellows lent him *Doctor Faustus*.[9]

In the next century, however, proof of the private consumption of drama begins to accumulate early. Before Barton's historic announcement Addison bore witness in the well-known *Spectator* No 92 (June 15 1711) to the composition of a young lady's library: seven dramas are included, among which the most popular (according to Addison's alleged letters from correspondents) are *All for Love* and *Theodosius, or the Force of Love*, with numerous votes for the translation of Scarron's *The Innocent Adultery*.[10] A few years later a Yorkshire gentleman, Francis Sitwell, is recorded as paying "to Clay the bookseller in London seven shillings for 'six plays & reading the Roman history.'" [11] (We may presume that the plays cost a shilling apiece and the rental the same amount.) The casualness of the reference suggests that the practice of ordering from the London booksellers was not uncommon; [12] the procedure was related to the universal service by both commercial and private subscription libraries of providing books by carrier to "country" members.

By 1740 commercial lending was becoming well established. A particularly intriguing advertisement by John Rowlands appeared in the *Daily Post* of September 8 1742; after listing some twenty-eight titles of the widest possible range, Rowlands includes "and forty volumes plays." Perhaps even more valuable as a clue to one public trend is Thomas Payne's announcement in the *Daily Advertiser* of January 20 1741 of a collection of "scarce old plays." He followed it in the next year (*Daily Post*, February 12 1742) with the offer of sixty-three plays of the same description. Showing a demand for something besides the current popular drama, such advertisements are another indicator of a trend, however limited.

The full weight of testimony, however, emerges suddenly in the middle of the century with the earliest surviving catalogues of the circulating libraries. In Thomas Lownds's catalogue of 1755 — and in this the metropo-

[8] Quoted in Louis B. Wright *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill 1935) 84.

[9] *Ibid* 86, 87.

[10] The very fact that as many as seven titles of plays were selected suggests that such reading was well established; and we may conjecture that a momentum had been gathering during the two preceding decades. The whole paper is delicately colored with a tolerant irony.

[11] George R. Sitwell *The Hurts of Haldworth* (Oxford 1930) 261–262.

[12] If that could be proved, we should have to revise several notions about the book trade and culture in the counties.

lis comes into its own as a book-borrowing community — of the total of 5,158 volumes no less than 1,398 (more than one fourth) are plays.[13] Such proportion, considerably higher than that of fiction (showing less than ten per cent), puts into question some of the standard assertions of literary history. Besides the seriatim citation of titles in the body of the catalogue under the broad rubric of Poetry and Plays, the final section, pages 159–164, "A Catalogue of Plays in Lownds's Circulating Library," recapitulates in an extremely abbreviated alphabetical hand-list 1132 English titles, including a few foreign ones in translation. Each title is further identified with one of fifteen initials specifying the type of production. Such an extensive collection reveals not only an assiduous bookseller but also a public demand not hitherto acknowledged. Lownds includes these folios: Beaumont and Fletcher, 52 Plays; D'Avenant, 19; Orrery, 6; Howard, 4; Ben Jonson, 15; and Killigrew, 11. In quartos are Carey, Miller, and a collection of 130 pieces in several volumes.[14] In octavos are Brome, Banks, Ben Jonson, Middleton, two editions of Molière, one in translation, the other in French and English, Otway, four volumes of Opera, Philips,[15] Plautus in translation, and a 114-volume set. To these English productions Lownds adds in his section of "Livres Francois & Italien" [sic] some 266 French titles, which are not incorporated into the separate "Catalogue of Plays." This list includes complete sets of Molière, Corneille, Racine, and Scarron. Such a comprehensive stock is a most impressive testimony to a large demand for plays to read in the middle of the century; and we must assume that no demand requiring such a stock could have developed over night. To gauge public taste to such extent demands years of experience. Moreover, we should not overlook the role of Lownds, as of many other proprietors, in specifying the sale price of all his volumes. The patron could thus buy outright nine volumes of Hanmer's Shakespeare for 15 shillings or read the whole set at his option for only 1/6 a whole month, or three shillings a quarter, or 10/6 year. The figures are more than relevant — they are essential — to a comprehension of the universal popularity of these rental collections.

[13] The attempt to calculate the ratios of plays to total stocks is obviously too complex for statement of actual percentage. Many volumes of plays include several, but a play deserves the rating of a volume itself, as a part of a work. (The unspecified use of "volume" and "work" without distinguishing between them is the cause of endless confusion.) Even the substitute terms of fractional relation or of proportion are open to objection, and they must be interpreted as relative. It is believed, at the same time, that the relations between fiction and drama below are substantially reliable.

[14] It was a common custom for booksellers to assemble a number of works, like plays and pamphlets, into a volume without descriptive title.

[15] According to relative popularity this is probably Ambrose Philips.

Lownds was far from possessing any monopoly on such lending facilities in London. Only two years later in 1757 appeared William Bathoe's *New Catalogue of the Curious and Valuable Collection of BOOKS: (Both English and French) Consisting of Several Thousand Volumes . . . in almost every Branch of Polite Literature . . . Above Fourteen Hundred different Sorts of Plays . . . At the Blue-Bible near Exeter-Exchange, in the Strand.* In this extraordinary collection fifty-eight dramatists are named in as many titles together with several miscellanies like Dodsley's *Collection of Old Plays* (fifty-nine dramas in twelve volumes) and two far more extensive unnamed collections in more than a hundred volumes each. Bathoe's actual total of 1511 plays is nearly one third of his entire stock of 4735 — in contrast to fiction, comprising only ten per cent. Ten years later, in 1767, one of the most prominent booksellers of the century, John Noble, listed in his catalogue no fewer than 1430 plays in a total stock of 5535, or more than one fourth, as compared to about fifteen per cent fiction.

The dramatic offerings at the very end of the century by the incomparable publisher, bookseller, and innovating promoter of rental facilities in the provinces, William Lane, show a drop from the astonishing volume of the first three rental proprietors, and we cannot be positive about the reasons. In a voluminous catalogue issued in six parts from 1796 to 1802, of the total of 17021 volumes in the 432 octavo pages 1618 plays appear. Thus fiction is twice as extensive as drama in his catalogue.[16] We may conjecture that Lane as the outstanding publisher of novels devoted much of his energy to marketing them both by sale and loan. It is of course possible that the reading of plays had declined; anything like conclusive evidence pro or con is simply lacking.

From this brief statistical conspectus naturally arises the question: how widespread was the vogue outside of London? Fortunately we have a very fair representation of catalogues in every part of the country.[17] Thus at

[16] Dorothy Blakey *The Minerva Press* (Oxford 1939) provides helpful bibliographies of Lane's output as publisher. She errs, however, in placing the emphasis on the large majority in the nonfiction categories. For example, in the catalogue here cited he announces 30 works of fiction published "this season" plus 44 titles of ten "Particular and Favourite Authors" of fiction: in other classes he lists 123 works in 398 volumes. These figures are from *Community Library* 55, derived in turn from Blakey's study.

[17] See the totals of stocks in *Community Library*, descriptive outline, 11–13. In my survey "Reading Vogues at English Cathedral Libraries of the Eighteenth Century" (*Bulletin of The New York Public Library* LXVII, LXVIII Dec 1963; Jan, Feb, Mar, 1964) tabulating 2708 works borrowed from eight major cathedral libraries, relatively little drama appears. The preeminent Shakespeare is cited in the first folio and three eighteenth-century editions (with others unidentified), but among English playwrights only Ben Jonson shares a place. But all seven of the chief Greek and Latin dramatists are represented, several in a number of editions.

Hereford, on the westernmost border, John Allen's catalogue of about 1790 shows 761 plays in a total of 3662 works. This is a high proportion, especially since Allen's collection had the lowest percentage of sensational fiction of any known library, that is, not over five per cent. At the opposite north-eastern corner in Newcastle, 1123 dramas in a total of 7800 volumes comprised Robert Sands's catalogue (1801). Although the proportion is not so high as Allen's at Hereford, the total number is still impressive, rivaling Lownds's hand-list of 1132. In the Midlands one illustration is seen in Thomas Lucas' catalogue in Birmingham with 344 plays out of a total of 2353 volumes; and we should not omit an example from the center of which it was said:

> There's a place to buy wisdom at least every street in,
> And the shops are more frequent for reading than eating.

At Bath the largest known circulating library, Samuel Hazard's, carried a stock of 801 plays, 732 in English, in a total of 7725 titles.

But perhaps the most arresting expression of the movement emerged in the largest rental library across the border: the 1780–1786 catalogue of James Sibbald's Edinburgh Circulating Library gives no less than 1019 plays of a total of 3855 works, as compared with 888 novels and romances. Yet even more impressive — partly because not matched anywhere in England — is the annual record of acquisitions for the years 1781–1786. During these six years of a total of 1735 new titles (a remarkable figure in itself) 479 were drama. Such a record is notable not only for its quite unrivaled magnitude but also as proof of an accelerating popularity of drama in the Scottish capital. Such evidence is particularly significant in view of an apparent plateau of the vogue in Lane's catalogue.

Although the data from the rental establishments are of major importance, similar statistics from the private subscription societies hold some more limited interest. Thus in the 1782 catalogue of the Bristol Library Society we find of a total of 942 works, in 2296 volumes, 230 plays; and at

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As a basis of some comparison for the Continent, the historian of Viennese community libraries in the eighteenth century, Alois Jesinger (*Wiener Lekturkabinette* Vienna 1928), records that Karl von Zahlheim's circulating library in the 1770's carried no less than 850 stage productions: "eine deutsche (209 Werke) und eine französische (341 Werke) Sammlung Einzelner Theaterstücke. Vielleicht standen ausserdem 43 Bände mit rund 300 Lust-und Trauerspielen so wie eine ziemliche Anzahl deutscher und französischer Ballettprogramme und italienischer Operntexte" ("a collection of 209 German and 341 French theatre productions. And also for the well read at his disposal are 43 volumes with about 300 comedies and tragedies, as well as a respectable number of German and French ballet programs and Italian opera librettos", 61).

Birmingham in 1798 of a total of 3300 works in 4696 volumes, 554 plays appear. Bristol is particularly significant since it shares with Leeds the good fortune of having preserved a second catalogue of 1798, and in this we find 308 additional plays in a total of 2691 volumes acquired in the sixteen years since the 1782 catalogue. Thus, as at Edinburgh, the vigorous popularity of the drama in the last two decades of the century seems demonstrated. All these catalogues of private subscription libraries show roughly about the same proportion, although in general a smaller number of plays than the commercial lenders.[18] But here we are concerned with the large volume of drama carried in the circulating libraries for popular consumption throughout England. Here for the first time is presented the unsuspected evidence from eight catalogues of the twenty-two available — and the figures are entirely typical of the century.

Most arresting of all possible comparisons is the relative prominence of drama and fiction. For the persistent assumption that novels — mostly of the cheapest stripe — predominated in the circulating libraries is directly contradicted by the testimony of the catalogues. Among the eight representative examples only one catalogue, Lane's, reveals as high a percentage of fiction as one fifth of the total stock. (Yet if single plays were reckoned as units in the total number of titles instead of "Works of Dryden" or "Shakespeare," the proportion of drama would be as high as one fifth.) Nine of the twenty-two known catalogues do show higher proportions of novels, three of them even a majority of fiction, but the very fact of the contrast between the stocks of fiction and drama in the eight geographically distributed examples is proof of the vogue of play reading.

Following the representative evidence of the sheer widespread extent of available rental plays we inquire into the scope of the offerings. At the most cursory glance we are impressed with the catholicity of the selection. Of the catalogues just cited Bathoe's shows sixty-two titles of dramatists or collections of plays; Lownds's, forty; Lane's, sixty-five; while Sibbald's is ahead of any English example with no less than seventy-six works. In English drama Shakespeare, in every collection, is far in the lead, most commonly in Johnson's or Stevens' edition and in more than one edition in several larger libraries — no less than six in Lane.[19] Among Shakespeare's

18 Several reasons can be adduced for this difference in proportion. Many members doubtless owned the classics of both foreign and English drama. For current drama the commercial shops afforded either sale or rental of titles which the societies might hardly care to buy and place on the shelves permanently. A third factor was the reluctance of some members to spend money for items not viewed with enthusiasm.

19 Theobald's, Hanmer's, Johnson's, Johnson-Stevens', John Bell's, and Boydell's illustrated.

contemporaries the complete Beaumont and Fletcher ranks next, followed by Ben Jonson, less frequently by Massinger, and once each by Middleton, Marston, Lyly, and Daniel. Other dramatists are represented infrequently by single plays, but no others are noticed for their complete dramatic works. Among Shakespeare's predecessors, the oldest are *Everyman* and *Hycke Scorner*, others including the *Supposes*, *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, *Gordoduc*, and *Lusty Iuventus*. These are all included in Thomas Hawkins' *Origins of the English Drama*, a three-volume collection in several libraries such as Sands's and Sibbald's and also at Bristol. Another much more extensive collection including some different plays of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, Dodsley's *Collection of* [60] *Old Plays*, is noticed in three establishments. Such recognition of earlier works is noteworthy.

In the Jacobean-Caroline period appear such dramatists as D'Avenant, Suckling, Brome, Shirley, Cokayne, Randolph, Lower, Goffe, Carlell, Cartwright, and Gomersall. The theatrical famine after 1642 is significantly reflected in the important *A Catalogue of the most vendible books in England* . . . [by William London] (1658). A far more notable array of course proliferates after 1660: Dryden, Etherege, Farquhar, Howard, Mrs Behn, Congreve, Sir William Killigrew, the Duchess of Newcastle, the Earl of Orrery, Banks, Sedley, both Shadwells, Southerne, Vanbrugh, Wycherley, Otway, Lansdown, the Duke of Buckingham, and D'Urfey. In this period too the modern foreign dramatists, chiefly French, win a place in the catalogues: Molière is preeminent, with two complete editions in Lownds's and Sibbald's, along with Corneille and Racine.

After 1700 the number expands still further. Without attempting a completely exhaustive list we may name these playwrights as representative: Addison, Bellamy, Carey, Centilevre, Dennis, Cibber, Steele, Thomson, Ward, Miller, Mrs Leapor, Mountfort, Ambrose Philips, Rowe, Sheridan, Goldsmith, Hughes, Fielding, Gay, Home, Hill, Lillo, Mallet, Garrick, Kenrick, Hannah More, Bickerstaff, Mrs Cowley, Murphy, Smollett, Hayley, Whitehead. A number of these collections of dramas are unidentified by any editor or publishers, and are entitled merely "Plays" either as separate volumes or assembled into arbitrary grouping of two to six dramas. The plays of each volume are, however, usually named, permitting calculation of reasonably exact totals.

From this century, too, a scattering of foreign dramas is found: Voltaire's dramas in seven volumes, Crebillon, Mme de Genlis (also in the original), and Piron, all in translation; Foote's *Comic Theatre* from the French in five

volumes containing sixteen plays; a translation of five of Schiller's dramas and translations of thirteen plays of Kotzebue as part of a general collection; and Goldoni and Metastasio, both in the original and in translation. In the eighteenth century also the extensive new translations from the classics find a place in the catalogues: Plautus, far in the lead, is in almost every catalogue, followed by Terence, then Sophocles and Euripides listed about equally, and Aristophanes and Aeschylus noted only at Bristol.

From this brief enumeration of the extent of dramatic resources in these representative rental establishments we can derive an outline of the widespread vogue of play reading. That it was a nation-wide vogue there can be little question. In seeking personal testimony, however, to the use of any libraries before 1800 we meet frustrating silence: the meagre references are few and fleeting, quite the most satisfying being Fanny Burney's accounts in the *Early Diary*.[20] From the rental libraries themselves no records of loans survive; and hence the one extant from a subscription society is uniquely valuable. At Bristol the complete registers by date, title, and name of borrower from 1773 to 1857 have been preserved; and the score of loans of drama from 1773 to 1784 are here summarized with number of loans: Aeschylus, 8; Sophocles, 11; Euripides, 3; Plautus, 32; Terence, 21; Shakespeare, 62; Ben Jonson, 12; Beaumont and Fletcher, 22; Massinger, 12; Dryden, 17; Sir Robert Howard, 2; Congreve, 10; Cibber, 9; Lillo, 6; Hannah More, 7; Hayley, 11; Goldsmith, 20; Molière, 20; Scarron, 5 — giving a total of 290.[21] The loans, we should realize, were restricted to the approximately 137 members as printed in the 1782 catalogue. Of the total of 3813 loans made during this period in Belles Lettres, the number in drama — less than ten per cent — is not striking, but this classification embraced fiction and complete works like those of Fielding which included drama. In any case here is some proof of the reading of plays in a major center. It was from this notable library that Coleridge borrowed Lillo's *Works* (1775) (Vol II), October 3 1794, and that Southey was lent Massinger's *Dramatic Works* (1779) (Vols I and II) August 18 1797, and the third and fourth volumes, June 8 1798.

Besides the plays themselves the catalogues show lively interest in various works providing information about the drama and evaluation of the

[20] She cites eight performances actual or proposed and her own participation in three, between 1768 and 1777. See note 37 below.

[21] The full record of loans is given in Kaufman *Borrowings from the Bristol Library 1773–1784* (Charlottesville 1960).

plays.[22] All of the catalogues show several of these titles; even the most modest, Allen's at Hereford, includes six of them, and no less than twenty-four are in Lane's, showing a rising tide in later decades, and eleven in Bristol's. Of course the preeminence of interest in Shakespeare is the most conspicuous feature of the list of these works.

To show in the simplest fashion the popularity of reading plays increasing through the eighteenth century we have only to look at a work of a hundred years previous, William London's *Catalogue of the most vendible Books in England* . . . (London 1658). This too little-known volume of exceptional value devotes less than two pages of the total of 153 to "Playes": the large majority quartos of single plays, but a precious minority being the folios of "Mr. Shakspear's Playes," "B. Johnsons' Playes," and "Mr. Beamont [sic], and Flecher, 34 Playes, Comedies, and Tragedies, with a mask." Also noticed are quartos of *Lear, Richard II*, and no less than ten of Fletcher. Compared with some seventy-three pages distributed among Law, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and practical arts, drama is virtually microscopic — along indeed with poor "Poems" and a scant page of "Romances." Can such ratios be an accurate reflection of popular taste as measured by acquisition of books? If it could be so proved we should have a most significant index to the reading on the eve of the Restoration. For we should remember that the bookseller London's catalogue is not a mere *record* of current publication like the catalogues and book lists of the next century, but a compilation of "The most vendible," that is, presumptive "sellers" even if not demonstrated "best"

[22] The list of titles (unedited) is as follows: Victor's *Dublin and London Stage;* Thomas Davies' *Dramatic Miscellanies . . . Critical observations on several plays of Shakespeare . . . with anecdotes of dramatic poets, actors, etc.* (3 vols 1784); *British Spouter, a Collection of Prologues and Epilogues;* Baker's *Biographia Dramatica; Playhouse Dictionary; Companion to the Playhouse;* Egerton's *Theatrical Remembrancer; Theatrical Biography, or the Memoirs of the principle* [sic] *Performers of the three Theatres Royal; Actor: A Treatise on the Art of Playing . . . ; Beauties of the English Drama* (4 vols); *Beauties of Shakespeare, selected from each play by Dr. Dodd* (3 vols); *Richardson on Shakespeare's Characters; Collection of English Prologues* (4 vols); *Critical Essays on Dramatic Poetry; Essay on Dramatic Genius; Montague on Shakespeare; Essay on the Dramatic Character of Falstaff; Prompter, in 173 papers . . . chiefly on Plays and Players by Aaron Hill; Steele's Theatre in 28 Papers . . . ;* Cibber's *Life of Barton Booth, with anecdotes of the Stage; Davies' Memoirs of Garrick;* Griffith's *Essay on the morality of Shakespeare's Drama;* Mason's *Comments on Johnson's and Stevens' Shakespeare;* Farmer's *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare* (1787); *Concordance to Shakespeare;* Plumptre's *Observations on Hamlet; Original Letters, etc. of Sir John Falstaff* (1797); Malone's *Inquiry into Certain Papers; Apology for Believers in the Shakespeare Papers* (the last six titles appear in the Bristol Catalogue only); *Revival of Shakespeare's Text* (in Sibbald only); *Hill on the Art of Acting; Life of Henderson Comedian; Case of Macklin; Essay on Hamlet; Court of Thespis, Prologues and Epilogues; Dramatic Censor, or Critical Companion* (2 vols); *Letter to Garrick* [and] *Glossary to Shakespeare; Dr. Grey on Shakespeare; Key to the Drama or Secret History of Macbeth; Shakespeare Miscellanies;* Cibber's *Dissertations on the Theatres;* Cook's *Elements of Dramatic Criticism; Hawkins on Comedians; Essay on Dramatic Genius;* and *Beauties of Rowe.*

sellers. Of course the volume of drama was only a fraction of the flood released in the Restoration and the following decades, but London's list could have easily been multiplied several times over. What he demonstrates apparently is the comparatively small public which was reading plays.[23] In the following decades, unfortunately, we have no enlightening "most vendible" offerings, only Robert Clavel's *General Catalogues of Books Printed in England since the Dreadful Fire in London in 1666.*

But with the barriers of the Interregnum destroyed a new era of drama reading must have begun, slowly at first perhaps but gathering momentum. Of evidence before 1700 there is little enough. According to Beljame, only the rare devotee of the theatre actually acquired any large number of plays.

> Ceux qui lisaient les ouvrages de théâtre étaient naturallement les mêmes, ou à peu près, que ceux qui allaient les voir; or, on sait qu'ils étaient peu nombreux. . . . En effet, parmi ceux qui l'avaient vue sur le scène, c'était le petit nombre qui l'achetait une fois publiée; et le libraire so plaignait que "les mains qui applaudissaient au théâtre ne vinssent pas le débarrasser de sa malheureuse publication."[24]

This echo of a bookseller's lament is seconded by the assertion in Sedley's *Mulberry-Garden* (III 2), quoted by Beljame in a note: "Few Plays gain

[23] Or was it a strong personal bias, an expensive luxury for any merchant? In his "Epistle to the Reader," London states: "For Romances, playes and Poems, I do indeed take less pains to promote their study, though I hinder not their sale. . . . They are least useful of any. The first two may properly be said to be Incentiva vitiorum to some . . ." (Sig C2). This is obviously a Puritan position. London may not have actively hindered the sale of these three suspect classes of literature. But by suppressing hundreds of titles he certainly threw his weight against them and vitiated part of the value of his catalogue. Assuredly, he omitted an impressive number of titles that many Cavaliers — and others — would gladly have read.

This Catalogue, a landmark in English bibliography, is not mentioned in Louis B. Wright "The Reading of Plays during the Puritan Revolution" *The Huntington Library Bulletin* No 6 (Nov 1934) 73–108. Such omission is all the more puzzling because Wright's most impressive evidence for widespread reading of plays is derived from the two most extensive catalogues of available plays comprising, respectively, in Wright's words "nearly five hundred titles" and "roughly six hundred and fifty plays," both dated 1656 within two years of London's. The discrepancy between these figures and London's one hundred ninety plays is so marked as to call for analysis. London himself might plead his restrictive title "most vendible." In any case, unquestioning acceptance of publication as tantamount to reading, however it may be routinely assumed among literary historians, needs the evaluation it has never received. Wright's study is rather a survey of publication of drama during his period.

[24] Alexandre Beljame *Le public et les hommes des lettres en Angleterre au dix-huitième siècle 1660–1744* (Paris 1897) 125. "The people who read plays were naturally the same, with few exceptions, as those who went to see them and these, as we know, were not a large number. . . . Of those who had seen a play on the stage, it was, in fact, only a small proportion who bought it when published. 'I have often heard the stationer sighing in his shop,' writes Dryden [in his Dedication to *The Spanish Friar*], 'and wishing for those hands to take off his melancholy bargain which clapped its performance on the stage.'" (trans E. O. Lorimer *Men of Letters and the English Public in the Eighteenth Century 1660–1744* ed Bonamy Dobrée [London 1948] 118.)

Audience by being in print."[25] Yet Beljame's extremely conservative appraisal of the sale of plays is weakened perhaps by his extract from *The Character of a Town-Gallant*: "His whole Library consists of the Academy of Complements, Westminster Drollery, half a dozen plays, and a Bundle of *Bawdy* Songs in manuscript."[26] The significance of this passage is that the Gallant's most slender "library" did include several plays."[27] Beljame's case is on the face of it unconvincing.

A new potential of critical importance pointed out by Beljame was the insertion of various prefatory additions such as dedications and particularly discussions of an appropriate dramatic theme. To D'Avenant is attributed the first of such essays in *Gondibert* (1651), but it was Dryden who seized upon the device and thus initiated a new era in the evolution of criticism. He increased his financial return from the bookseller-publisher not only by selling a much larger manuscript but also by making possible a new sale to a segment of the public which bought the play for the critical interpretation. "Elles [such additions] surtout décidaient à acheter la pièce bien des gens qui autrement l'auraient laissée chez le libraire."[28] But how many is "bien des gens"? In the face of these uncertain data one record emerges from the Restoration period: between 1660 and 1695, 328 plays were published either for the first time or as reprints.[29] Although this is only an average of ten a year the record seems to reflect a fairly vigorous spirit of enterprise expecting a fairly active market.

From such momentum it seems reasonable to conclude that the first two decades of the next century were marked by a growing demand for plays to read.[30] For here is the witness of the bookseller George Barton with his four

[25] Beljame 125.

[26] Published 1680, author unknown.

[27] See note 6 above for Pepys's reading of drama. It is of course possible that he already had the *Illustre Bassa*. In any event the experience described proves that he and his wife read plays after seeing productions.

[28] Beljame 125, 126. "The main advantage was that they [the additions of prefatory materials] persuaded many people to buy the printed play who would otherwise have let it lie at the bookseller's" (trans E. O. Lorimer 118–119).

[29] In Robert Clavel *General Catalogues of Books Printed in England since the Dreadful Fire of London in 1666. To the end of Michaelmas Term, 1695* (*London, 1696*). The list actually begins at 1660. Hence we have here practically the entire Restoration period.

[30] The all too partial record of new publication in *Bibliotheca Annua 1699–1703* (2 vols) and *The Monthly Catalogue 1714–1717* (both in the new *English Bibliographical Sources* series, ed David Foxon, Gregg-Archive, Farnborough, Hants 1965) support this assumption: they yield totals, respectively, of 62 and 129 plays, or an annual average of 15 for the first and over 30 for the second triennium. Extrapolation for the two decades would conservatively produce twice as many plays published in this period as in the four decades from 1660 to 1700, which was about 10 a year. Actually, this type of early compilation was likely to be highly incomplete, so that the average may well have been higher.

outlets centering in Huntingdon announcing "Plays, or any other Books to let out to read by the Week." Why are plays thus singled out? Why not history, travel, and memoirs, the conspicuously most popular genres in the rental establishments up to 1770 when the new novels began to vie with these in volume? [31] Was it a personal attachment of Barton counterbalancing William London's indifference, even opposition, to "Romances, Playes, and Poems"? This is a possibility which cannot be ruled out, but is it not much more likely that Barton was voicing a vogue in his part of England — a relatively recent popularity on which he proposed to capitalize through this bold featuring of the new vogue?

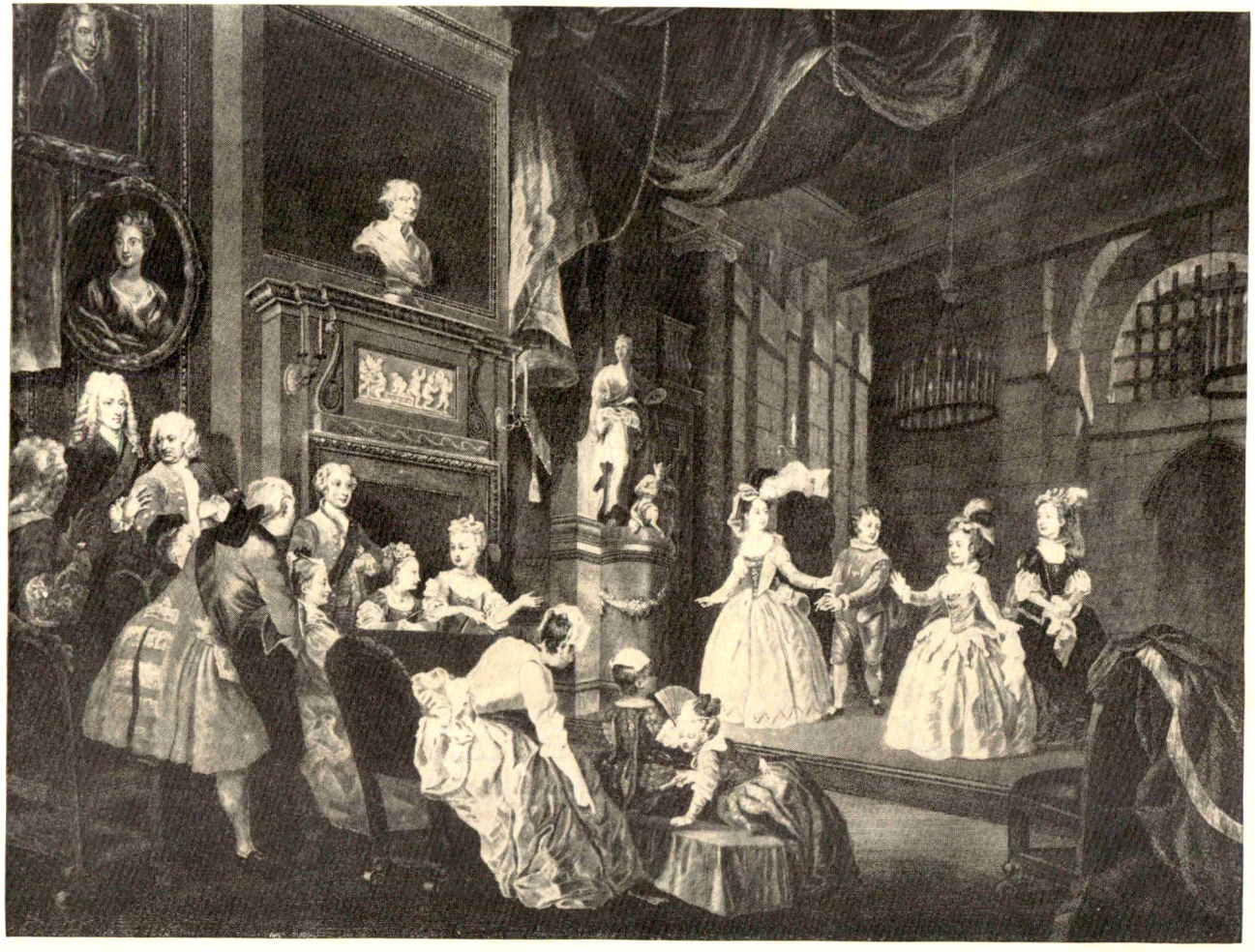
Barton was a far better forecaster than he could have dreamed. The volume of the stocks of plays here outlined is ample evidence of widespread reading of drama straight through the century. But a final confirmation came with William Lane's formulation of the four classes of readers: "The Historian, the Gay and Volatile, the Sedate and the Theatrical Amateurs." [32] The Gay and Volatile we can understand as the heirs of the generations of devotees of romance, now swept into the torrent of the new fiction. The Historian and Sedate are self-explanatory. But this fourth class: can the published drama have actually won such a status? The answer is that at the very end of the century Lane's catalogue, as we have seen, carried over 1600 plays; and at the other end of England in Newcastle at the same time Robert Sands's stocked over 1100.

The explanation of the large play-reading public lies partly in the rapid spread of readers in general and the multiplication of stage productions. Some of the new consumers of novels were also (we assume), buyers and borrowers of plays. But this market was appreciably enlarged by the thousands of persons of both sexes in all parts of England interested in private theatricals. Of these, three broad classes stand out prominently: the participants in school and college plays, the former inheriting a well established tradition; the actors and audiences of high society with more or less permanent elaborate private theatres sometimes in separate buildings rivaling the professional stage; [33] and the occasional informal and unpretentious pro-

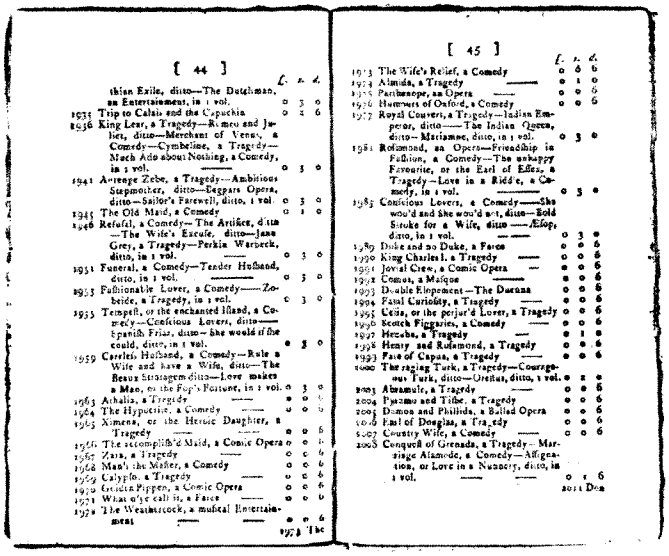
[31] The remarkable uniformity in the high level of history and travel in both commercial and private subscription libraries is a major feature of the approximately fifty catalogues surviving. For circulation figures, see Kaufman, Bristol monograph cited in note 21 above.

[32] In Lane's extensive advertisement in the *Leeds Intelligencer*, May 1 1787, quoted by Blakey 120–121. So original is this classification that its neglect is surprising.

[33] Emmett L. Avery "Private Theatricals in and near London, 1700–1737" *Theatre Notebook* XIII (1959) 101–105 compiles a valuable list of public school performances. For productions of the second class as here defined see Sybil Rosenfeld "Jane Austen and Private Theatricals" *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* XV (1962) 40–51;



I A performance of *The Indian Emperor*, at the London town house of John Conduitt, master of the Mint, in 1731. An engraving (1792) by Robert Dodd from Hogarth's oil painting, one of a very few if not a unique representation of an amateur theatrical at the gentry level. *Prints Division*



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		£.	s.	d.
	thian Exile, ditto—The Dutchman, an Entertainment, in 1 vol.	0	3	0
1935	Trip to Calais and the Capuchin	0	2	6
1936	King Lear, a Tragedy—Romeo and Juliet, ditto—Merchant of Venus, a Comedy—Cymbeline, a Tragedy—Much Ado about Nothing, a Comedy, in 1 vol.	0	3	0
1941	Auvergne Zebe, a Tragedy—Ambitious Stepmother, ditto—Beggars Opera, ditto—Sailor's Farewell, ditto, 1 vol.	0	3	0
1945	The Old Maid, a Comedy	0	1	0
1946	Refufal, a Comedy—The Artifice, ditto—The Wife's Excufe, ditto—Jane Grey, a Tragedy—Perkin Warbeck, ditto, in 1 vol.	0	3	0
1951	Funeral, a Comedy—Tender Husband, ditto, in 1 vol.	0	3	0
1953	Fafhionable Lover, a Comedy—Zobeide, a Tragedy, in 1 vol.	0	3	0
1955	Tempeft, or the enchanted Iland, a Comedy—Confcious Lovers, ditto—Spanifh Friar, ditto—She would if fhe could, ditto, in 1 vol.	0	3	0
1959	Careless Husband, a Comedy—Rule a Wife and have a Wife, ditto—The Beaux Stratagem ditto—Love makes a Man, or the Fop's Fortune, in 1 vol.	0	3	0
1963	Athalia, a Tragedy	0	0	6
1964	The Hypocrite, a Comedy	0	0	6
1965	Ximena, or the Heroic Daughter, a Tragedy	0	0	6
1966	The accomplifh'd Maid, a Comic Opera	0	0	6
1967	Zara, a Tragedy	0	0	6
1968	Man's the Maker, a Comedy	0	0	6
1969	Calypfo, a Tragedy	0	0	6
1970	Golden Pippin, a Comic Opera	0	0	6
1971	What o'ye call it, a Farce	0	0	6
1972	The Weathercock, a mufical Entertainment	0	0	6

1973 The

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		£.	s.	d.
1973	The Wife's Relief, a Comedy	0	0	6
1974	Almida, a Tragedy	0	1	0
1975	Panthenope, an Opera	0	0	6
1976	Humours of Oxford, a Comedy	0	0	6
1977	Royal Convert, a Tragedy—Indian Emperor, ditto—The Indian Queen, ditto—Mariamne, ditto, in 1 vol.	0	3	0
1981	Rofamond, an Opera—Friendfhip in Fafhion, a Comedy—The unhappy Favourite, or the Earl of Effex, a Tragedy—Love in a Riddle, a Comedy, in 1 vol.	0	3	0
1985	Confcious Lovers, a Comedy—She would and She would not, ditto—Bold Stroke for a Wife, ditto—Æfop, ditto, in 1 vol.	0	3	0
1989	Duke and no Duke, a Farce	0	0	6
1990	King Charles I. a Tragedy	0	0	6
1991	Jovial Crew, a Comic Opera	0	0	6
1992	Comus, a Maíque	0	0	6
1993	Double Elopement—The Duenna	0	0	6
1994	Fatal Curiofity, a Tragedy	0	0	6
1995	Celia, or the perjur'd Lover, a Tragedy	0	0	6
1996	Scotch Figaries, a Comedy	0	0	6
1997	Herodes, a Tragedy	0	1	0
1998	Henry and Rofamond, a Tragedy	0	0	6
1999	Fate of Capua, a Tragedy	0	0	6
2000	The raging Turk, a Tragedy—Courageous Turk, ditto—Orefkat, ditto, 1 vol.	0	2	0
2003	Abramule, a Tragedy	0	0	6
2004	Pizarro and Tilbe, a Tragedy	0	0	6
2005	Damon and Philinda, a Ballad Opera	0	0	6
2006	Earl of Douglas, a Tragedy	0	0	6
2007	Country Wife, a Comedy	0	0	6
2008	Conquefl of Grenada, a Tragedy—Marriage Alamode, a Comedy—Affignation, or Love in a Nunnery, ditto, in 1 vol.	0	1	6

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IIa Pages from the Catalogue of the Circulating Library of Thomas Lucas, Birmingham, 1785. Note the wide range of stage productions, the made-up volumes, prices of outright purchase, and the intriguing addition to the Shakespeare canon, "Merchant of Venus." Of the 2353 titles of the Catalogue approximately 300 are drama in the broad sense here illustrated.

Advertiſement.

GEORGE BARTON, of Huntingdon, Bookſeller, Sells the following Things at his Shops in Peterborough, at St. Ives, and at St. Neots, every Market Day, viz. All ſorts of bound Books New and Old, at reaſonable Rates. Any Gentleman may have Books ſent for from London every Week. Likewiſe Maps and Pictures, Wholeſale or Retale; Muſic-Books of all ſorts, Violins, Hoit-boys, Flutes, Mock-Trumpets, Flagelets, Reeds for Hoit boys, Fiddle-Bows, and Bridges, Fiddle-Pinns, Nuts, and Fiddle-ſtrings; Books and Paper Rul'd, or Unrul'd; Writing, Blew and Marble Paper, Quils, Penknifes, Pens, Pen-Cafes, and the beſt of Red, Shining, Japan, and Indian Inks, Ink-ſtands, and Pencil-Books to Write with a Braſs Pen, and rub out; Demy-Royal, and Super-Royal Paper, and Paper for Hanging of Rooms, Wax, Wafers, Pencils, and Pocket-Books, Cards, Slates, and Slate-Pencils, Spectacles and Cafes, Parchment, Stamp'd, or Unſtamp'd, Vellom for Drum-Heads, or for Lac'd-Patterns, either Green or White, Sand, Snuff, and Snuff-Boxes, Plays, or any other Books to let out to Read by the Week, and Copy-Books for Children to Write in, or Printed Copy-Books, and Leaf Gold. Likewiſe ready Mony for any Library, or Parcel of Old Books, and Old Books new Bound, at Reaſonable Rates, by George Barton, aforeſaid, at the Houſe late Mr. Lovewell's by the Corn-Market. N. B. At the ſame Places you may have Daffy's and Stoughton's Elixir, Bateman's true Spirits of Scurvy-Graſs, Golden and Plain, the Natural Balſam of Chili, ſo often mention'd in the Advertiſements, and Sugar Plumbs for the Worms in Children.

IIb From a page of the *St Ives* [Huntingdonshire] *Post Boy*, No 20, October 28 1718.
Bodleian Library

ductions in the homes of the gentry. For this third type, by far the most numerous, evidence is extremely meager, and the well-known references by Fanny Burney and Jane Austen omit some important details. The one contemporary discussion in print, "Remarks upon the Present Taste for Acting Private Plays" by Richard Cumberland (in the *European Magazine*, August 1788), makes no distinction between the second and third kinds. But this distinction is fundamental, because the elaborate productions, mostly of the nobility, were relatively few in contrast to the numerous impromptu performances of the gentry throughout the country. It was these "theatrical amateurs" and their friends initiating their informal entertainments, who constituted the thriving market for plays. So widespread and well established was the social custom of arranging such productions that Cumberland could open his article with the assertion: "we may expect the rising generation to be . . . one entire nation of actors and actresses."[84] This explicit inclusion of "actresses" is particularly relevant because most of the testimony is by or about women in dramatic roles. The two most circumstantial accounts, brief as they are, describe performances by young ladies in 1774, one at Lymington on the Hampshire coast, the other in the cathedral town of Salisbury. The first details a performance of *Zenobia* in a "spacious building fitted up for the occasion by Mr M—y, at the end of his garden." At Salisbury another "group of young ladies" forming "a small dramatic company" staged the tragedy of *Elvira* "in the large room over St. Anne's Gate," where private concerts were occasionally held.[85]

For these two productions special facilities were prepared, but by far the largest number of performances were staged in a room of the country house itself, as for example in the billiard room of Mansfield Park. The best sur-

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and "Some British Private Theatres in the 18th Century" *Festschrift for Heinz Kindermann, Maske und Kothurn* x (1964) 422–430, with four illustrations. Both of these are basic contributions in a field only recently explored. Cecil Price *The English Theatre in Wales* (Oxford 1948) breaks out new ground for several kinds of performances, including a chapter on the outstanding private theatre of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn at Wynnstay, Denbighshire. Arnold Hare *The Georgian Theatre in Wessex* (London 1957) includes a most useful chapter "The Amateurs" from which important quotation is made below. William S. Clark *The Early Irish Stage: The Beginnings to 1720* (Oxford 1955); and *The Irish Stage in the Country Towns* (Oxford 1965), admirably comprehensive surveys, are not relevant to this study, except as a reminder that the vogue in Ireland definitely increased the market for published plays. A dozen or more references to private theatricals, all of the high society type, are found in Horace Walpole's *Letters*, but they seldom are more than a single sentence.

[84] Cumberland 115.

[85] Hare 122–123. Both of these descriptions are among the half dozen most important sources we have which provide information about performances by the gentry.

viving pictorial representation of such a production is the juveniles' production in 1731 of Dryden's *Indian Emperor*; painted by Hogarth, the scene shows an audience of nine adults and one small child. The stage was a small platform obviously improvised for the purpose at one end of the hall of a gentleman's house.[36] In marked contrast to the private theatres, such a setting multiplied many times provides a clue to the continued large-scale demand for both sale and rental of plays.

Besides the social conditions stimulating the enthusiasm for drama within the gentry's own country houses, participation of the youth both as actors and audience in the regular school performances created lasting interest, fostering the desire in later life to continue the theatrical experience. Thus hundreds of boys every year entered society to promote the acting — and reading — of plays.

Without attempting to enumerate here the more formally organized stage productions, we should recall several other types of dramatic companies or groups as potential readers: besides the strolling players, regular professional companies traveling on regular circuits were supplemented by local and more or less temporary amateur companies, often to raise funds for charitable purposes. But none of these in the aggregate rivaled the country house groups, far more numerous than any others, in the purchase and renting of plays.

To distinguish the causes of the country-wide proliferation of the private informal stage productions and of the resulting consumption of plays is to outline much of the social history of the eighteenth century. One of the most powerful forces was a reaction against the divisive, centrifugal dynamics of the seventeenth century: the eighteenth was a preponderantly centripetal period. The periodicals of Steele and Addison in their wondrously perceptive outlook were both reflection and cause of social cohesiveness, as witness the prominence of coffee houses in their papers. The century so urbanely ushered in by this powerful influence was a century of organization, expressed at the local level by the urge toward group activities. One conspicuous illustration was the country-wide initiation of book-clubs early in this period; and closely related was the early custom of using the circulat-

[36] In the London house of John Conduitt, master of the Mint. Amplifying the reproduction of this picture in Richard Southern's *Changeable Scenery* (London [1951]), are several pages (189–193) of discussion of the back scene, representing the wall of a castle or prison, which it is conjectured may have been lent or rented from a regular theatre. Yet the room in front of the stage is the hall, with fireplace, pictures, and other non-theatrical features. Such points are here mentioned of course to show the milieu of the second class, the gentry's home productions.

ing libraries as combined reading and social centers, developing by the middle of the century into formal subscription societies with their own rooms open daily. Add to these movements the isolation, especially in cold weather, of country houses throughout the provinces, along with publication of a rapidly increasing number of current plays, and we see how several forces conspired to make home theatricals attractive to both young and old. We cannot doubt that the excitement generated by the several private productions described in Fanny Burney's unique accounts was mirrored in countless similar scenes.[37]

One other source of evidence is the libraries of individuals: Burke, Sterne, John Wilkes, Matthew Brickdale, a merchant and M.P. of Bristol, and James Losh, barrister and liberal leader from Newcastle.[38] And these are supplemented by the actual record of reading in William Godwin's still unpublished diary. Every collection included Shakespeare: in Burke's, no less than four complete editions; in Sterne's, three; and in Wilkes's, two, besides a Concordance. Burke's was made up of works of eighteen playwrights, but only four English in addition to Shakespeare, except for those dramatists represented in Dodsley's *Collection of Old Plays* in twelve vol-

[37] *The Early Diary of Frances Burney 1768–1778* ed Annie Raine Ellis, 2 vols (London 1907), names eight plays or proposals for performances from 1768 to 1777, the most important being a lengthy description of the ones at her uncle's house, Barborne Lodge, Worcester, of Murphy's *The Way to Keep Him* and *Tom Thumb* (II 164–179).

[38] The following sale catalogues are in the British Museum: *Catalogue of the Libraries of the Late Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke and a near relative of the late Sir M. B. Clare M.D.; A Few Books from the Library of Gibbon, etc., etc.* (London 1833); *A Catalogue of a . . . Collection of Books, among which are included the entire Library of . . . Laurence Sterne . . . To be sold . . .* August 23, 1768 . . . by J. Todd and H. Sotheran, Booksellers in York; and *A Catalogue of the very Valuable Library of the late John Wilkes, Esq. M.P. . . . which will be sold . . . on Monday, November 29, 1802* . . . [London].

Brickdale's library was lent to the newly organized Bristol Library Society in 1774 and the catalogue was printed under the simple title of *A Catalogue of Mr. Brickdale's Books* (made available to me through the courtesy of Mr. W. S. Haugh, City Librarian, Bristol). The title of Losh's catalogue is *A Catalogue of the very valuable and extensive Miscellaneous Library of the Late James Losh, Esq. Recorder of Newcastle which will be sold at auction . . . on Monday, the 3rd Day of March, 1834 . . . by Reed and Archbold* . . . Newcastle 1834. A copy is in the library of the Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle. A microfilm of some sections of Godwin's Diary was provided by Professor Lewis Patton, Duke University.

A notable catalogue of 659 titles recorded as Congreve's library was published in John C. Hodges *The Library of William Congreve* (The New York Public Library 1955). A "fine collection of drama" (in Hodges' words) included Sophocles, Aristophanes, three editions of Plautus, five editions of Terence, Corneille, Racine, and Molière, a first folio and three editions of Pope's Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Ben Jonson, two editions of Dryden's plays, Shadwell, Etherege, Otway, and a dozen or so volumes about the stage.

The library of another distinguished Englishman, Edward Gibbon, shows twelve made-up volumes of comedies comprising fifty English plays and six similar volumes of tragedies with twenty-one dramas, together with three eighteenth-century editions of Shakespeare. (*The Library of Edward Gibbon; A Catalogue of his Books* with an Introduction by Geoffrey Keynes [London 1940] 99, 100, 249, 271.)

umes. Burke possessed all the major classical dramatists except Terence together with Goldoni, Metastasio, and Guarini, Molière (in two editions), and Corneille, all in the original, along with four works of commentary on Shakespeare. In Sterne's collection, by far the most extensive, were the plays of twenty-six dramatists, including no less than six editions of Terence, three of Molière, two of Corneille, and three of Beaumont and Fletcher; Sterne owned also *Beauties of the English Stage*, *Theatre Anglois* in eight volumes, and *Theatrical Records*. Wilkes's library with fourteen works was the most distinctive, for in it there was not a single English dramatist except Shakespeare and Congreve: the titles included all seven major Greek and Latin authors and Menander also, and a seventy-volume Voltaire and an eight-volume *Théâtre de Société*. This library boasted five editions, each, of Sophocles, Seneca, and Terence, and four, each, of Aeschylus and Euripides. Matthew Brickdale's library with twelve works was about equally divided between foreign (two editions of Sophocles in Greek and Latin, Seneca, Terence, Scarron, and a partial set of Molière in French and English) and English, including a "Collection of Plays" presumably English. The smallest library, belonging to James Losh, included only eight works: Sophocles, Euripides, Terence (in translation), Racine, Schiller (two plays), a "volume of plays," two editions of Shakespeare (Johnson, and Johnson and Stevens), and Collier's *Immorality of the Stage*.

To these titles from personal libraries may be added William Godwin's actual record of his own reading. During the 1790s he named twenty-six plays of Shakespeare, the *Antigone*, the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, the *Andria* of Terence, Metastasio, *Athalie*, *Phèdre*, *Le Misanthrope*, *Indian Emperor*, and Dryden's *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*. Even if such individual evidence affords little indication of popular trends, it does attest to the reading of drama by some professional men.

So, in briefest terms, runs an analysis of Lane's "theatrical amateurs" who composed such a promising class of readers. But even if he intended his characterization to apply merely to those actively engaged in or contemplating performances, he certainly was thinking also of a growing number of play-readers only, as for example the members of the Bristol Library Society and the men whose libraries were just examined.

Oblivious of such popularity H. D. Traill, long regarded as an authority in his extensive work *Social England*, declared, of the first half of the century: "National feeling was hostile to the drama" [89] — whether or not only

[89] New York 1909 v 142 (in Chap XVII, 1714–1742).

against the professional stage is not specified. But the nation was quickly delivered from the venom of such pestilential fellows as Jeremy Collier and Arthur Bedford, leaving the opposition in the hands chiefly of the Methodists. Rather strangely perhaps the drama never aroused the bitter, persistent attacks elicited by the novel. In fact the absence of discussion of the private theatricals remains a mystery. Not until 1788 did a full-dress analysis appear in Cumberland's essay which in all its scoffing exaggeration serves as a perfect support for the claims here made for the vogue of performance within the home. "If the present taste for private plays," he begins, "spreads as fast as most fashions do in this country we may expect the rising generation to be, like the Greeks in my motto [*Natio comoeda est*], one entire nation of actors and actresses." Throughout this whole intemperate, albeit clever picture, the author of more than fifty plays denigrates these home productions, alleging various dangers to the young, quoting Terence's "Theatrum sacrarium est Veneris," and especially to the young women "quae pudica theatrum accesserat, inde revertetur impudica"! But this animus is explained by his even greater resentment against the booksellers, who in scooping up all the profits from plays, in his words, "drink out of the skulls of their best friends." [40]

What then can be said in answer to offset Cumberland's attack? How shall we assess the influence of impromptu private performances? A prominent if not indeed the most important effect could have been the "socializing" force entailed in the neighborhood group's cooperating in a common enterprise. This did accentuate class consciousness of the gentry and their households, but the personal emotional adjustments often required in the casting and the performance of parts, so thoughtfully analyzed in the ten chapters of *Mansfield Park*, must have proved a maturing if stressful experience. Another fundamental influence was of course that of penetration into the nature of another character, the most rewarding individual development involved in the actor's role. Vitally important, also, was the inducement to the reading of plays, particularly if participants were led to a taste for the more serious drama, including foreign classics. Also, interest in the drama may have stimulated activity in reading other works. But even if it did not, a widening of outlook must have resulted for many. And here a significant parallel appears with the vastly increased publishing and reading of novels,

[40] Quoted in S. T. Williams *Richard Cumberland His Life and Dramatic Works* (New Haven and London 1917) 288.

which was far from an unmixed evil.[41] In the plays the reader found much social satire which could hardly fail to provoke thought on broad and acute social issues. So dangerous became the circulating libraries in the eyes of a completely tyrannical government in the 1790s that laws were actually passed requiring licensing of all book shops with the provision that a license could be revoked without notice at the will of the magistrate on the charge of the premises being a "disorderly house"! Plays — or any other books — had become too great a power in the land.

The measurable influence of the vogue upon professional writing and production is conjectural, but we may presume that greatly increased reading stimulated public performances.[42] Dryden and some of his fellow-dramatists could have been wrong about the small number of theatre-goers who read their plays at home, or changed conditions could have created more readers out of theatre-going audiences. After all, only a relatively small number of people could easily get to the theatre, but almost anybody could get a play to read. Causal relationships in this respect are too clouded to warrant reliable conclusions.

What this study demonstrates is the importance of catalogues of community libraries to the student of literature. In the crucial absence of other more direct types of evidence such records are indispensable as indices of social concerns, social movements. It is time to recognize that large areas of library history, primarily the records of community collections, can shed fresh light on the ceaseless evolution of literature.

[41] The wanton malignment of the vogue of fiction is vigorously repudiated and explained in *Community Library* 23, 24; as is the role of feminine readers in "A Defense of Fair Readers," *A Review of English Literature* VIII (1967) 68–76. Both of these analyses are reprinted in Kaufman *Libraries and Their Users* (London, The Library Association 1969).

[42] It can be argued that the vogue of reading tended to foster closet drama. I have seen no discussion of this possible effect.

James Boswell and the Irish Press, 1767-1795

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JAMES BOSWELL'S writings in English and Scots periodicals, and reactions in these periodicals to his person and work, have been studied by Margery Bailey, Frederick A. Pottle, and Lucyle Werkmeister.[1] No scholar, however, has examined eighteenth-century Irish periodicals for writings by Boswell, for publishers' announcements of his works, or for articles about him. In order to assess Boswell's reputation outside his normal environs of Edinburgh and London, I shall examine in this paper twenty eighteenth-century Irish periodicals — sixteen newspapers and four magazines — deposited in the National Library of Ireland, the Trinity College Library, and the Public Record Office, all in Dublin, and the Linen Hall Library of Belfast. I have chosen for study in the periodicals only the four major developments in Boswell's career, the "Corsican" period, 1767–1769, the tour of the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson in 1773, the publication of the *Tour to the Hebrides* in 1785, and the publication of the *Life of Johnson* in 1791; I also survey appraisals of his life and work made at the time of his death in 1795.

The documents relating to Boswell's tour of Ireland during May and June of 1769 have been skillfully summarized by Frederick A. Pottle.[2] A study of ten Irish periodicals during the period 1767–1769 — nine newspapers and the only Irish magazine published at that time — shows that Boswell was well known to the reading public in Ireland by the time he arrived there on May 1 1769. The newspapers, each published either two or three times weekly, are T. Dyton's *Dublin Gazette* (*DG*), George Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* (*DJ*), James Hoey's *Dublin Mercury* (*DM*), *The Public Register* or *Freeman's Journal*, published by the Committee for the Free Press (*FJ*), William Sleater's *Public Gazetteer* (*PG*), and John Roe's *Pue's Occurrences* (*PO*), all Dublin newspapers; and Henry Joy's *Belfast News-Letter and General Advertiser* (*BNL*), Phineas and George Bagnell's *Cork Evening Post* (*CEP*), and Edmund Finn's *Leinster Journal*, published in Kilkenny

[1] James Boswell *The Hypochondriack* ed Margery Bailey, 2 vols (Stanford 1928); F. A. Pottle *The Literary Career of James Boswell, Esq.* (Oxford 1929) 215–265; F. A. Pottle *James Boswell, The Earlier Years, 1740–1769* (New York 1966) 266–268, 304–308, and passim; Lucyle Werkmeister *Jemmie Boswell and the London Daily Press, 1785–1795* (The New York Public Library 1963).

[2] *James Boswell, The Earlier Years* 406–409.

(*LJ*). The tenth periodical is John Exshaw's *Gentleman's and London Magazine*, usually called *Exshaw's Magazine* (*EM*), published monthly in Dublin.[3] The most complete collection I have found is uncatalogued in the Public Record Office, Dublin, and there are scattered volumes in the National Library of Ireland. To avoid unwieldy lists of periodicals and an excessive number of footnotes, I shall cite periodicals within the text itself by abbreviations, as noted above, and issue number, or, in some cases, volume and issue number.

Frederick A. Pottle identifies three Irish reprints, called third, fourth, and fifth editions, of Boswell's *An Account of Corsica, a Journal of a Tour to that Island, and Memoirs of Pascal Paoli*.[4] Pottle saw two copies in private hands of the third Irish edition printed for J. Exshaw, H. Saunders, W. Sleater, D. Chamberlaine, J. Potts, and J. Williams, all Dublin publishers; this is also the edition which I have examined in the National Library of Ireland and the Trinity College Library. The Irish newspapers give considerable information about this edition that cannot be gained from an examination of the book itself. The publication of this reprint of the second London edition was first announced in Dublin by William Sleater on May 24 1768 in his *Public Gazetteer* at a price of 2 *s* 8 *d h* bound or 2 *s* 2 *d* sewed, a price significantly below the London price of 6 *s* bound. Sleater ran his advertisement in forty-six successive issues of the newspaper except for a lapse of four issues in August 1768; possibly the gap indicated the end of the third Dublin edition and the beginning of the fourth, but Sleater did not announce the number of the edition until the fifth edition in 1769. John Exshaw announced his publication of *An Account of Corsica* on May 31 1768 at the same price as Sleater's (*DJ* 4305 ff; *FJ* v 79 ff). The first copies of *An Account of Corsica* to be sold in Dublin, however, were not from the Dublin reprint but the London edition imported and sold at the London price by Peter and William Wiston of Dublin, beginning on April 19 1768 with their advertisement in the *Freeman's Journal*.

Additional evidence of the size of Boswell's Irish audience is the fact that his book was published elsewhere in Ireland. In northern Ireland the *Belfast News-Letter* of June 3 1768 contained James Magee's announcement of his publication of the work in Belfast, and the issue of August 12 1768 adver-

[3] In *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* ed F. W. Bateson (Cambridge 1941) II 674, 687 (cited hereafter as *CBEL*), *Exshaw's Magazine* is listed as a periodical whose entry depends upon "authorities which do not give any recent or permanently accessible location, and, in some cases, on the dubious expedient of reckoning backward from extant issues." The New York Public Library, however, has an almost complete set (* DA).

[4] *Literary Career* 58–59.

tised the publication of Boswell's book by George Stevenson in Newry, County Armagh. In southern Ireland Thomas Lord announced his edition in the *Cork Evening Post* for January 26 1769. Magee, Stevenson, and Lord sold Boswell's book at the Dublin prices. If *An Account of Corsica* was published in these small towns outside Dublin, it was probably published in other towns whose newspapers have not survived.[5]

The fifth Dublin edition of *An Account of Corsica* was first announced by William Sleater on March 21 1769; he repeated the announcement twenty-two times. Sleater noted that the new edition was "ornamented with a striking likeness of that Great General [Paoli]." The collapse of the Corsican rebellion in June 1769 and the flight of Paoli undoubtedly hurt the sale of Boswell's book, but Sleater continued advertising the work for the next several months. On October 13 1770 Sleater began carrying his publishing list in virtually every issue of his newspaper, and *An Account of Corsica* was in the list until at least March 24 1774, the last issue of the newspaper that I have seen. Five years later, then, Sleater was still trying to sell out the fifth edition, but this constant repetition must have helped to make Boswell's name a familiar one to the Irish reading public. James Pott's announcement of a new edition appeared forty-four times between April 8 1769 and November 11 1769, when the edition probably was sold out (*DJ* 4460 ff; *FJ* VI 64 ff). The price for both the Sleater and Potts editions was the same as the earlier Irish editions.

In addition to advertisements of Boswell's book by its several Irish publishers, there were attempts at evaluation in the Irish periodicals. In his *Gentleman's and London Magazine* for May 1769, John Exshaw printed Lord Lyttelton's letter to Boswell praising *An Account of Corsica*, which Boswell included in the preface to the third London edition. Exshaw accompanied Lord Lyttelton's letter with comments of his own on Boswell the traveller and libertarian:

> This gentleman whom Lord Lyttelton expresses so much esteem for, and to whom He and the Public are indebted for the *Account of Corsica*, and the *Memoirs of its Chief*, lately made a visit to this kingdom, that Ireland might be taken in his view, as well as the other parts of Europe: we hear he has communicated a design of promoting a free-gift here, for the support of oppressed Freedom in Corsica, as he hath done both in

[5] Since no copy of these provincial editions seems to have survived, it is impossible to say whether they were genuine editions with independent and different settings of type or merely issues of the Dublin printing with Belfast, Newry, or Cork imprints on the title pages. The fact that the price was the same for all editions suggests that the provincial publishers followed the latter course.

> Scotland and England; and in this his expectations are not a little raised, from the general character of this kingdom. How far the public are interested in the manner this gentleman has employed his time, and the observations he has made while abroad, must appear from what he has obliged them with, in the piece just mentioned.

The writer of a series of essays in the *Dublin Mercury* entitled "Speculations of Jeoffry Wagstaffe" observed on December 27 1768: "The public is undoubtedly much indebted to Mr. Boswell for his sensible and spirited account of Corsica. He has made us acquainted with Pascal Paoli, a man whose sayings and actions may convince us, that Plutarch's heroes are not fabulous." Wagstaffe then criticized Boswell for regarding Jaussin's earlier book on Corsica as opposed to Corsican aspirations. One of the writers using the pseudonym of Jeoffry Wagstaffe was John Courtenay, who in later years became one of Boswell's closest friends.

Besides these judgments on Boswell's book as a whole, there were many references in the newspapers during 1768 to specific points made in the book or quotations from it. The indebtedness of the nation to Boswell for demonstrating the military value of Corsica was pointed out at least three times in June 1768 (*DJ* 4307; *FJ* v 81; *PG* 935). Also in June Paoli's remark to Boswell about the necessity of preserving Corsican independence was quoted in several newspapers (*DJ* 4305; *BNL* 3215; *PG* 938). Boswell's warning about the unfortunate consequences of King George's proclamation against participation by British citizens in the Corsican fight for freedom was reprinted in the *Dublin Journal* for June 9–11. Boswell's story of the heroism of the Irish officer Carew was probably reprinted from the *London Chronicle* of April 21 1768 rather than from *An Account of Corsica* itself. The conclusion of Carew's story reprinted in the *Belfast News-Letter* for May 6 1768 showed the same favorable attitude toward the Irish that Boswell displayed throughout his life:

> It is with pleasure that I record an Anecdote so much to the honour of a gentleman of that nation, on which illiberal reflections are too often thrown, by those of whom it little deserves them. Whatever may be the rough jokes of wealthy insolence, or the envious sarcasms of needy jealousy, the Irish have ever been, and will continue to be, highly regarded upon the continent.

It was not only Boswell's book that was advertised and quoted in the Irish periodicals, but it was also Boswell the commentator on current events in the war for Corsican independence who was often referred to. Widely

reprinted was the notice in the *London Chronicle* of April 18 1767 that all official news of Corsica, the "Corsican Gazettes" and "Corsican Intelligences," was communicated by "Mr. Boswell, to whom regular information is transmitted by order of General Paoli" (*BNL* 3098; *DM* 271; *EM* May 1767, p 313; *PG* 897). These "Corsican Gazettes" and "Intelligences" often appeared in the Irish newspapers during 1767 and 1769, as did the many fictional reports by Boswell about the activities of "Signor Romanzo," or other Corsican couriers, but these were all reprinted from the *London Chronicle* and have been fully discussed by Frederick A. Pottle.[6] Boswell's letter in the *London Chronicle* of April 1767 about the invasion of Capraya by the Corsicans and his experiences on Capraya in 1767 was reprinted in four Irish papers and was usually accompanied by Boswell's statement that his book on Corsica would be ready soon (*BLN* 3097; *DM* 117; *PG* 897; *PO* 6586). Boswell had prepared the way for other travellers to Corsica such as John Symonds in 1767 and the Earl of Pembroke and Captain Meadows in 1768 by giving them letters of introduction to Paoli (*BNL* 3143; *DJ* 4320; *DM* 117).

Boswell's lengthy "Memorial for a Contribution in behalf of the Brave Corsicans," which appeared in several London and Edinburgh periodicals in December 1768, was also reprinted in Ireland (*BNL* 3276; *EM* Jan 1769, p 24–26). John Exshaw's comment on the memorial anticipated Boswell's fund-raising activities in Ireland five months later:

> An application in favour of these fellow islanders, may not be less proper, than successful to the inhabitants of this kingdom [Ireland] whose feelings and affections must be raised, if they reflect on what has been done, by their ancestors, in almost similar circumstances, as political as well as religious liberty, was the contention. . . . the writer with assurance presumes to hope, that not more is wanting, than a patron to lead the way, and direct where benefactions will be received. Charity vaunteth not, but with what effulgence would she rise, if led forward by a Bailey, then would she credit this kingdom, in supporting her usual character of mercy and compassion, and of not turning away her face from virtue in distress, contending for that freedom she knows so well how to value.

These periodical accounts and the many Irish printings of his book show that Boswell was not exaggerating when he wrote to Sir Alexander Dick on May 29 1769 about his reception in Ireland: "I found myself treated with a distinction that has been very flattering to the blood of Auchinleck. Though my book has told almost everything that I knew, there is still a great curi-

[6] *James Boswell, The Earlier Years* 303–308.

osity to hear many little particulars, which different minds are eager to ask." [7] The Irish newspapers, however, were strangely silent about who Boswell's friends were in Ireland. The best newspaper source is English, not Irish; the *Public Advertiser* of London for July 8 1769 recorded Boswell's meetings with Viscount Townshend, who was the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1767–1772, with the Duke of Leinster, and with the Lord Mayor of Dublin.[8] In his "Memoirs of James Boswell, Esq." printed in the *European Magazine* for June 1791, Boswell identified several others whom he had known in Ireland in 1769: "Lord Charlemont, Dr. Leland, Mr. Flood, Dr. Macbride, and other eminent persons of that kingdom, not forgetting the celebrated George Faulkner, the social though laughable friend of Dean Swift and Lord Chesterfield." [9] There is no journal by Boswell for his stay in Dublin by which one may verify these relationships. The correspondence of Viscount Townshend, the Duke of Leinster, Lord Charlemont, and Henry Flood survives, but in the hundreds of letters Boswell's name is mentioned but once; Lt Col Simon Fraser wrote in 1772 that he had a letter for Viscount Townshend from Boswell.[10] Boswell's journals and correspondence show that he knew Viscount Townshend, Lord Charlemont, and Henry Flood in later years, but the only published sources for such relationships in 1769 remain the two English periodicals cited above. One finds in the Dublin newspapers that Viscount Townshend and Lord Charlemont were in Dublin during Boswell's stay, and that Viscount Townshend reviewed the Royal Irish Regiment of Dragoons in the Phoenix Park of Dublin on May 24 1769; Boswell wrote in the *Public Advertiser* article that he had attended such a review with Viscount Townshend but gave no date (*DJ* 4450, 4457; *FJ* VI 73, 77). The absence of news about Boswell's acquaintances is explained in part by a letter of August 25 1769 from Andrew Caldwell in Dublin to Boswell

[7] *Letters of James Boswell* ed C. B. Tinker (Oxford 1924) I 171.

[8] A reference by W. J. F. in *Notes and Queries*, 8th series, V 145, Feb 24 1894, to a *Freeman's Journal* account of Boswell's dinner on July 7 1769 with the Lord Lieutenant at Leixlip is incorrect; there is no such account in the *Freeman's Journal* or in other Irish newspapers for May through August 1769. Boswell's daily journal shows that he was in Scotland from June 12 1769 until August 28 1769.

[9] This autobiographical account in the *European Magazine* is reprinted by F. A. Pottle *Literary Career* xxix–xliv.

[10] Townshend Manuscripts, M 733 No 55, Public Record Office, Dublin. There are other unpublished letters to Lord Townshend in the National Library of Ireland, and his published correspondence is in *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports* XI iv (1887). The massive Charlemont correspondence is in *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports* XII X (1891) and XIII viii (1894). There is correspondence of the Duke of Leinster in *The Correspondence of Emily, Duchess of Leinster, 1731–1814* ed Brian Fitzgerald (Dublin 1949). Henry Flood's correspondence may be found in Warden Flood, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of the Right Hon. Henry Flood* (Dublin 1838).

in Edinburgh which indicates that Viscount Townshend and the Duke of Leinster had advised George Faulkner of the *Dublin Journal* not to publish Boswell's paragraph about them.[11]

Although one cannot verify from the Irish newspapers Boswell's associations with famous men, one can find considerable information about Boswell's activities in behalf of the Corsicans during his stay in Ireland in May and June of 1769. Boswell's arrival in Dublin was reported in essentially the same words by five Irish periodicals during the period May 11–16 1769: "James Boswell, Esq., author of the account of Corsica, and the memoirs of Paschal Paoli, arrived here by way of Donaghadee a few days ago" (*CEP* xiv 39; *DJ* 4451; *DM* 399; *EM* May 1769, p 319; *PO* 6801). Boswell's signed appeal of June 1 1769 for funds for Paoli and the Corsicans in their war against the French was essentially the one he sent later to the *Public Advertiser* in London. The second of its four paragraphs indicates that Boswell had talked to a number of people about the Corsican cause: "Having had the pleasure to find that a generous zeal for the Corsicans prevails in Ireland, I have been encouraged to hope that a Contribution may be raised here in Support of the Cause of Liberty, in which this Country has on many Occasions so gloriously distinguished herself." The fourth paragraph suggests an organized campaign for funds: "Contributions for the brave Corsicans are received by Messrs. Latouche, Bankers in Dublin, to whom the Gentlemen who make Collections in their several Counties and Boroughs, will please to remit what is raised. Messrs. Latouche will in due Time, be ready to satisfy Contributers, that their Bounty is properly conveyed to Corsica" (*DJ* 4460, 4465–4466; *FJ* vi 80–92). If there was an enthusiastic response, it was not recorded in the newspapers that have survived. By the time of Boswell's appeal the defeat of the Corsicans was rumored; it became definitely known within a few weeks. Alexander Stewart, Esq of Newtownards, Down, contributed £100; the people of Portaferry, Down, another £200; and an Anti-gallican, three guineas (*CEP* xiv 39; *DJ* 4451, 4462; *DG* 2023, 2028; *DM* 399, 409, 414; *FJ* vi 81, 84; *PO* 6801, 6808, 6811). Perhaps because of the poor response Jeoffry Wagstaffe, the Batchelor, admonished his readers in the *Dublin Mercury* for June 20–22 1769: "The Corsican contribution and the Batchelor should now be the chief objects with the generous and the learned; and the public should relieve the two greatest men now in Europe, Paschal Paoli and Jeoffry Wagstaffe."

11 Unpublished letter, Boswell Manuscripts, Yale University (C 723).

A more serious statement in response to the appeal was a lengthy letter by "A Free Hibernian" in the *Freeman's Journal* for June 17–20. The writer, probably Boswell himself, began with an epigram on liberty by Dryden and developed some of the same points made in Boswell's earlier appeals for contributions and in *An Account of Corsica* itself. Boswell was named in the concluding sentence: "I think it needless to say any more to induce my Countrymen to contribute towards a scheme, which will be attended by so many good Consequences, but shall rest in Confidence that into Mr. Latouche's Bank (which is the place appointed in Mr. Boswell's Advertisement for the Reception of Contributions) large Sums will be paid."

Yet another outcome of Boswell's campaign for the Corsicans was the following announcement first printed in the newspapers on June 8 1769:

> A Set of Gentlemen have formed themselves into a Corsican Club, to support the Cause of Liberty and Paoli; they intend to dine at the Phoenix in Werburgh-street, on Thursday the 6th of July next. — Colonel John Conyngham in the Chair. — Each Gentleman is to pay down Two Guineas at their first Meeting, which are immediately to be deposited with Messrs. Latouche. . . . As this Club is founded on a generous and disinterested Principle, to support a brave and injured People; it is to be hoped that Irishmen will distinguish themselves, and do Honour to their Country, by associating to support a Nation of Heroes, and their illustrious Chief, who dignify human Nature by their Patriotism and Virtue. (*DJ* 4466–4468; *DM* 410–418; *FJ* VI 83–84)

Although Boswell had left Dublin by this time, the notice is similar to his other writings on behalf of the Corsicans. The Chairman of the Club, Colonel John Conyngham, is not in the *Army Lists* for 1766–1773 or in John Watson's *Gentleman's and Citizen's Almanack* for 1766–1773, the official register for Dublin. He may have been the Colonel John Cunningham, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for County Dublin who died in Dublin on February 14 1778 (*DJ* 5813). The last notice for the Corsican Club appeared on June 29 1769; the dinner scheduled for July 6 presumably was never held since by that time the French victory over Paoli was known.

Boswell's name continued to appear in the Irish periodicals in 1769 after his departure in June and the collapse of the Corsicans, with whom his name was linked. Neither Boswell nor Paoli lost prestige as the result of the Corsican defeat. The mezzotint of Paoli done from the painting by Henry Bembridge, "the only genuine Print done from the Picture painted for James Boswell, Esq., Author of the Account of Corsica," was sold by George Faulkner in Dublin after July 18 1769. The letter from Paoli to Boswell about his

escape from Corsica appearing in the *London Chronicle* and also the correction a few days later that the letter to Boswell was from "a person of distinction at Pisa" were widely reprinted (*BNL* 3333; *DG* 2041; *DJ* 4483; *DM* 426; *PO* 6819). The Irish periodicals faithfully copied from the London papers the many reports of Boswell's autumn activities at Stratford and London.[12] The lengthy description of Boswell in Corsican garb at the Stratford Jubilee masquerade ball was reprinted three times, and in two of the publications Boswell's "Verses in the Character of a Corsican" and his own account of the Jubilee were included (*BNL* 3350; *DJ* 4506; *EM* Oct 1769, p 581–590). After the Stratford Jubilee was over, Boswell returned to London where he was soon enjoying the society of Paoli. Newspapers in Belfast, Dublin, and Kilkenny recorded numerous associations of the two, including the meeting with Samuel Johnson (*BNL* 3352, 3355; *DG* 2072; *FJ* VII 8, 12, 13, 24; *LJ* III 90; *PG* 1075–1076; *PO* 6841, 6844). One news item of this period is unique to my knowledge. The *Belfast News-Letter* for October 2 1769 noted: "The celebrated Mr. Boswell, the friend of the valiant Corsican Chief, is soon to be married to Miss Boyd." This is the only confirmation in a public source of Boswell's matrimonial interest in Mary Ann Boyd, whom he had visited in Dublin and about whom he had written in letters to friends. The amusing story of how he switched from Mary Ann Boyd to his cousin, Margaret Montgomerie, in the course of his Irish tour is best told by F. A. Pottle.[13] *Exshaw's Magazine* for January 1770 (p 60) was apparently the only Irish periodical to announce Boswell's marriage to Margaret Montgomerie on November 25 1769.

Although Boswell's main interest was Corsica during the period from 1767 to 1769, he was also much concerned with the celebrated Douglas Cause both as a writer and as a lawyer. In defense of Archibald Douglas's claim to the estates of the Duke of Douglas, Boswell published three works in 1767: *Dorando, The Essence of the Douglas Cause*, and *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas*. F. A. Pottle describes a copy in private hands of an Irish edition of the latter work published by J. Exshaw,[14] and I have examined a copy of the same edition in the National Library of Ireland. Since Exshaw was publishing *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas*, *Exshaw's Magazine* gave more attention than other Irish periodicals to the Douglas Cause. Exshaw announced in February 1768 that he was publishing *Letters of Lady Jane*

[12] See *James Boswell, The Earlier Years* 421–442, for the definitive account of Boswell's autumn activities.

[13] *Ibid* 402–408.

[14] *Literary Career* 46.

Douglas at 1 *s* 7 *d* *h* sewed and 2 *s* 2 *d* bound and included several letters by Lady Jane as examples. Again in June 1769 he advertised his edition and printed excerpts "considered as models well worth imitating, for sentiment, diction, and polite respect. . . ." The work was also read outside Dublin, for in Kilkenny Edmund Finn announced in the April 23–27 1768 issue of his *Leinster Journal* his publication of *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas.* It should be noted, however, that Boswell's editing of the letters was not known.

Although Boswell was never again to have the recognition in Ireland that *An Account of Corsica* afforded him, the other major periods of his career were recorded in the Irish periodicals. The next important year for him was 1773, the year of the tour of the Scots Highlands with Samuel Johnson. In the August 1773 issue of his magazine John Exshaw published Anne Laetitia Aikin's "Corsica: a Poem," which, he explained, was written in 1769 but was included at this time because of its noble sentiments on freedom. The poem contains thirteen lines about Boswell's attitude toward freedom for Corsica, lines which Boswell valued so highly that he quoted them in his memoirs of 1791:

> Such were the working thoughts which swell'd the breast,
> Of generous BOSWELL, when with nobler aim
> And views beyond the narrow beaten track
> By trivial fancy trode, he turn'd his course
> From polish'd Gallia's soft delicious vales,
> From the grey reliques of imperial Rome,
> From her long galleries of laurel'd stone,
> Her chissel'd heroes, and her marble Gods
> (Whose dumb majestic pomp yet awes the world),
> To animated forms of patriot zeal;
> Warm in the living majesty of virtue;
> Elate with fearless spirit; firm; resolv'd;
> By fortune unsubdued; unaw'd by power.

Exshaw gave Boswell a footnote: "Now pleading the cause of liberty in his country, (see p. 292) and who promoted the subscription in England and Ireland, for the assistance of the brave Corsicans. . . ." The reference on p 292 was to Boswell's speeches against simony before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in the cause of John Brymer, minister of Marykirk, Kincardineshire, accused of buying his position. *Exshaw's Magazine* gave fifteen pages to the cause in the May, June, July, and August 1773 issues. The *Belfast News-Letter* of July 23–27 1773 briefly noticed another of Boswell's legal causes centering on the nature of liberty — his participa-

tion as one of the lawyers for Alexander Donaldson in his fight against the London publishers on the question of literary property.

Other Irish periodicals for 1773 informed their readers about the progress of Johnson and Boswell through the Scots Highlands. The first accounts appeared in the papers of September 21–25 1773, and related how Johnson and Boswell were received at Inverness and Aberdeen and how Johnson was presented with the freedom of the city of Aberdeen (*CEP* XVIII 76; *DJ* 5129; *PG* XVII 11). The *Public Gazetteer* of October 26 1773 summed up the tour to the arrival at Inverary and cited a remark on the Highlanders by Johnson, "I love the people better than the country." The *Dublin Journal* of Nov 30 – Dec 2 1773 noted that Johnson and Boswell had been "elegantly entertained" by Lord Hailes, Principal Robertson, General Oughton, and other Edinburgh worthies. Descriptions of the tour continued into the next year as the *Belfast News-Letter* for February 18–22 1774 devoted almost a column to a summary of the tour.

The publication of the *Tour to the Hebrides* in 1785 provides the third focal point in the study of Boswell's career. For this period one can get some indication of the size of Boswell's Irish audience because circulation figures for several newspapers are available.[15] J. Magee claimed on October 1 1785 that his *Dublin Evening Post* sold 1516 copies of each issue or 6064 copies a week according to Post Office records alone. If his estimate that six people read each paper was correct, the largest newspaper in Ireland was read by many thousands of people each week. According to Magee 480 copies of the *Dublin Journal* were sold each issue, 219 copies of the *Freeman's Journal*, 93 copies of the *Volunteer's Journal*, 53 of the *Hibernian Journal*, and a negligible number of each of the others. One newspaper not named by Magee, Edmund Finn's *Leinster Journal*, cited elsewhere in this paper, was circulated by messenger throughout six counties of southern Ireland and delivered by the Post Office in Dublin, London, and Edinburgh.[16]

The *Dublin Evening Post* on November 17 1785 gave the first announcement of an Irish printing of the *Tour to the Hebrides*: "This day was Published by Luke White, No. 86, Dame, price neatly bound 6 *s* 6 *d*. The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, with Samuel Johnson L.L.D. By James Boswell,

[15] For the discussion of this third phase of Boswell's career the following periodicals should be added to the ten previously identified: J. Magee's *Dublin Evening Post* (*DEP*), Thomas M'Donnel's *Hibernian Journal* (*HJ*), Thomas Walker's *Hibernian Magazine* (*HM*), J. Dowling's *Volunteer's Journal* (*VJ*), all published in Dublin, and William Flyn's *Hibernian Chronicle* (*HC*), published in Cork. *CBEL* II 700, 737, notes no "recent accessible location" for the *Hibernian Chronicle*; both the National Library of Ireland and the Trinity College Library have good collections.

[16] R. R. Madden *History of Irish Periodical Literature* (London 1867) II 237.

Esq. . . ." Patrick Byrne had his advertisement in the same issue except that he also published an edition in boards for 5 *s* 11 *d* *h*, a price only a half pence less than the London price of 6 *s* for a copy in boards. The work was listed by Byrne in January 1786 and by White in June 1786 in other newspapers (*FJ* XXIII 126 ff; *HJ* XVI 7 ff). The copy of the Dublin edition at Yale described by F. A. Pottle contains in its imprint the names of White, Byrne, and Cash;[17] this is also the imprint of the copy I have examined in the National Library of Ireland. The *Dublin Journal* for February 4 1786 shows that a fourth Dublin publisher, R. Marchbank, also listed the work at the same price. By April 1 1786 the *Tour to the Hebrides* was available at Jackson's Circulating Library in Dublin (*DEP* 1287 ff; *HJ* XVI 44).

Even before the Irish edition of the *Tour* was in the shops, Irish periodicals were printing extracts from the London edition of the book. The *Belfast News-Letter* for October 18–21 1785 was the first of five periodicals to quote the first long characterization of Johnson from Boswell's book beginning, "Dr. Samuel Johnson's character, religious, moral, political, and literary, nay, his figure and manner, are, I believe, more generally known than those of almost any man. . . ." (*BNL* 5029; *DEP* 1222; *DJ* 7015; *HJ* XV 126; *HM* Nov 1785, p 563–568). The *Dublin Evening Post* for October 27 1785 contained the description of the imaginary university to be established by Club members, with Johnson in logic, metaphysics, and scholastic divinity, and Boswell in civil and Scots law. Yet another extract from the London edition was the discussion between Johnson and William Forbes on the lawyer's attitude toward the guilt of his client; this dialogue was prefaced in two of the newspapers by an evaluation: "The following is, in respect to the utility of the ideas suggested, as good perhaps as anything in Boswell's Book" (*HC* XVII 89; *VJ* 323). The *Hibernian Magazine* for November 1785 reprinted the entire narrative from the *Tour* of Prince Charles's escape in 1746 with the help of Flora Macdonald. Other extracts included what the editors regarded as Johnson's unorthodox opinions on tragic actors, on Swift, on Hervey's *Meditations*, on Burke, and on Presbyterian worship (*BNL* 5045, 5082; *HM* Nov 1785, p 563–568).

Boswell was cited in the Irish periodicals in 1785 not only as the author of the *Tour to the Hebrides* but also as a commentator on Irish affairs. Reprinted twice from the *London Magazine* was the exchange of letters in 1779 between Boswell and the Rev Dr Frederick Hervey, Bishop of Derry and fourth Earl of Bristol. In the first letter Bishop Hervey asked Boswell's

[17] *Literary Career* 116.

opinion on the proposed union of Ireland with Great Britain and indicated his own approval of the union. Denying the advantage of the union for Ireland, Boswell in the second letter recalled his own experience in Ireland in 1769: "When I was in Ireland ten years ago, a very sensible man addressing himself to me as a Scotsman, said, 'We are bad enough in this country; but, thank God, we are not so bad as you are. We have still our own parliament'" (*BNL* 5021–5022; *DEP* 1201). The Earl and the Rev Andrew Burnaby had followed Boswell's path in Corsica in 1766 and had been mentioned in Boswell's preface to *An Account of Corsica.*

The year 1786 represented a turning point for Boswell's reputation in Ireland. Up to this year he had been widely quoted and praised as an author, traveller, political commentator, and libertarian; with 1786 hostile criticism began. The main assailant was Dr John Wolcot, better known as Peter Pindar, who satirized both Boswell's writing on Johnson and Mrs Piozzi's *Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson* published in 1786. The number of periodicals that advertised and quoted from Pindar's two satires in verse, "A Poetical and Congratulatory Epistle to James Boswell," and "Bozzy and Piozzi," far exceeded the number that referred to the works by Boswell and Mrs Piozzi. Thomas Walker's *Hibernian Magazine* for June 1786, for example, summarized, with appropriate quotations, Pindar's version of the competition between Boswell and Mrs Piozzi and the damning of both by still another Johnson biographer, Sir John Hawkins. The review concluded with Pindar's lines put in the mouth of Hawkins:

> For thee, James Boswell, may the hand of fate
> Arrest thy goose quill, and confine thy prate;
> Or be in solitude to live thy luck,
> A chattering magpye on the ISLE of MUCK.

Earlier, in December 1785 the *Hibernian Magazine* had printed a prose parody on Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, "Mr. Humdrum's Tour to Scotland."

Several other writers charged Boswell and Mrs Piozzi with calling attention to Johnson's failings. One example was Soame Jenyns's epitaph on Johnson which concludes:

> Would you know all his wisdom and his folly,
> His actions — sayings, mirth, and melancholy,
> BOSWELL and THRALE, retailers of his wit,
> Will tell you how he wrote, and talk'd, and cough'd, and spit.
> (*BNL* 5092, *DEP* 1305)

Another example from the *Dublin Journal* for September 26–28 1786 was a long essay by a certain Erica attacking writings on Johnson that stressed his prejudices. William Flyn in his *Hibernian Chronicle* of Cork for May 1 1786 printed a long poem assailing writers on Johnson. The ghost of Johnson chides several writers in the first five stanzas and then Boswell in the sixth stanza:

> Next Boswell comes, (for 'twas my lot
> To find at last *one* honest Scot)
> With continuous vivacity:
> Yet, garrulous, he tells too much,
> On fancied failings prone to touch,
> With sedulous loquacity.

The ghost's wrath is directed primarily against Mrs Piozzi, for whom the last five stanzas are exclusively reserved.

While these writers were criticizing Boswell for overemphasizing Johnson's faults, other writers claimed Boswell had suppressed incidents that revealed Johnson's weaknesses. Two Irish newspapers questioned, for example, Boswell's omission from the *Tour to the Hebrides* of the following episode:

> The doctor and Mr. Boswell dining one day at lady Macleod's, the former was helped to some green peas, which were esteemed a rarity for the season; having eaten what were first laid on his plate, lady Macleod offered to help him a second time. 'Psaw! Madam,' said the doctor surlily, 'they are only food for hogs.' 'Tis for that very reason I help you, sir,' replied her ladyship (*HG* xvm 97; *LJ* xx 100).

The hostile critics, especially Pindar, nevertheless probably helped the sale of Boswell's book, and they certainly kept his name before the Irish reading public.

The fourth period in Boswell's career, the publication of the London edition of the *Life of Johnson* in 1791 and in 1792 the Dublin edition, is the most important to posterity, but Boswell the mature biographer was not so newsworthy in Ireland as Boswell the young freedom fighter. An Irish edition of the *Life of Johnson* was widely advertised both in the Dublin newspapers and provincial papers.[18] It was first announced on February 20 1792

[18] To the fifteen periodicals previously identified should be added the *Dublin Chronicle* (*DC*), Peter Cooney's *Morning Post* or *Dublin Courant* (*MP*), John Jones's *Sentimental and Masonic Magazine* (*SMM*), and Patrick Byrne's and W. Porter's *Universal Magazine and Review*, or *Repository of Literature* (*UMR*), all published in Dublin; and W. Magee's *Northern Star* of Belfast (*NS*).

by the *Hibernian Journal* in an abridged form: "Published this day by John Jones, a Collection of interesting Biography containing 1st The Life of Doctor Johnson, abridged by Mr. Boswell — 2d The Life of Mr. Elwes, by Capt. Topham — 3d The Life of Capt. Cook by Dr. Hippis, with Cuts, 3*s* 3*d*." Jones ran this advertisement forty-one times until July 30 1792, and G. Folingsby advertised the same work in March of that year. F. A. Pottle describes a copy of this abridgement in private hands,[19] and I have examined two identical copies in the National Library of Ireland. Since none of these copies has Folingsby's name in the imprint, his represents yet another publication beyond the eleven listed in the imprint. The first notice of the unabridged *Life of Johnson* came from Patrick Byrne on August 21 1792. Four days later separate advertisements were printed by four Dublin publishers, W. Wilson, William Jones, Arthur Grueber, and G. Folingsby, followed shortly by John Jones and H. Colbert, and at the end of the year by Bernard Dornin; all these Dublin publishers sold a three volume edition at 22 *s* 9 *d* bound to undersell the London edition priced at two guineas (*DC* 843 ff; *DEP* 4074 ff; *DJ* 8094 ff; *FJ* xxxi 8 ff; *HJ* xxiii 103 ff). The names of five of these publishers appear in the imprint of the Dublin edition which I have examined in the National Library of Ireland, and in the Yale copy described by F. A. Pottle.[20] Since the names of Colbert, Dornin, and Folingsby are not among the thirteen in the imprint, their editions represented additional sales. The *Hibernian Journal* alone advertised the Dublin edition seventy times during 1792. The *Life of Johnson* was also published on September 5 1792 by W. Magee in Belfast and by A. Edwards in Cork on October 1 1792 (*CEP* ii 79 ff; *NS* 72 ff). Magee sold his set at the same price as the Dublin edition, but Edwards sold a cheaper set in boards at 19 *s* 6 *d*. On October 18 1792 in the *Freeman's Journal* the Apollo Library in Dublin listed the work as available for circulation.

The *Life of Johnson* was not so widely reviewed and quoted as either *An Account of Corsica* or the *Tour to the Hebrides*. I have found no newspaper notices and but three references in magazines. The *Hibernian Magazine* for January 1792 published from the London edition the account of Johnson's death. From the Dublin edition the story of Johnson's courtship of Mrs Elizabeth Porter and a picture of Johnson were reprinted in the September *Sentimental and Masonic Magazine*. In February 1792 there was a longer treatment of the work in the *Universal Magazine and Review* and a notice that

[19] *Literary Career* 197–198.

[20] *Ibid* 156–157.

the *Life of Johnson* was "now printing in Dublin." The anonymous reviewer presented several excerpts from the work and commented favorably on Boswell's qualifications for the biography:

> Among the literati of the present age, and particularly those who were intimately conversant with Dr. Johnson, we know of none better qualified, from a personal acquaintance with the hero of the story, than is Mr. B. for a complete execution of the task which he had imposed on himself, in writing the life of this extraordinary man. He had known, he had familiarly, and almost daily, conversed with Dr. Johnson for upwards of twenty of the last years of his life: during which Mr. B. was happy in the kind regard and unreserved confidence of his venerable friend; who, it unquestionably appears, was fully apprized of his biographical intention, and manifested no disapprobation of it.

Boswell had succeeded in making the reviewer think he had almost daily conversed with Dr Johnson over a period of twenty years; Boswell and Johnson had actually spent less than two years and two months in the same neighborhood.[21]

Boswell's death on May 19 1795 was reported in many Irish periodicals and his achievement evaluated. Brief announcements of his death appeared in the newspapers both in Dublin and in the provinces (*BNL* 6031; *DJ* 8512; *HC* XXVII 43; *HJ* XXV 64; *MP* VIII 64 65; *NS* 356). The three provincial newspapers followed Boswell's obituary with short appraisals of his life and work. The three accounts were substantially the same, and the final sentence with its emphasis on Corsica rather than on Johnson summed up the kind of attention Boswell had received in the Irish press: "His last and longest work is his Life of Dr. Johnson; a tribute of gratitude and esteem to a great and good man; his first (and which introduced him to public notice) is his History of Corsica, in which the spirit of Rational Liberty is enforced with a fire and enthusiasm, which do equal honour to the head and the heart of the Writer." Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* for June 6 1795 carried a tribute of two full columns by "C," probably Boswell's Irish friend John Courtenay. The writer devoted the first half of his essay to a sympathetic review of Boswell's career and the second half primarily to a discussion of the *Life of Johnson* and Boswell's relationship with Johnson. The *Life of Johnson* he described as "the most finished picture of an eminent man, that ever was executed"; he observed further that the reader "who does not read it again, may be suspected to be deficient in taste and in temper."

[21] *Boswell's Life of Johnson* ed G. B. Hill, revised and enlarged by L. F. Powell (Oxford 1934) I 11 note 2.

An anonymous "Sketch of the Character of the late James Boswell, Esq." in the *Hibernian Magazine* for June 1795 stressed Boswell's vanity and his quest for fame. The writer charged Boswell with attaching himself for his own ends first to Paoli, then to Johnson, then to Burke, and finally to Reynolds, and with ignoring those who could not contribute to his fame. This essay appeared first in the May 23 issue of the *True Briton* in London and is attributed by Lucyle Werkmeister to John Taylor, the editor of the *True Briton.*[22] Taylor's charges were attacked in the June issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* by another of Boswell's Irish friends, Edmund Malone. Malone was especially incensed by Taylor's claim that Boswell "never seemed to have any attachment to his most intimate companions, unless they could in some measure contribute to the extension of his fame." In his rejoinder, which was apparently not reprinted in Ireland, Malone asserted: "But the most important misrepresentation in this paper is, that Mr. Boswell was convivial without being social or friendly; a falsehood which all who knew him intimately can peremptorily contradict. He had not only an inexhaustible fund of good humour and good nature, but was extremely warm in his attachments, and as ready to exert himself for his friends as any man."

Yet a third commentary on Boswell's death was the anonymous "Memoirs of James Boswell" in the August issue of the *Hibernian Magazine*. Not an original essay, this was a composite of Courtenay's letter to the *Dublin Journal* cited above and "Memoirs of James Boswell, Esq." by J. B. R. in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June. The biographical facts were taken from the J. B. R. essay and the evaluation from Courtenay. The author did not refute Taylor's strictures, but did seek to excuse such Boswell traits as vanity:

> Vanity, Mr. Printer, has been imputed to Mr. Boswell; But let it be remembered that he enjoyed advantages, which rendered that conspicuous in him, from which no man can claim an exemption. I know not the man who would not have been vain to possess so much of Dr. Johnson's conversation, and proud to give it to the world; in hopes that he who venerated Johnson would not be unthankful to his Biographer.

A study of the rich periodical literature that has survived from the latter half of the eighteenth century in Ireland shows that James Boswell was well known to the reading public in Ireland and for the most part honored from 1767 until his death in 1795. His three major works and at least one minor work were published in Ireland, not only in Dublin, but also in Bel-

[22] Taylor's essay is reprinted by Mrs Werkmeister in *Jemmie Boswell and the London Daily Press*. . . . 53–54.

fast, Cork, Kilkenny, and Newry. These works were advertised, quoted, and reviewed by newspapers and magazines in at least four Irish cities and towns. As in England and Scotland Boswell won his greatest fame at the beginning of his career with his reports to the newspapers on Corsican affairs and the publication of his *An Account of Corsica*. This early fame reached its apogee with Boswell's tour of Ireland in 1769 and was still in evidence in 1773 and as late as 1785. With the attacks in 1786 on the *Tour of the Hebrides*, Boswell lost considerable prestige in Ireland, although his name did not become less familiar. He regained much of his prestige with the heavy sale of the *Life of Johnson* and its few but favorable notices. The ten reports of Boswell's death and the evaluations of his life and career in most of these accounts attested to a widespread recognition in Ireland that a major literary figure had passed from the scene.

PASCAL PAOLI,
General of the Corsicans.

The leader of Boswell's "brave Corsicans," see above (*EM* July 1769 opp p 385).
Information Division

III From item 77

ИСТОРІЯ
ИМПЕРАТОРА
ПЕТРА ВЕЛИКАГО

Отъ рожденія его до Полтавской баталіи и взятія въ плѣнъ остальныхъ Шведскихъ войскъ при Переволочнѣ, включительно;

сочиненная

ѲЕОФАНОМЪ ПРОКОПОВИЧЕМЪ,

послѣ бывшимъ

АРХІЕПИСКОПОМЪ

ВЕЛИКАГО НОВАГОРОДА

и

ВЕЛИКИХЪ ЛУКЪ;

изданная

Съ обрѣтающагося въ Кабинетской Архивѣ дѣлъ

ЕГО ИМПЕРАТОРСКАГО ВЕЛИЧЕСТВА

СПИСКА,

Правленнаго рукою самаго Сочинителя.

Изданіе Второе.

МОСКВА,
Въ Типографіи Компаніи Типографической
1788.

IV Title page of item 92

Eighteenth-Century Russian Publications in The New York Public Library: A Preliminary Catalogue

Compiled by
EDWARD KASINEC
Columbia University

THE PURPOSE of this catalogue is to give scholars some conception of the nature of The New York Public Library's holdings of "original" eighteenth-century Russian publications in the *grazhdanskii* or civil script. As stated in the title, however, this catalogue cannot pretend to be anything more than preliminary. This is so for reasons which derive from its method of compilation.

The basic searching tool employed in the compilation of this work was Tatiana Fessenko's *Eighteenth Century Russian Publications in the Library of Congress; A Catalogue* (Washington, DC, Library of Congress 1961). Not every item in Fessenko's catalogue, however, was checked against the card catalogue of the Slavonic Division of The New York Public Library. Only that relatively small number of works was checked which might be termed "original," that is, those works which were originally written in Russian and were not, therefore, translations into Russian from another language. In addition to checking these selected entries in Fessenko against the holdings of The New York Public Library, the following shelf lists were searched: Slavonic Reserve, * QCA (covering periodicals and newspapers), * QFP (geography), * QIX (law and jurisprudence), and * QG (history). The publications thereby assembled have been numbered in this list. A double asterisk preceding the number above the entry indicates that the item does not appear at all in Fessenko's catalogue; a single asterisk is used if the item appears in either a different edition or in an incomplete state which is noted within brackets and which can be completed from The New York Public Library's collection.

The compiler wishes to acknowledge the invaluable assistance and advice rendered to him by Dr Viktor Kõressaar of the Slavonic Division, The New York Public Library, who is, of course, not responsible for any shortcomings of this work.

THE PRELIMINARY CATALOGUE

* 1 [1796 ed.]. *ZAN-*Q416
Film Reproduction
АГЛАЯ, альманахъ. 1794-95. Москва.

Film reproduction Positive
Annual.
Title transliterated: Aglaya.
Edited by N.M Karamzin

* 2 [lacking vols. 5, 7]. *QCB

Akademiya nauk, St Petersburg
Академическія извѣстія, содержащія въ себѣ Исторію наукъ и новѣйшія открытія оныхъ; изготовляемы при Императорской Академіи наукъ
Ч 1-3, 6-8.
Годъ 1779-1781
С Петербургъ при Императорской академіи наукъ, 1779-1781.
8°
7 v

3 parts in all, each covering a period of three months
No more published.

Slav.Reserve

* * 3.

Akademiya nauk, St Petersburg
Краткое описаніе комментаріевъ Академіи наукъ
Часть 1 (1726)
Санктпетербургъ при Академіи наукъ 1728 246 p illus plates 4°

7 pl., 3 vignettes, and 3 initials engraved on copper and partly executed by Christian Albert Wortmann.
No more published.
This is the first systematic work in the Russian language and a fine specimen of early Russian book making

4. *QQO

Akademiya nauk, St Petersburg
Россійская лѣтопись по списку Софійскому Великаго Новограда, съ продолженіемъ недостающихъ изустительно Библіотеки Академіи наукъ, по ея повелѣнію Часть 1 Въ Санктпетербургѣ, при Императорской Академіи наукъ, 1795 3, 372 p 4°.

No more published.

* * 5. *QFP

Akademiya nauk,
Топографическія извѣстія служащія для полнаго географическаго описанія Россійскія имперіи Томъ первой часть 2-4
Въ Санктпетербургѣ при Императорской Академіи наукъ, 1773-1774 3 v 8°

Contents

Ч 2 Московской губерніи Переславля Залѣсскаго, Владимірскія, Суздальскія, Юрьевскія Польскаго Переяславскія Рязан-

(Continued)

Akademiya nauk, Топографическія извѣстія .
(Continued)

скаго и часть Калужской провинціи Часть 3 Московской губерніи Калужской провинціи остальныя части да Тульскія и Орловскія провинціи Часть 4 Московской губерніи Ярославля Костромскія провинціи, да Новгородской губерніи Новгородскія, Псковскія, Великолуцкія провинціи

6. *ZAN-*Q375
Film Reproduction
Аонидъ, или, Собраніе разныхъ новыхъ отихотвореній; альманахъ.
1796-1797, 1799.
Москва, 1796-99
annual.
3 v.
Изд. Н.М.Карамзинъ.
No more published.
Title transliterated: Aonidy.
Film Reproduction. Positive.

7. *QCC p.v.23

Apollon, bp., 1795-1801.

Сборникъ критико-литературныхъ произведеній Въ немъ помѣщены объявленія касающіяся книгъ изъ Типографіи Императорскаго Театра реторы Г Чулкова Москва Сенатская Типографія, 1781 51 p 8°

8. Slav. Reserve

Аѳина Аѳинскій сочинителей изъ всякихъ и употребленныхъ повѣствованій и всѣхъ человѣческихъ вѣдомостей и историческихъ книгъ Въ Санктпетербургѣ: напечатанъ при Императорской академіи наукъ, 1787 281 incl cat'd maps 20½ x 25¼cm

Engraved frontispiece.

* * 9. *QQ

BELYAYEV, OSIP PETROVICH, d. 1807.
Духъ Петра Великаго, Императора Всероссійскаго и основателя его Карла XII, короля шведскаго. Ведшо трудами . Осипа Бѣляева Въ Санктпетербургѣ, при Императорской Академіи наукъ, 1799. 250 p. 20cm.

* 10 [1793 ed.]. *QDZ

Belyayev, Osip Petrovich, d 1807
Кабинетъ Петра Великаго Отдѣленіе первое [-третье] Ведшо по Высочайшему повелѣнію, Императорской Академіи Наукъ Ученымъ Библіотекаремъ Осипомъ Бѣляевымъ Въ Санктпетербургѣ Печатано въ Императорской Типографіи, 1800 года 3 v plates tables 26cm

Imperfect v 2, 1-p. missing

11. *QCA

Вольномышленій Бесѣдующій гражданинъ, еженѣдѣльное изданіе, заключающее въ себѣ Разсужденія полезныя о многомъ и на ставъ, какъ на природномъ Россійскомъ языкѣ сочиненныя, такъ и знаменованія переводимыя у стихъ чужихъ Иностранныхъ Писателей. Печатано съ дозволенія ученаго ч. 1-3 Въ градѣ Санктъ Петра 1789 года 3 v front (v 1) 21½cm.

Monthly, 4 issues form a "часть"
Editor. M Антоновскій

Ceased publication with Dec., 1789

* * 12. *QI B

Betskoĭ, Ivan Ivanovich, 1704?-1795
Собраніе учрежденій и предписаній, касающихся воспитанія, въ Россіи, особно всѣхъ благороднаго и нѣкоторыхъ знатнѣйшихъ сословій, съ врученіемъ всѣмъ обществъ учащимъ . Санктпетербургъ: тип I К Шнора, 1789-91. 3 v in 1 illus, plans, plates, tables 25½cm.

Engraved title-pages.

Title varies. т 2, Собраніе разныхъ вещей Императорскаго Воспитательнаго дома касающаго сущности и сохраненія онаго

(Continued)

Betskoĭ, Ivan Ivanovich, 1704?-1795 Собраніе. (Continued)

Изданіе къ удовольствію общества служащее, т 3, Изданіе Императорскаго Воспитательнаго дома, къ пользѣ общества служащее

13. *QI

[Betskoĭ, Ivan Ivanovich,] 1704?–1795

Уставленія и условы касающіяся до воспитанія и обученія отъ Россійскаго юношества обоего пола по указамъ ея Императорскаго Величества Екатерины Второй Изданы [Собраніе сибранія и вошедшія тисненіемъ в печать] Въ Санктпетербургѣ 1774 2 v in 1 plans, plates, tables 25½cm

Binder's title: Генеральныя и иныя постановленія этого рода

14. Slav. Reserve

Bibliotheka Библиотека россійская историческая содержащая древнія тѣтрадки, и всякія записки способствующія къ обстоятельной исторіи и географіи россійской древности и средняго времени Часть 1 Санктпетербургъ Императорская академія наукъ 1767 1 v sq 4°

No more published

Contents: Часть 1 .Летописи Несторовы съ продолжателями, по Кенигсбергскому списку 1767

— Second copy. The printing is slightly different; pages 1–33, first paging, lacking.

15. *QII

Bolotov, Semion Sergyeyevich, 1760–1810

Тавреда, или мой лѣтній день въ Таврическомъ Херсонскомъ Дикомъ-экзическомъ нѣсвотворномъ, сочиненномъ Калитиковъ Семеномъ Болотовымъ Nikolayev Chernomorskaya Admiralteĭskaya Tipografiya, 1798. 8 p l 278 p, 1 l 12°

16. *QCT

Bogdanovich, Ippolit Fiodorovich, 1743–1802

Русскія пословицы собраніе Иппол[итомъ] Богдановичемъ Часть 2–3 Въ Санктпетербургѣ Императорская Академія Наукъ 1785 2 v in 1 8°

17. Slav.Reserve

Beltz, Ivan Ehlolak, 1736–1782

Примѣчанія на Исторію древняя и нынѣшняя Россіи г. Леклерка, сочиненныя генералъ маіоромъ Иваномъ Болтинымъ . [С.-Петербургъ] Тип. Горнаго училища, 1788

3 v 26 x 20cm

* * 18. Slav. Reserve

[Bruce, Yakov Vilimovich, graf, 1670–1735]

[Книга именуемая и по Собранію рѣчей по Алфавиту съ Россійскаго на Галлійской языкъ Напечатися повелѣвшаго царскаго величества, въ Санктпетербургѣ Лѣта Господня 1717 году, апрѣля въ 1 день] 270 p 17½cm

Proof-copy, without t.-p.

19. Slav. Reserve

[Catherine II, empress of Russia, 1729–1796]

Сказка о Царевичѣ Хлорѣ Хлоровичѣ и о сестрѣ его царевнѣ Хлоридѣ Прекрасной, Изъ сего списка составленная Въ Санктпетербургѣ Въ Типографіи Горнаго Училища 1780 72 [1] p 22½cm

Мушки цветы комическія Сочиненіе Мартина' p [1] with special t.-p

Illustrated title page within ornamental border; text and illustrations

20. *QCI p.v. 2

[Catherine II, empress of Russia,] 1729–1796

Сказка о царевичѣ Хлорѣ [Санктпетербургъ 1782] 21 p plate 8°

Caption-title

* * 21. Slav Reserve

[Catherine II, empress of Russia,] 1729–1796

Записки [хронологическія для исторіи русской] [4 p n d] 224 p 40cm

Half title

* Книга изъ 4 д 1 на 224 страницахъ была отпечатана здѣсь и годъ печатанія; но изданіе въ С. Петербургѣ и не ирежде 1793 года Съ .Атласомъ, заключающимъ сорокъ историческихъ изображеній и портретовъ' — Отечественныя записки, издаваемыя Павломъ Свѣнинымъ Санктпетербургъ 1830, v 42, p 131, 137

This copy without Atlas.

* 22 [1800 ed.]. Slav. Reserve

Cato .Что изобрѣ отъ бездѣлья на досугѣ Еженедѣльное изданіе, Н О 1798 года

Субота 1–26. [July 3 – Dec., 1798]

Въ Санктпетербургѣ, печатано въ Императорской Типографіи [1798] 26 nos in 1 v 20½cm.

Weekly.
Pen ed.

All contributions by Н П. Осиповъ.

*Первое изданіе "Что изобрѣ' составляетъ замѣчательную библіографическую рѣдкость, которой нѣтъ ни въ какой императорской

(Continued)

Cato Что изобрѣ отъ безпѣлья . (Continued)

публичной библіотекѣ ни въ библіотекѣ Академіи наукъ. — Древняя и новая Россія 1878, v 2 p 258

Ceased publication with no 26 1798.

23. *QCT

[Chulkov, Mikhail Dmitriyevich,] 1741?–1792, editor

Абевега русскихъ суевѣрій, изъ повѣствованій старинныхъ дѣдовъ-приключеній, свидѣтелей простонародныхъ обрядовъ, колдовства, ворожества и Прочъ Сочиненіемъ М Ч Москва Тип Ф Гиппіуса, 1786 326 p 8°

24. Slav Reserve

Chulkov, Mikhail Dmitriyevich, 1741?–1792.

Историческое описаніе россійской имперіи при всѣхъ портяхъ и границахъ отъ древнихъ временъ до нынѣ настоящаго и вѣдѣ примѣчательныхъ узаконеній во всякой Государствѣ Императора Петра Великаго и нынѣ благополучно царствующей Государыни Императрицы Екатерины Великія сочиненное Михаилъ Чулковымъ . Санктпетербургъ Академія наукъ 1781–88 7 v in 21 pl (v 1), tables 26½cm

(Continued)

Chulkov, Mikhail Dmitriyevich, 1741?–1792 Историческое описаніе россійской коммерціи (Continued)

Imprint varies: Москва Университетская тип., у Н Новикова. Vol. 1 issued in 2 parts: v 1 in 3, v 3 in 2, v 4 in 6, v 5 in 2, v 6 in 4, v 7 in 2

Head and tail pieces

[1] v. [1] p. pl. [1–4]

CU, part 1 folded tables no. 6-9 at end wanting.

25. Slav. Reserve

[Chulkov, Mikhail Dmitriyevich,] 1741?–1792, comp.

Русскія сказки содержащія увеселительныя повѣствованія о славныхъ богатыряхъ Сказки народныя, и вѣсочія остроумныя слова извлеченныя изъ книгъ Древнихъ. . Москва: въ Университетской тип. у И Новикова 1780–83. 10 v. in 5. 17½cm.

26. *QCT

[Chulkov, Mikhail Dmitriyevich,] 1741?–1792, editor

Словарь русскихъ суевѣрій Санктпетербургъ Печатано въ вольной типографіи у Шнора, 1782 4 l, 271 p 8°

Slav.-Reserve

27.

Cyprian, *metropolitan of Kiev, d. 1406*

Книга степенная царского родословия содержащая исторію россійскую отъ начала оныя до времянъ государя царя и великаго князя Іоанна Васильевича, сочиненная трудами преосвященныхъ митрополитовъ Кипріана и Макарія, а напечатанная подъ смотреніемъ ... Герарда Фридерика Миллера .. Москва, И Университетъ, 1775.

2 v 29½ x 17½

28.

Slavonic Reserve

Dalo Цѣло отъ бытія, или Практика любит[ельная] учебъ изъ всѣх уроченых хронологіи излишно вырѣз[ая] нрав[ит] и какъ[ому] не что надлеж[ащее] философическая критическая наступлена и историческая повѣствія, въ стихахъ и прозѣ сочиненная упражненія Ч 1-4 (Напер-ильфи 1792) Москва \ Университетъ, 1792 4 v in 2 cold fronts 12

Monthly
Feb Apr – May Jun – Aug, Oct – Dec lack sub title
Cancel publication with Dec 1792

29.

Slav Reserve

Dmitriev, Nikita Alexsiiyevich, 1734–1789

Журналъ путешествія его высокопрев[ященства] господина статскаго совѣтника, и Ордена Святаго Станислава кавалера Никиты Алексѣевича Дмитріева. По иностраннымъ государствамъ съ начала выѣзда Его изъ Санктъ-Петербурга 17 Марта 1771 года по возвращенія въ Россію, Ноября 22 дня 1773 Года Печатано въ Москвѣ въ Тип у содержателя Ф Гиндуса, 1786 164 p front (port) 26cm

Title-page vignette, head- and tailpiece
With bookplate of V I Kuchum and P V Golov

30.

Slav. Reserve

[Dmitriyev-Mamonov, Fiodor Ivanovich, 1737–1803

Сказ[ание] Россіи в[ъ] Сибирь великаго [кн] Петра Великаго, вѣчнаго животворца [и] р; 1770 году [пѣш] 4 [ис] 1 L front., 21 pl 19cm

Engraved throughout.
Frontispiece signed Г Вальтеръ [Галлейнъ]
Models from the collection of F I Dmitriyev-Mamonov to whom the publication of this volume is attributed.

31.

Slav.Reserve

[Deviataya] Цѣсная россійская топографія, содержащая описаніе Московскаго государства рѣкъ протекающихъ оныя, и какія по нимъ городы и урочища и на какомъ оныя разстояніи Издавна Никѣмъ Неизвѣстнымъ. Въ Санктпетербургѣ 1773 году 233 p illus 12°

32.

* QCA

Ekonomicheskol. Экономической магазинъ, или собраніе всѣхъ экономическихъ извѣстій, опытовъ, открытій, примѣчаній на сталянной экономіи и сочиненій, относящихся до земледѣлія, скотоводства, до садовъ и огородовъ, до лугопѣсенъ, хрустоносныхъ произлоновъ, до деревенскихъ строеній умножающихъ плодородіе, врачебныхъ травъ и до другихъ всякихъ издѣлій и любопытствъ городскихъ и деревенскихъ жителей, из полезу россійскихъ дворянъ и другихъ любопытныхъ людей, собранный журналъ издаваемой
v 1–20 (1780–94)

(Continued)

Ekonomicheskol Экономической (Continued)

Москва Университетская тип у Н Новикова 1780–[84], 20½cm
20v

Published twice a week as supplement to "Moskovskiia vedomosti"
Edited by V Ф Гилтеров
Superseded Сельской житель
Vol 1, p 1-4 of each

* * 33.

Slav. Reserve

Manufaktuloya . Экономическія и учрежденія строенія и всякихъ принадлежащихъ регулярной коммерціи 1755 году [Въ Санктпетербургѣ 1755?] 31, 302 p. 16 plates 24½cm.

Engraved t-p and plates within ornamental borders.
"№ 1002 Библіотеки Ефремова," ms note on t-p

* * 34.

* QFP

Fomin, Aleksandr Ivanovich, 1733–1802

Описаніе Нѣмова моря съ его берегами и островами вообще, такъ же частное описаніе островной каменной гряды, въ коей пребываютъ Соловки, и тонографіи Соловецкаго монастыря съ его островами; съ приобщеніемъ морского путешествія въ 1789 году въ оной монастырь, предпринятаго изъ извѣстныхъ...Александръ Фоминымъ. Санктпетербургъ Императорская Акад. наукъ, 1797 [8], 196 p 8°.

* * 35.

Slav.Reserve

Geografia... Географіа или краткое немнаго круга описаніе. напечатано повелѣніемъ царскаго Величества въ тіпографіи Московском лѣта Господня 1710 го въ мѣсяцѣ мартѣ.

Transcript of p.93-101 relating to America.

36.

* QCA

Istoricheskii Историческій, статистическій и географическій журналъ, или Современныя исторіи свѣта
Jan-March, [illegible], Jan/[illegible], Dec/[illegible], Jan/Dec/[illegible], 1825, 1830

Москва Университетская тип, 1790–1830 8°
nos

Monthly 4 parts to a year's file, 1791–1830

Title varies. 1790–93, Политическій журналъ, съ показаніемъ ученыхъ и другихъ вещей, издаваемой въ Гамбургѣ Обществомъ

(Continued)

Istoricheskii Историческій, статистическій и географическій журналъ.. (Continued)

ученыхъ мужей Переводъ съ нѣмецкаго, 1794–1800, Политической журналъ Переводъ съ нѣмецкаго, 1802, Политической журналъ, или, Современныя исторіи свѣта Переводъ съ нѣмецкаго, Jan – July, 1809, Политическій, статистическій и географическій журналъ, или, Современныя исторіи свѣта \ug, 1809–1830, Историческій, статистическій и географическій журналъ, или, Современныя исторіи свѣта

(Continued)

Istoricheskii Историческій, статистическій и географическій журналъ (Continued)

[illegible] 1794–1830, every three nos called Часть

[illegible]

37.

SLAV. RESERVE

[EXPLEDOVANIYE ... EXPLORATION] книга О любопытныхъ и потребѣ. Сочиненно сообщеніемъ обществомъ одного губернскаго города. Въ Тулѣ, 1790. xvi, 377 p., 6 l. 19cm.

"Вторая часть книги краеописательно названіе Дионисія Вайсмана."
cf. Sopikov, no. 4015.

* 38 [Looking 1720, 1724].

Slav. Reserve

Kalendar' Календарь или [illegible] Изданъ по указу Ея Государя нашего Іисуса Христа умножающія [illegible] сколичества, лѣтнихъ родителя, и знаніе лѣтъ съ четырехъ [illegible] сотвореніе восхожденія и начала дней, [illegible] и полнолунія на всѣхъ дняхъ. Учиненъ по мартилоу, и нынѣ вырезующаго санктъ-петербурга.
1720, 1722, 1724

(Continued)

Kalendar'. . Календарь. . (Continued)

[Санктъ-петербургъ: въ санктъ-петербургской Типографіи, Лѣта Господня, 1720, 1722, 1724. 8 x 20cm.
3v illus

1723, Illus. not woodcuts.

39. Slav Reserve

Kantemir, Antiokh Dmitryevich, Lavar', 1708–1744

Сатиры и другія стихотворенія сочиненія князя Антіоха Кантемира, съ историческими примѣчаніями и съ краткимъ описаніемъ его жизни Въ Санктпетербургѣ при Императорской Академіи Наукъ 1762 года 14, 14, 176 p front (port) 20cm

Head and tailpieces

Slav Reserve

——— ——— A second copy, imperfect port wanting

40. Slav.Reserve

Kapnist, Vasili Vasilyevich, grof, 1757–1823

Ябеда, комедія въ пяти дѣйствіяхъ Въ Petersburg G Krutzii 1798 4 p l, 135 p 12°

* * 41. *QCC p.v.80

(Kapnist, Vasilĭ Vasil'yevich, 1757–1824)

Ябеда, комедія въ пяти дѣйствіяхъ Въ Санктпетербургѣ При Губернскомъ Правленіи, 1800 года 16 p 12°

* 42 [1793 ed.].

Kheraskov (Mikhail Matveyevich), 1733–1807 *QDM

Кадмъ и Гармонія... (Moscow, 1880)

5–364 pp. 8°

Incomplete. Begins with chapter VII.

* * 43.

(Kheraskov (Mikhail Matveyevich), 1733–1807) *QDH

Пилигримъ, или Искатель щастія.

(Moscow, 1796) 2 l, 194 pp 8°

44. Slav. Reserve Spencer Coll. Russ 1796

(Kheraskov, Mikhail Matveyevich, 1733–1807

Владиміръ возрожденный, эпическая поэма М Х Подписанная Типографическая коммиссія Въ Москвѣ въ Университетской типографіи у Н Новикова, 1785 2 p l, 245(1) p, 1 l 24½cm (4°.)

Title vignette.

Last leaf (blank?) wanting.

Illustrations: head- and tailpieces for each of the 15 'songs,' the first headpiece engraved.

Binding, contemporary, of full red crushed levant morocco, gilt, with stamp (Minerva right) on sides; moulded end papers.

* * 45. Slav Reserve

Khilkov, Andrei Yilkovlevich, Layar' d 1718

Ядро россійской исторіи сочиненное бывшимъ стольникомъ и бывшимъ въ Шведскія резиденціи князя Андреемъ Ивановичемъ Хилковымъ изъ многихъ россійскихъ повѣствованій, и что всякъ о россійской исторіи краткое понять имѣетъ желаніе, не искать по книгамъ въ предѣлы, коимъ о сочиненіи сей книги и о фамиліи князей Хилковыхъ (Москва) Печатано при Императорскомъ Московскомъ Университетѣ, 1770 года 8 l 342 p, 4 l 20cm

The author of the book is A I Manilyov.

Preface signed Г Ф Миллеръ

German translation published under title: Kurze russische Geschichte

* * 46. Slav Reserve

(Kniga ... (книга считана у мѣлкаго ко свѣтописцу полному хотящему быть трудъ полезенъ вѣку и чтущимъ вѣдѣнія имѣющимъ) Напечатана въ Санктпетербургѣ 1714 Сентября въ 18 день 103 p incl tables 13½cm

"Перепечатка съ изданія 1682 г Считана у мѣлкаго," напечатанаго въ Москвѣ — Pekarskii v 2 p 330

Proof-copy without t p

With Libel on cover Библиотека при Святѣйшемъ правительствующемъ синодѣ Отд 1 (вне книги)

* * 47. *QDK p.v.43

(Kniazhnin, Yakov Borisovich, 1742 – 1791.

Чудаки, комедія въ стихахъ, въ пяти дѣйствіяхъ St Petersburg. Imperatorskaya Akademiya Nauk, 1793 147 p 12°

48. *QDK Slav.-Reserve

Knyazhnin, Yakov Borisovich.

Собраніе сочиненій. С.-Петербургъ: тип. Горнаго училища 1787. 2 v. in 1. 4°

* * 49. *QQ p.v.148

Kheraskov, Vasili Vasil'yevich, 1729–1795

Историческое изчтіе о Іоанникіи второмъ царствовавшемъ среднемъ, новомъ и нынѣшнемъ временѣ, сочиненное Василіемъ Крестьянинымъ изъ древнихъ Россійскихъ Архивскихъ Актовъ Часть первая Санктпетербургъ Императорская Академія наукъ 1784 69 p 20cm

No more published

* * 50. *QQ p.v.148

Kheraskov, Vasili Vasil'yevich, 1729–1795

Историческій изчтіе о сельскомъ старинномъ домостроительствѣ Древняго народа изъ Сборн Сочиненъ вновь изъ древнихъ россійскихъ преданій Василіемъ Крестьянскимъ 1779 года Санктпетербургъ Императорская Академія наукъ, 1785 84 p incl tables 20cm

51. *QCT

Krest'yanskiye... Крестьянскія сказки. Или двенадцать вечеровъ. Для препровожденія праздного времени. Москва, Въ вольной Типографіи А.Рѣшетникова, 1790. 2 v. in 1. 18cm.

Signed: M.K. [Mikhail Matveĭ Komarov?]

Written by Matveĭ Komarov?— cf. Виктор Волковъ. Матвей Комаровъ, жизнь города Москвы. Ленинградъ, 1939, p. 226–261.

Frontispiece wanting? For a reproduction see the above mentioned work, p. 253.

(Continued)

Krest'yanskiye... Крестьянскія сказки. Card 2.

* * 52. Slav.Reserve

Kubbon, Ivan Petrovich, 1735–1818.

Описаніе Пресвѣтлѣйшаго на чертогѣ мала пристарѣющаго изъ отцовой дуги на 140 сажаняхъ, кипарисоваго вечнаго древа И К Съ разныя плоды мнѣнія St Petersburg 1 K Shnor, 1799 38 p 3 pl, 8vo

* * 53. Slav. Reserve

Kushelev, Grigorii Grigor'yevich, graf, 1754–1833

Разсуждение о морских сигналах, с присовокуплением нужных фигур и ключей сокращающих оные от сигнала неприятельского. Часть первая сочинения Его Императорского Величества генерал-адъютантом Григорием Кушелевым в 1797 году. С. Петербургъ, Печатано при типографии Морского шляхетного кадетского корпуса, того же года. 1 p.l., 118 p. illus., tables. 38½cm. (F°)

(Continued)

Kushelev, Grigorii Grigor'yevich, graf, 1754–1833. Разсуждение о морских сигналах. (Continued)

Illustrations. 18 hand-colored copper engravings, comprising 12 engravings in the text and 6 tables.
Binding contemporary of full red crushed levant morocco gilt.
With stamp of Pavlovsk Museum on t.-p. and plates.

——— Полная сигнала до сих поступающая производится по флагам Его Императорского Величества. Часть вторая сочиненная флота адмиралом, государственной Адмиралтейств-коллегии вице-президентом графом Кушелевым в 1799 году. С. Петербургъ,

(Continued)

Kushelev, Grigorii Grigor'yevich, graf, 1754–1833. Разсуждение о морских сигналах. (Continued)

Печатано в типографии Морского шляхетного кадетского корпуса, того же года. 1 p.l. xiii, 197 p. illus., plates, tables. 38 cm. (F°)

Illustrations. 36 copper engravings not included in the pagination (comprising 6 tables (3 hand-colored) and 30 plates).
Binding contemporary, of full red crushed levant morocco gilt, inscribed and panel.
With stamp of Pavlovsk Museum on t.-p. and plates.

54. *QF 9

Lepekhin, Ivan Ivanovich, 1740–1802

Дневныя записки путешествия доктора и Академии наук адъюнкта Ивана Лепехина по разным провинциям Российскаго государства, 1768 и 1769 году. Вторыя половины. Санктпетербургъ, Императорская Академия наук, 1771–1814.

3 v. fold. plates, fold. maps, fold. plan. 25½cm.
(Vol. 2, has title: Продолжение ... 1772. (Vol. 3: Продолжение ... 1773. Vol. 1 of 1st. ed. was also given in 2 parts.
Vol. 1 of 1st. ed. was also given in 2 parts.
Vol. 1 has bookplate of Catherine II.
1. Russia—Description and travel. 2. Natural history—Russia. I. Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. II. Title.

12 v. / 77, no. 2

* * 55.

Lepekhin, Ivan Ivanovich, 1740–1802

Способы к сохранению в ростепель святой пищи и средства к питанию сим должным служащия приключения Ивана Лепехина. С дозволения Санктпетербургской цензуры. Санктпетербургъ, Императорская Академия Наук, 1800. 52 p. 4°

Bibliographical and explanatory footnotes.

56. *QQB

Levenshtern, Pavel Artem'yevich,

Плаванія и страданія россіянъ у турковъ или обстоятельное описаніе бѣдственныхъ приключеній, претерпѣнныхъ имъ въ Царь-градѣ по объявленіи войны и при войскахъ, за которыми плавали они въ своихъ походахъ, съ приобщеніемъ дѣйствій ихъ в пользу ... войну, и многихъ странныхъ, рѣдкихъ и любопытныхъ примѣчаній. Санктпетербургъ, 1790.

388 p. 20½cm.
1. Russo-Turkish war 1768–1774. I. Title.

57. Slavonic Reserve

Lomonosov, Mikhail Vasil'yevich, 1711–1765

Древняя российская исторія отъ начала россійскаго народа, до кончины великаго князя Ярослава первого, или до 1054 года, сочиненная Михайломъ Ломоносовымъ. Санктпетербургъ: при Императорской академіи наукъ, 1766. 140 p. 4°

58. SLAV. RESERVE

Lomonosov, Mikhail Vasil'yevich,

Российская грамматика. St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaya Akademiya Nauk, 1755. 210 p. 11 l. 8°

59. Slav. Reserve

Histoire о многих мятежах и о разорении Московского государства отъ внутреннихъ и внѣшнихъ непріятелей и отъ прочихъ тогдашнихъ временъ многихъ случаевъ, по преставлении царя Іоанна Васильевича, а паче о междоусобныхъ по кончинѣ царя Ѳеодора Іоанновича, и о учиненномъ исправленіи книгъ въ царствованіе благовѣрнаго государя царя Алексѣя Михайловича въ 1672 году. Собрано изъ древнихъ тѣхъ временъ сочиненій. Санктпетербургъ, 1771.

7 p.l., 386 p. 20cm.

60. *QQ

Lyzlov, Andrei Ivanovich, fl. 17th cent.

Скифская исторія. ... Изъ разныхъ иностранныхъ историкъ, ничего не имѣющихъ о россійскихъ вѣрностей и повѣстей, отъ Адама Лизлова греческаго труды сколько и нашлись тѣхъ 1692, а нынѣ по сыскѣ издана Николаемъ Новиковымъ. Первое второе. Москва: тип. Компаніи типографической, 1787. 3 v. in 1. 20cm.

* 61 [lacking nos. 1, 2, 7–11].

Slavonic Reserve

Магазинъ. Магазинъ для распространенія общеполезныхъ знаній и изобрѣтеній, съ присовокупленіемъ Медоваго журнала, расширяющихъ разумъ, и нужныхъ книгъ. № 1–12 (Генваря – декабря, 1795.) С. Петербургъ: у Герстенберга и компаніи, 1795. 12 nos. in 1 vol. illus., plates (part col'd). 8°

Monthly.
Nos. 1–12 in 2 separately paged v. called part 1–2.
Caption publication varies: Ежем., 1795.
Plates no. 13–14 are lacking.
Includes the separately paged suppl.: Повѣсти из Магазину для распространенія общеполезныхъ знаній и изобрѣтеній. № 1–2, 5–10, 1795. (Jan.–Feb., May–Oct., Dec., 1795.)
Supplement no. 11 (Dec., 1795) incorrectly called no. 12.

* * 62. Slav Reserve

[Maikhayev, Mikhail Ivanovich], 1716–1770

Азбука Россійская для школъ, сочин. М. Маіковымъ. Спб. [17—?] 71 [3] p. 20½ x 34½cm.

Without t.-p.
21 signed Сочинитъ М. Маіковъ.
Fragmentary, lacked leaves 1–2, 5–6, 9–10, 13–14, 17–18, 21–22, 25–26, 29–30, 33–34, 37–38, 41–42, 45–46, 49–50, 53–54, 57–58, 61–62, 65–66, 69–70.
Lacked in Sopikov, ed. 1904 as 1806.

63. *QQ Fp.v.21 no.4

Malgin, Timofei Sanitorovich.

Начертаніе Философіи моральной... St. Petersburg: Kadetskaya Rank, 1792. 15, 128 p. 12°

* 64 [1791, 1794 eds.]. Slavonic Reserve

Малгинъ, Тимоѳей Саввиновичъ, 1752–1819

Зерцало россійскихъ юношей въ 1862 лѣтъ, 1789 году, изображенное изъ родословій, совѣтовъ, поступковъ, нравовъ разныхъ христіанскихъ, нынѣшнихъ и вѣрныхъ чтеній съ замѣчательными происшествіями. Сочинено для воспитанниковъ дворянскихъ россійскихъ училищъ и удовольствія любящихъ отечественную исторію, въ пользу ими и ради удобнѣйшаго руководства къ познанію ея юношеству Тимоѳеемъ Малгинымъ. Санктпетербургъ: при Императорской академіи наукъ, 1789. 101 p. 8°

Slav. Res. Second copy.

65. Slav. - Reserve -QQ

Memorial. Мемориалъ данной мнѣ указу Его Царскаго Величества видѣть англинскому двору 1719 году, и прочая мнѣ данныя отъ онаго двора изъ вѣдомцовъ и англинскія газетныя статьи, и учиненной на оные отъ стряпчи Его Царскаго Величества сего 1720, году прошеной статьи. Напечатался повелѣніемъ Царскаго Величества въ Санктпетербургской Типографіи 1720 году Сентября въ 28 день. 204 p. 16°

66.

Slav Reserve

Mueller, Gerhard Friedrich, 1705–1783

Известіе о дворянахъ россійскихъ . О нихъ древнихъ произхожденіи; о старинныхъ чинахъ, и какіе кто были должности при Государяхъ, Царяхъ и Великихъ Князьяхъ, о наборѣ деревнямъ, о служебъ предковъ и собственныхъ, и о Дипломахъ . Сочиненное Коллежскимъ Секретаремъ . . . [Миллеромъ]. Изданіе П. Р. Съ присовокупленіемъ нѣкоторыхъ, относящихся къ тому же предмету,

Mueller, Gerhard Friedrich, 1705–1783 Известіе о дворянахъ россійскихъ . (Continued)

статей. Печатано съ указнаго дозволенія . . . Въ Санктпетербургѣ, 1790 года 61, 494 p 20cm.

Dedication to Catherine the Great signed Иванъ Рахманиновъ

67.

SLAV RESERVE

Mueller, Gerhard Friedrich, 1705–1783

Описаніе живущихъ въ Казанской губерніи язычникахъ народовъ ихъ вѣрованія, нравовъ и обычаевъ . съ приложеніемъ этимологическаго словаря на семи разныхъ языкахъ того же Казанско-Татарскаго . Черемисскаго, Чувашскаго, Вотяцкаго, Мордовскаго, Пермяцкаго и Барабинскаго, и краткаго сихъ языковъ переводу Грамматики . . . Отъ Иоанна же Черемисскаго и Чувашскаго языковъ . . . Сочиненное Географіи Французскимъ Мил-

(Continued)

Mueller, Gerhard Friedrich, 1705–1783 Описаніе живущихъ въ Казанской губерніи язычникахъ (Continued)

народовъ . . . Въ Санктпетербургѣ Императорской Академіи Наукъ 1791 4 p l 99 p 2 l 8 plates 12°

68.

Slavonic Reserve

Муза Муза; ежемѣсячное изданіе на 1796 годъ Ч 1–4 (1796) Санктпетербургъ съ дозволенія Управы благочинія, 1796 4 v 8°

Monthly

Editor I I Martynov (cf Masstroyev, A N Историческое розысканіе о русскихъ поэтахъ издавшихъ p 796)

Ceased publication with Oct., 1796

* * 69.

Slav. Reserve

Musicheskaya prikhotchenya Нещастныя приключенія Василія Вершинина, служителя Николая Новгородца въ трехъ частяхъ сего . Въ Америкѣ, Азіи и Европѣ, съ 1780 по 1787 годъ Второе изданіе съ дозволенія ученаго изъ тѣни Вальполевскаго и Гатчинскаго 1787 129 p front 19cm

Probably written by C K P whose initials appear on t-p of the first ed, published the same year A copy of the latter long believed non-existant, was found in 1934 See Шестаковъ Москва, 1934 no 364, p 4 col 6, and Вѣстникъ западной словесности, v 10, p 40

(Continued)

Musicheskaya prikhotchenya Нещастныя приключенія Василія Вершинина (Continued)

Приключенія заключающія въ себѣ описаніе Царства и турецкаго житія нѣкоторыхъ духовныхъ, военныхъ и гражданскихъ p 91–129

70.

* QQO

Novikov, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1744–1818, editor

Древняя россійская вивліоѳика, Содержащая въ себѣ собраніе древностей россійскихъ, до исторіи, географіи и генеалогіи россійскія касающихся, Изданная Николаемъ Новиковымъ, членомъ Вольнаго Россійскаго Собранія при Императорскомъ Московскомъ Университетѣ; Изданіе Второе, Вновь исправленное, умноженное и по порядкамъ Хронологическимъ по возможности приведенное Москва: Въ Типографіи Компаніи Типографической, 1788–91 20 v 2 ed, rev & enl 8°

(Continued)

Novikov, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1744–1818, editor Древняя россійская вивліоѳика . (Continued)

—— Продолженіе древней россійской вивліоѳики Въ Санктпетербургѣ при Императорской Академіи Наукъ, 1786–1805. 11 v 8°.

71.

*QQ

Novikov, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1744–1818, *ed*

Исторія о явленіяхъ виденія бывшаго боярина, Артемона Сергіевича Матвѣева, сочиненная изъ любителя, писавшимъ оное къ царю и патріарху, только изъ оныхъ въ разныхъ особахъ, съ прибавленіемъ объясненія о причинахъ его явленія и о возвращеніи изъ онаго; изданная Николаемъ Новиковымъ Санктпетербургъ, 1776

11 p l, 408 p front (port) 20cm

* 72 [1778 ed.].

Slav Reserve

Novikov, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1744–1818, *ed.*

Исторія о явленіяхъ виденія бывшаго боярина, Артемона Сергіевича Матвѣева, сочиненная изъ любителя, писавшимъ оное къ царю и патріарху, только изъ оныхъ въ разныхъ особахъ, съ прибавленіемъ объясненія о причинахъ его явленія и о возвращеніи изъ онаго; изданная Николаемъ Новиковымъ Санктпетербургъ, 1778 2 ed.

[illegible] p l, 408 p front (port) 20cm

73.

* QD

Novikov, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1744–1818

Опытъ историческаго словаря о россійскихъ писателяхъ Изъ разныхъ печатныхъ и рукописныхъ книгъ, сообщенныхъ извѣстій, и сказокъ преданій Собралъ Николай Новиковъ Санктпетербургъ, 1772 264 p 17½cm

With bookplate of Г М Маевскій

74.

Slav - Reserve

*QB

Novikov, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1744–1818, editor.

Родословная книга князей и дворянъ россійскихъ и выѣзжихъ, Содержащая въ себѣ 1) Родословную Книгу, собранную и сочиненную изъ Разрядовъ при Царѣ Ѳеодорѣ Алексѣевичѣ и по временамъ дополненную, и которая именуется подъ названіемъ Бархатной Книги; 2) Россійскую алфавитную тѣхъ фамилій, отъ которыхъ Родословныя россіянъ въ Разрядѣ водятся, съ показаніемъ, откуду тѣ роды произошли, или выѣхали, или о которыхъ извѣстія нѣтъ, какіе роды отъ тѣхъ родовъ произошли, и по какимъ случаямъ именами своими прозвища, и наименованія подъ какими Но тѣ

(Continued)

Novikov, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1744–1818, editor Родословная книга князей и дворянъ россійскихъ и выѣзжихъ . (Continued)

Родословныя находятся въ Разрядныхъ Архивахъ; 3) Россійскую, въ которой именованы роды помѣщики всѣ имѣетъ ли извѣстіе изъ выѣхали, и 4) Россійскую алфавитную, сухопутныя и морскія, въ которой написаны всѣ фамиліи, сочиняющіеся въ обѣихъ частяхъ сея книги, число которыхъ простирается до 900. Издавная По силѣ привилегіи сенатскаго v 1–2 Москва: Въ Университетской Типографіи у Н. Новикова, 1787 2 v 8°

* 75 [lacking July – Dec. 1786, Apr. – Dec. 1787, July – Dec. 1788, July 1789 – Oct. 1793, Jan. 1794 – July 1796].

* QCA

Муза Новая ежемѣсячная сочиненія [illegible] Санктпетербургъ: Издавная Императорской Академіи наукъ 1784–96 12°. v.

Monthly

76. Slav. Reserve

Obstoyatel'noye Обстоятельное описаніе торжествованія коронованія благополучнаго княженія въ царствующемъ градѣ Москвѣ благовѣрнаго и христолюбиваго и самодержавнѣйшаго коронованія Ея Августѣйшаго Императорскаго Величества Всероссійскія Державнѣйшія Великія Государыни Императрицы Елисаветъ Петровны, Самодержицы Всероссійской, яко бывшаго княженія 28 февраля, коронованія 25 апрѣля, 1742 года Санктпетербургъ Печат Акад наукъ, 1744 168 p front (port), illus , plans, plates f°

Illustrations 27 follow no 14

(Continued)

Obstoyatel'noye Обстоятельное описаніе торжественныхъ коронованія благополучнаго княженія . (Continued)

"Надписи, исполненныя . гравюрами Воргольмовы, Ив Соколовымъ, Качаловымъ . Всѣ гравюры исполнены рѣзцомъ, кромѣ портрета въ ростъ императрицы, сдѣланнаго чернымъ карандашомъ, работы Стенглина (съ Караччи) Гравюры эти описаны въ книгѣ Д Ровинскаго: Русскія Гравюри Онъ говоритъ "Всѣ рис.) изъ

(Continued)

Obstoyatel'noye.. Обстоятельное описаніе торжественныхъ коронованія благополучнаго княженія (Continued)

дѣяніи рассылаемыхъ Грановитыхъ," Г Геннади, Справочный словарь. . Т 3, стр 71.

* * 77. Slav. Reserve +

Opisaniye Описаніе коронаціи Ея Величества Императрицы, и Самодержицы Всероссійскія, Анны Іоанновны торжественнаго шествованія въ царствующемъ градѣ Москвѣ, 28 апрѣля 1730 году [Москва], Печатано въ Медицинской при Сенатѣ, Октября 31 дня, 1730 году 46 p 21 pl (incl front) on 16 l 31½cm

Title-page vignette, decorative initial and tailpiece

Plates no 1 (front) engraved by C \ Wortman after L. Caravaque; plates 12 and 21 drawn and engraved by O Ellegor, and one pl pasted on verso of t-p drawn by J Schumacher and engraved by O Ellegor According to D Rovinski, all plates were executed under the super-

(Continued)

Opisaniye Описаніе коронаціи (Continued)

vision of O Ellegor (Cf Подробный словарь русскихъ гравюровъ XVI–XIX вв Санктпетербургъ, 1895)

Two plates from another copy of the same ed. (?) pasted on verso of t-p Bindings of brown calf, gilt Russian staple stamped in gold in center and corners of the sides. End papers with illuminated design stamped in gold and miniatured in color

* * 78. Slav. Reserve

Opisaniye . Описаніе торжества высокобрачнаго сочетанія его Императорскаго Величества Благовѣрнаго Государя Цесаревича и Великаго Князя Павла Петровича съ ея Императорскаго Высочества Благовѣрною Государынею Великою Княгинею Наталіею Алексѣевною, счастливо совершившагося 1773 года, Сентября въ 29 день. Въ Санктпетербургѣ [Печатано надлежащею Обществомъ стараніемъ] о вышеписанной книгѣ; 1773 года 59 p 19½cm

Vignette on t-p

p 47–49 with special t-p Слово изъ торжественнаго дня философскаго Имп Императорскаго Высочества .. Павла Петровича, и

(Continued)

Opisaniye Описаніе торжества . (Continued)

. Наталіи Алексѣевны, краснорѣчивое Самодельнаго Чтеніе Монополитное . Въ Санктпетербургской Казанской церкви, 1773 года, Сентября 29 дня

79. *QCK

[Pallas, Peter Simon], 1741–1811, comp

Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa, Augustissimae cura collecta Sectionis primae, linguas Europae et Asiae complectae Pars I–[2] Petropoli Typis I C Schnoor, 1786–89 2 v 27cm

Each v has added t-p Сравнительные словари всѣхъ языковъ и наречій . Санктпетербургъ, 1787–89.

Preface in Latin and Russian, text in the Gothic alphabet.
Not yet published.
Preface signed: P S Pallas.

(Continued)

[Pallas, Peter Simon], 1741–1811, comp Linguarum (Continued)

Some of the material used was collected by Catherine II emperor of Russia — cf Preface

"Rapport fait à l'Académie crthique, sur l'ouvrage russe, de M. le professeur Pallas, qui traite \ vocabulaires comparés des langues de toute la terre, par M. le comte de Volney," 36 p preceding t-p of v 2.

* * 80. Slav. Reserve +

Peter I, the Great, emperor of Russia 1672–1725

Пѣсньми Петра Великаго, писанныя къ генералъ-фельдмаршалу, тайному совѣтнику, кавалеру графу Борису Петровичу Шереметеву по бытности его въ чужихъ краяхъ съ государемъ русскимъ и нынѣ съ потомственною хранящаяся въ Шереметевской библіотекѣ древнія списанныя, сколько оныхъ имѣлось) его свѣтлоства кавалера графа Петра Борисовича Шереметева, которыя для извѣстія и спасенія ежели имѣетъ на сей надпись и съ нравственнаго о происхожденіи и о службахъ предковъ Шереметевыхъ,

(Continued)

Peter I, the Great, emperor of Russia, 1672–1725 Пѣсньми Петра Великаго (Continued)

особливо же о сыновьяхъ дѣдахъ фельдмаршала графа Бориса Петровича и о внукахъ его Напечатаны въ Москвѣ При Императорскомъ \ Университетѣ 1774 Іюня, 172 p port 41cm

"Предисловіе чернью Г Ф М
Printed in black, ornamental head-borders
Bibliographical footnotes
Imperfect: part wanting

* * 81. Slav.Reserve

Peter I, the Great, emperor of Russia, 1672–1725

Тетрадь записныя всякихъ вѣсомыхъ и дѣлъ, какъ что приказано и въ которомъ часѣ отъ его императорскаго величества Петра Великаго 1704, 1705 и 1706 годовъ, съ приложеніемъ приключаемыхъ о службахъ тѣхъ людей, къ которымъ сей Государь писывалъ [Санктпетербургъ], Напечатано въ синодальной типографіи Правительствующаго Сената, 1774 года 15 p l, 271 p, 1 l 26 x 21cm

Edited by M M Shcherbatov
Blank: and tailpieces.

* * 82. *QCH

Platon, metropolitan of Moscow, 1737–1812

Поученія сія отъ Высочайшаго Двора и отъ церквей вѣщаны съ 1763 года по [1806], годъ сказываемыя Его Императорскаго Высочества Учителя и Проповѣдника, Протоіерея придворныя Успенскія Архіерейскія Московскія и напечатаны Въ Москвѣ 1779–1806 20 v front (port \ 1) 21½cm

Title and imprint vary
Volumes 13–18 paged continuously
Blank: and tailpieces.
Vol 1 imperfect: front. wanting

* 83. *QFP

Plushchayev, Sergyei Ivanovich.

Обозрѣніе Россійской Имперіи въ нынѣшнемъ ея новоустроенномъ состояніи съ показаніемъ новоприсоединившихся къ Россіи отъ Порты, и отъ Рѣчи Посполитой Польской областей St Petersburg Imperatorskaya Typ, 1793 4 p l, 184 p, 1 l 4 col f°

* * 84. Slav Reserve

Polenshayev, T.

Историческое и топографическое описаніе первопрестольнаго града Москвы съ приобщеніемъ генеральнаго и частнаго ея плановъ. Moscow Selivanovski, 1796 87 (1) p Plans (part fold). f°

* * 85. SLAV.RESERVE

Polnaeye . Полное съ притчами Потуйственное управленіе. 1769
Санктпетербургъ, При Императорскомъ Сухопутномъ шляхетномъ Кадетскомъ Корпусѣ, 1769 19cm
12 вов in 1
Semi-monthly
Each no called полуйсецъ
Nn, 38, p. 13-36, 51-52 missing, supplied as photostat from copy in Leningrad Public Library
Ceased publication with no. 12, 1769

86. *QFP

Pobiora, Fedor Afanas'evich, fl 1785
Новый и полный географическій словарь Россійскаго государства, или describing обширной имперіи Россійской въ нынѣшнемъ ея состояніи, въ царствованіе императрицы Екатерины Великія коловоутроенномъ Москва, Университетская типографія, у Н Новикова, 1788–89
6 v in 3 22 x 19cm
Published in 1773 under title Географическій лексиконъ собранный Федоромъ Поповымъ

87. Slav. — Reserve
Povestvovanie Повѣствованіе о древностяхъ россійскихъ, или, Собраніе разныхъ достопамятныхъ записокъ, служащихъ къ полной исторіи и географіи россійской, издаваемое Николаемъ Новиковымъ, членомъ Вольнаго Россійскаго собранія, при Императорскомъ Московскомъ университетѣ Ч 1 No 1 Санктпетербургъ, 1776 74 p 8°
Only one no. published

88. Slav. Reserve
Povsednevnoplh Повседневная дворцовая пришла г у дарей царей и великихъ князей Михаила Ѳеодоровича, и Алексѣя Михайловича записки часть 1–2 (Москва.) Печатана при Императорскомъ Московскомъ университетѣ 1769 года 2 v in 1 8°

* 89 [lacking 1788]. *QCA
Prilozheniя Прибавленія къ Московскимъ Вѣдомостямъ. Годъ 1782, 1808 - 1809, 16/3
Санктпетербургъ · Императорская Академія Наукъ, 1782–16/3 24° 4v.

* * 90. *QCA
Prlyatnoye . Пріятное и полезное препровожденіе времени v 1–20 (1794–1798)
Москва Университетская тип., у Рихтера и Клауди, 1794–98 19cm
20 v 82mo (some v 4°)
Semi-monthly
Issued as a current supplement to Московскія вѣдомости
Editors В С Подшивалов и П А Сохацкій
Superseded Чтеніе для пауз
Superseded by Живописецъ
Vol 14, t.-p. missing

91. Slavonic Reserve
Prokhladnoyye Прохладные часы или Чтеніе приумножающее отъ умныя и прох Москва Вольная тип у Пономарева, 1793
2 v 12°
Monthly
The January and July issues have title Прохладные часы, или Чтеніе, приумножающее отъ умныя, составленныя изъ нѣсколькихъ старыхъ и новыхъ то есть философическихъ, критическихъ, разсмотрительныхъ, нравоучительныхъ и историческихъ веществованій
Ceased publication with Dec., 1793

* * 92. Slav - Reserve *QQ
Prokopovich, Feofan, abp , 1681–1736
Исторія Императора Петра Великаго Отъ рождения его до Полтавской баталіи и взятія изъ нѣмецъ остальныхъ Шведскаго войска при Переволочной, включительно, сочиненная Ѳеофаномъ Прокоповичемъ, коей фигурою архіепископомъ Великаго Новагорода и Великихъ Лукъ, изданная съ обрѣтающагося въ Кабинетѣ Архивѣ дѣлъ Его Императорскаго Величества списка, Правительствующаго синоду Сенатскія Изданіе Второе Москва Въ Типографіи Компаніи Типографической, 1788 276 p 2 col 8°

* * 93. *QFP
Puteshestviye. Путешествіе Ея Императорскаго Величества въ полуденный край Россіи, предпринятое въ 1787 году (Санктпетербургъ, Печатано при Горномъ училищѣ, 1786 года 149 p map 19½cm
Title page vignette, headpieces and map engraved.

94. *QCA
Razlozhchik Разложикъ, забавнаго смѣха, служащихъ къ чтенію, въ скучное время, или Когда кому дѣлать нечего Стихами и прозою
1781
Москва въ Университетской Типографіи, у Н Новикова, 1781
92, 80a, in 2.
Weekly
"Издатель А О Аѳанасіевъ." — Lisovskii
Each no called тисть
Vol 2 called Поту-года второе
Ceased publication with no 52, 1781

95. Slav. Reserve
Rasprostranyatelchaiaya Распространительная о пользѣ и пріятностяхъ собранія разныхъ сочиненій и переводовъ издаваемыхъ изготовляющимъ учрежденнаго при Императорскомъ Московскомъ университетѣ Вольнаго благородныхъ собранія Москва Въ Университетской типографіи, у Н Новикова 1787 7 l, 231 p 21cm (8°)
Superseded by Полезное упражненіе невинности, 1789

* * 96. Slavonic Reserve
Rastushchiі Растущій живописатъ аллегорическое сочиненіе изъ явленное отъ Главнаго народнаго училища города Санктъ Петра Апрѣля, 1785 – Марта 1787 (Ст.-Петербургъ, 1785–87) [14] 80a in 4 v illus , plates 12°
Monthly
No more published.
Editors Е Б Сырейщиковъ, В Ѳ Зотовъ

97. *Q85
Rokchai, Ivan.
Краткая исторія о языческихъ государствіяхъ, изъ достовѣрныхъ книгъ собранная Moscow Universitetskaya Tipografiya, 1773
8 p l, 239 p 12°

98. Slav. Reserve
Rossiiskii . Россійскій театръ или Полное собраніе россійскихъ театральныхъ сочиненій Въ Санктпетербургѣ, при Императорской Академіи наукъ, 1786–1794 43 v bd in 21 fronts 8°
v 39 is reproduced in photostat from an original copy in the possession of the Library of Congress p 113–386 missing

* * 99. Slav. Reserve
Rossiisko-Amerikanskaya kompaniya
Указъ Его Императорскаго Величества (Іюля 8 О языкѣ компаніи, составляющейся для промышленія и торговли на Сѣверо-восточному морѣ Россійско-Американскомъ компаніею — Съ присовокупленіемъ правилъ и привилегій оной компаніи) Печатанъ въ Санктпетербургѣ при Сенатѣ Іюля 19, а въ Москвѣ при Сенатѣ въ Августа 11 числѣ 1799 года 21, 7 p 33cm
Photostat reproduction.

100. Slav. Reserve

[Russkiĭskaya] Российское законоположение, или Собрание законов, 1776 года. Съ гравированными фигурами. [С.-Петербургъ] При Императорской Академіи наукъ, 1777 года. 2 p.l., 94 p. 2 pl. 24cm. (4°)

Front leaf (blank?) wanting.
Plates numbered 2 last engravings.
Binding contemporary, of boards calf, with red leather label on spine.

101. Slav Reserve

Russia. Gerol'diya.

Odnglit' gerbovnikh dvoryanskikh rodov Vserossiĭskoĭ Imperii, izdannyĭ v 1797m godu. v. 1–11. [Sankt-Peterburg, 1798–1862] 11 v. illus., general tables (v. 1–2). 31cm. (v. 11 30cm.)

Vol. 1 is not dated; v. 1–10 with engraved title-pages and illus., v. 11, the printing of which was begun but not published, contains the t.-p. and 30 pl., all printed in colors, 5 pl. have explanatory text and are numbered on1 I, [illegible]; 7, 9, 16, 18, 30.

No more published.
Covers wanting.

(Continued)

Russia. Gerol'diya. Общій гербовникъ дворянскихъ родовъ Всероссійскія Имперіи. (Continued)

Указатель. С.-Петербургъ: тип. Правительствующаго Сената, 1868. 85 p. 30cm.

Russia. Gerol'diya. Общій гербовникъ. (Cont'd.)

Inserted in vol. II: Объ одиннадцатой части Выс. утвержденнаго Общ. гербовника дворянскихъ родовъ. Ф.А. Каменскій. 2 l. [n.p., n.d.]

* 102 [1735, 1765, 1778, 1800 eds.].

SLAV RESERVE

RUSSIA. Statutes.

Его Императорскаго Величества Генеральный Регламентъ, или Уставъ. По которому Государственное Юстиціи, такожъ и всѣ оныя принадлежащія къ нимъ коллегіи, и чинятся служителя, не только во внѣшнихъ и внутреннихъ управленіяхъ, но и во отправленіи своего чина, возлѣжащее поступать имѣютъ. [Печатанъ въ Санктъ-Петербургѣ 1720 февраля въ 27 день. А въ Москвѣ противъ того 1725. Чарта въ 40 листъ.] Москва, 1725. 40 p., 2 l. 2°.

Continued

RUSSIA. Statutes. Его Императорскаго Величества Генеральный Регламентъ.

Card 2.

Sopikov no. 9700

1. Russia—Govt., 1689–1917. I. Peter I, the Great, emperor of Russia, 1672–1725. II. Title: General-nyĭ reglament, ili ustav.

* * 103. Slav. Reserve

Russia. Statutes.

Книга уставъ морскій, въ Россійскомъ и Россійскомъ языкахъ о всемъ что касается къ доброму управленію и дѣйствіи флота на морѣ, начинающій повелѣніемъ Его Величества Петра Великаго, Императора и Самодержца Всероссійскаго. Санктъ-Петербургской Типографіи 1724 года. А въ Типографіи Морскаго Шляхетнаго Кадетскаго Корпуса напечатанъ тысячью 1789 года. [С.-Петербургъ, 1785.] 141, 541 p. front., plates. f°.

Russian text with Dutch translation on opposite pages.

* * 104. Slav. Reserve-A

Russia. Statutes.

Книга уставъ морскій, о всемъ что касается доброму управленію, къ дѣйствіи флота на морѣ. Напечатался повелѣніемъ царскаго величества въ Санктъ-Петербургскія Типографіи Лѣта Господня 1720, Апрѣля въ 13 день. 11, 9, 142 p.; 217–226 f., 227–236, 15, 14 p. 30cm.

Вачнонъ, no. 113a.

(Continued)

Russia. Statutes. Книга уставъ морскій. (Continued)

Without t.-p., front. apparently lacking, text complete, with table of contents (14 p. at end) from another edition of 202 pages, public-land name year, retaining title. Уставъ морскій.

Imperfect: f. 226 wanting.

105. Slav Reserve

Russia. Statutes.

Книга уставъ воинскій о должностяхъ генераловъ, флигъ-маіоровъ, и всего генералитета и прочихъ чиновъ, которые при войскѣ имѣютъ быть и о многихъ вещахъ (бывъ и повелѣваетъ что на каждому чинѣ потребно) отправлять повелѣваетъ. Напечатано повелѣніемъ его царскаго величества въ Санктъ-Петербургѣ Лѣта Господня 1717. Декабря въ 15 день. 11, 4, 301, 19 p. 16½cm.

Typeface.

With label on binding: Библіотека при Сенатскомъ Правительствующемъ Сенатѣ. Отд. II (вся книга).

106. Slav Reserve

Russia. Statutes.

Конюшенный уставъ, Состоявшійся съ 1714, по 1719 годъ. Публикованныхъ и въ ярославѣ Санктъ-Петербургскомъ Типографіи двухъ книгахъ, изданныхъ изъ найденныхъ извѣстій. Напечатанъ со преподаваніемъ въ одну собранныхъ въ Сенатѣ, состоявшихся указовъ, надлежащихъ впередъ къ дѣлу. Въ Санктъ-Петербургской въ Сенатской Типографіи. Напечатанъ 1724 году, Февраля 24 дня. 11, 208, 5 p. 17cm.

Typeface.

Slav. Reserve

* 107 [1756 ed.].

Russia. Statutes.

Kriegs-Articuls. Mit beygefügten kurtzen Anmerckungen. Auf Ihro Kayserl. Majest. allergnädigsten Befehl. Gedruckt zum zweyten Mahl. St. Petersburg: Kayserl. Academie der Wissenschafften, 1735. 255 p. 17½cm.

Added t.-p. in Russian. Russian and German on opposite pages.

Russian t.-p. Артикулъ воинскій съ краткимъ толкованіемъ...Въ Санктпетербургѣ... 1735 года.

108.— 109. * QIX

Russia. Statutes.

Судебникъ Государя Царя и Великаго князя Іоанна Васильевича и выборныя сего Государя и бояръ его приказныя уставы, собранные и приведенные въ численное знакомство тайнаго совѣтника и астраханскаго губернатора Василія Никитича Татищева. Изданіе второе. Москва: Въ Университетской Типографіи у Н. Новикова, 1786. vi, 270 p. 2 col. 12°.

110. * QIX

Russia. Statutes.

Судебникъ Царя и Великаго Князя Ивана Васильевича, Заимствованъ изъ Юстиніановыхъ книгъ, Уставы дополнительные къ Судебнику и Таможенной уставъ Царя и Великаго Князя Ивана Васильевича. Въ Санктпетербургѣ: При Императорской Академіи наукъ, 1768 года. 223 p. 12°.

Various pagings.

* * 111. * QIX

Russia. Statutes.

Судебникъ Государя Царя и Великаго Князя Іоанна Васильевича, и нѣкоторые сего Государя и бояръ его приказные уставы, собранные и приведенные въ численное знакомство тайнаго совѣтника и Астраханскаго губернатора Василія Никитича Татищева. Въ Москвѣ: При Императорскомъ Университетѣ, 1768. 2 l., 138 p., 7 l. 24cm.

Introduction signed: Г. Ф. М. [i.e. Gerhard Friedrich Mueller]

112.
Rizzo Stacks * QIX
Уставъ благочинія и мѣстечестныхъ маляти Государя Императора Петра Великаго само изданіе всероссійское, состоявшееся съ 1714, по конецъ Его Императорскаго величества, Генваря по 28 число 1725 году [Санктпетербургъ] Печатано третьимъ тиснениемъ при Императорской Академіи Наукъ, 1777 1086 p 26cm
Title-page vignette, head- and tailpieces.

113.
Russkaya Pravda. * QIX
Правда Русская или законы великихъ князей Ярослава Владиміровича и Владиміра Всеволодовича Мономаха Съ присоединеніемъ древняго окончательнаго перевода и съ пространнѣйшаго изъ употребительныхъ нынѣ списковъ, и съ объясненіемъ словъ и выраженій изъ употребленія нынѣ вышедшихъ Издана тщаніемъ любителя отечественной исторіи [графомъ А И Шумалинымъ и П Н Ботяринымъ] [Спб] тип Сенатскаго правительствующаго синода, 1792 viii p, 71, 100, xvi p 26½cm

* * 114.
Rychkov, Nikolai Petrovich, 1746–1784 * QFP
Дневныя записки путешествія капитана Николая Рычкова въ Кирпичъ-Кайсацкой степи, 1771 году Санктпетербургъ Императорская академія наукъ, 1772 104 p 8°
Bound with his Журналъ или дневныя записки путешествія по разныхъ провинціямъ россійскаго государства, 1769 и 1770 году

* * 115.
Rychkov, Nikolai Petrovich, 1746–1784 * QFP
Продолженіе журнала или дневныхъ записокъ путешествія капитана Рычкова по разныхъ провинціямъ россійскаго государства, 1770 году Санктпетербургъ: Императорская академія наукъ, 1772 132 p map 8°
Bound with his Журналъ или дневныя записки путешествія по разныхъ провинціямъ россійскаго государства, 1769 и 1770 году

* * 116.
Rychkov, Nikolai Petrovich, 1746–1784. * QFP
Журналъ или дневныя записки путешествія капитана Рычкова по разнымъ провинціямъ россійскаго государства, 1769 и 1770 году. Санктпетербургъ Императорская академія наукъ, 1770 189 p map, plans 8°
With this is bound his Продолженіе журнала или дневныхъ записокъ путешествія and Дневныя записки путешествія въ Киргизъ-Кайсацкой степи, 1771 году

117. Slav.Reserve
Rychkov, Piotr Ivanovich, 1712–1777.
Опытъ іюльской исторіи древнихъ и среднихъ временъ, сочиненіе Петромъ Рычковымъ . Въ Санктпетербургѣ При Императорской Академіи Наукъ, 1767 7 p l, 196, [36] p 12°

118.
Slav. — Reserve
S Peterburgskii [Санктпетербургскій Меркурій Ежемѣсячное, изданіе 1793 года] Ч 1–4 Санктпетербургъ тип И Крылова съ тонографіи, 1793 4 v in 2 12°.
Monthly
Imprint varies: Ч 4 (Sept – Dec, 1793), Императорская Академія наукъ
Editors: И А Крыловъ and А И Клушинъ
Ceased publication with Dec, 1793

119.
Slav. Reserve
Sankitpeterburgskii. Санктпетербургскія вѣдомости, содержащія въ Указы Ея Императорскаго Величества и правительствующаго Сената; извѣстія о достопамятныхъ произшествіяхъ въ столицахъ, въ Иностранствующихъ и Губерніяхъ, Россійскихъ всѣхъ находящихся въ Государствѣ новыхъ Книгахъ, съ краткими разсужденіями объ оныхъ, разныя ученыя Сочиненія, для полезнаго и пріятнаго чтенія, переводимыя иностранныхъ новостяхъ, и прочее Съ Высочайшаго Ея Императорскаго Величества привилегіи

(Continued)

Sankitpeterburgskii Санктпетербургскія вѣдомости (Cont'd)
ч 1–4 (1778-79)
Санктпетербургъ у Кантореддама На Вентрѣкѣ 1778–79. 4 v 19½cm
Monthly
Jan, p 480–496, Oct, p 279–288, 1779, omitted
"Редакторъ Г Л Врайко" — Lasovskii

* 120 [lacking 1779; May 3 – Sept. 23, Sept. 30 – Dec. 30 (nos. 35–76, 78–104) 1782; July 4 – Dec. 29 (nos. 53–104) 1783]. * QCA
Sankitpeterburgskiye Санктпетербургскія вѣдомости [Санктпетербургъ] 17 –18 21 – 42½cm
v
Semiweekly Publication suspended during 1779
Вѣдомости эти служатъ продолженіемъ 'Вѣдомостей о военныхъ и иныхъ дѣлахъ' право издавать которыя съ 1728 г предоставлено было Академіи наукъ, съ 1873 г онѣ передались въ вѣдѣніе Мин Нар Проса" — Lasovskii

(Continued)

Sankitpeterburgskiye Санктпетербургскія вѣдомости (Continued)
Includes supplements, some paged separately
Volumes unbalanced in paging and binding, several pages omitted, a few repeated.
Supersedes Вѣдомости о военныхъ и иныхъ дѣлахъ
Ceased publication, 1917
With 1779 are bound Imperatorskii Moskovskii vospitatel'nyi dom, Moscow Известія Воспитательнаго дома Jan – Dec, 1779 [Санктпетербургъ] 1779

Sankteterburgskiya...Санктетербургскія вѣдомости. Cont'd
1777: Complete.
1779: "
1780: Jan. 8–17, 24–Sept. 1, 8–Dec. 29. (no.1–5, 7–70, 72–104.)
1782: May 8–Sept. 23, 30–Dec 30 (no. 35–76, 78–104.)
1783: July 4–Dec. 29. (no.53–104.)

Sankteterburgskiya...Санктетербургскія вѣдомости. Cont'd
1799: Complete.
1800: "
1801: "
1802: "
1803: "
1805: "
1806: "
1807: Jan. 1–Nov. 29, Dec. 6–31. (no.1–96, 98–105.)

* 120 (*continued*)

Sanktpeterburgskiya...Санктпетербургскія вѣдомости. Cont'd

1809 Complete.
1810 Jan. 4–Sept. 20, 27–Dec. 30.
(1–75, 77–104.)
1811 Jan. 3–Apr. 1, 8–Sept. 29, Oct. 10, Nov. 3–Dec. 29
(no. 1–61, 63–78, 81, 88–104.)
1812 Complete.

1814 "

Sanktpeterburgskiya...Санктпетербургскія вѣдомости. Cont'd

1815 Complete.
1816 " "
1817 Jan. 2–Apr. 27, Sept. 4–Dec. 26.
(no. 1–34, 71–104.)
1818 Complete.
1819 "
1855 Feb 23. N° 14, Особое прибавленіе к N° 41.

Sanktpeterburgskiya...Санктпетербургскія вѣдомости. Cont'd

Wanting.

1777 suppl. to no. 29, 101, few pages in suppl. to no. 19, 72.
1779 p. 187–190 in suppl. to no. 14, p. 969–972 in suppl. to no. 42.
1780 suppl. to no. 1, 6, 55.
1782 suppl. to no. 79–82, 92, 104, p. 921–22 in suppl. to no. 92, p. 1065–74 in suppl. to no. 102.

Sanktpeterburgskiya...Санктпетербургскія вѣдомости. Cont'd

1800 p. 4015–4022 in no. 96.
1802 p. 959–968 in suppl. to no. 78, p. 2721–24 in suppl. to no. 102.

1806 p. 121–122 in suppl. no. 12.
1810 p. 271–272 in suppl. to no. 18, p. 1263–1266 in suppl. to no. 90, p. 1480–1469 in suppl. to no. 102.
1811 2 tables are torn (suppl. to no. 2), 959, 962 blank in suppl. to no. 44.
1813 war bulletin to no. 87 "

* * 121. * QCA

Sanktpeterburgskoye. Санктпетербургское еженедѣльное сочиненіе, посвященное до распространенія довострительства и распространенія общеполезныхъ знаній

Часть 1–25 (May 3 – Oct 18, 1778) 20cm
Санктпетербургъ, 1778
25 nos in 1 v

Weekly

Часть 1 called стасть 1

Ceased publication with no 25, 1778.

* 122 [1787, 1793 eds.]. Rus. Rus. 4851 44

Gerts, Giuseppe, 1729–1802 The early reign of Oleg.
Начальное управленіе Олега, подражаніе Шакеспиру безъ соблюденія театральныхъ обыкновенныхъ правилъ. (С Петербургъ) Печатано въ типографіи Горнаго училища, 1791 viii(1), 38 p, 1 l. 18cm p 4to 45cm (f°)

Full score Russian words
The score has special t-p Музыка историческаго представленія Начальное управленіе Олега
Music composed by Gerts, Cavaliere and Professor, librarian by Catherine II, empress of Russia, preface by Gerts, translated by M L'Vov
Translation of title: The early reign of Oleg, an imitation of Shakespeare, without the preservation of ordinary theatrical rules. (Continued)

Gerts, Giuseppe, 1729–1802 Начальное управленіе Олега (Continued)

First performed in 1790.
Score engraved
Illustrations: engraved illustrated title pages and 5 engraved illustrations (headpieces and at the beginning of each act) by T. I. Lankhorst
Binding: contemporary, of dark brown Russian calf, gilt, marbled sides
With stamp: Bibliotheque de Tsarskoe Selo

* 123 [lacking parts 3–6]. Slav Reserve

Satiricheskii Сатирическій вѣстникъ Утробословскій труженикъ разсѣваетъ вымышленное имъ старичьихъ забавъ цвѣтъ и нужно ли оные молодымъ барынь, дѣвушкамъ знатной, вертопрашкамъ возлагать игрокамъ и прочаго состоянія людей Пышный выборъ изъ того, множайшаго вѣсенца, всесѣдомаго числа, выложенный сотщаніемъ моимъ ч 1–9
Москва въ Университетской типографіи у В Окорокова, 1790–92
9 parts in 3 v 17½cm

(Continued)

Satiricheskii Сатирическій (Continued)

Издателемъ этого листка рѣдкаго теперь должно быть Николай Ивановичъ Страховъ Всѣ статьи напечатанныя здѣсь издателемъ — Bortnyanskii V S Библіографическое описаніе рѣдкихъ и любопытныхъ книгъ С-Петербургъ, 1901 т 6 no 1857

Ceased publication with part 9

124. Slav Reserve

Schumacher, Johann Daniel, 1690–1761
Памяти Санктпетербургской Академіи Наукъ, библіотеки и кунсткамеры, съ краткимъ показаніемъ всѣхъ находящихся въ нихъ художественныхъ и натуральныхъ вещей, сочиненное для охотниковъ онаго вещи имѣющихъ изображенія Печатано въ Санктпетербургѣ при Императорской Академіи наукъ, 1744 [] 26 p front, 12 plates 4°.

Captions of plates in Russian, Slavonic, French and Latin.
Blank header's error p 13–24 are inserted between p 8 and 9 and p 25–26 follow p 36.

(Continued)

Schumacher, Johann Daniel, 1690–1761 Памяти Санктпетербургской Академіи Наукъ (Continued)

Авторъ — Іоганнъ Даніэль Шумахеръ Было ли напечатано этой книги — первое или второе издание неизвѣстно 1741 г Второе изданіе, извѣстно 1744 г (Изъ напечатанной части книги большая часть издана отдѣльно по время возврата въ академію Санктпетер Наукъ въ 1747 г" (Sopikov, ed by Rogodaev, No 8040)

(Continued)

Schumacher, Johann Daniel, 1690–1761 Памяти Санктпетербургской Академіи Наукъ .. (Continued)

* 125 [1722 ed.]. Slav Reserve

Shafirov, Piotr Pavlovich, baron, 1669–1739
Разсужденіе какія знатныя причины Его Царское Величество Петръ Первый царь и самодержецъ Всероссійскій къ начатію войны противъ Короля Карла 12, Шведскаго 1700 году имѣлъ Съ собственныя Его Царскаго Величества исправленнаго собранія, и на свѣтъ изданъ, въ Царствующемъ Санктъ-Питербургѣ, лѣта Господня 1716 года и напечатанъ 1717 10, 128 p 29cm

Preface signed П Ш

* 126 [1722 ed.]. Slav Reserve

Shafirov, Piotr Pavlovich, baron.
Разсужденіе какія знатныя причины Его Царское Величество Петръ Первый... къ началу войны противъ Короля Карла 12... имѣлъ рѣки, St. Petersburg, 1717 2 p l, 34 p, 41, 449 p 16°

127. Slav - Reserve

[Shcherbatov, Mikhail Mikhailovich, knyaz'] 1733–1790

Краткая повѣсть о бывшихъ въ Россіи самозванцахъ. Санктпетербургъ, 1774

287 p. 20cm

128. Slav Reserve

[Shcherbatov, Mikhail Mikhailovich, knyaz'] 1733–1790

Краткое историческое повѣствованіе о началѣ родовъ князей россійскихъ, происходящихъ отъ Великаго князя Рюрика Надлежащихъ Типографической Компаніи Москва въ Университетской типъ, у Н Новикова, 1785 96 p 21cm

Hand- and tailpieces

129. Slav. Reserve

[Shcherbatov, Mikhail Mikhailovich, knyaz'] 1733–1790

О старинныхъ состояніяхъ чиновъ въ Россіи въ коемъ бы потребно случаѣ произошли, и какъ были и оные и другіе служащіе, также о чинахъ и о нынѣ упадающихъ Изъ сочиненій И Новикова и компаніи Въ Москвѣ въ Университетской типъ у И Новикова, 1784 года 59 p 20cm

With this is bound: Berlin, V. X. Систематическое описаніе бокруетъ, относящихся к духовнымъ дворянъ съ 1468 года до уничтоженія сего чина. Санктпетербургъ, 1833

* 130 [1792–3 ed.]. Slav Reserve

Shelekhov, Grigorii Ivanovich, 1748–1795

Россійскаго купца Григорья Шелехова странствованіе съ 1783 по 1787 годъ Изъ Охотска по Восточному Океану къ Американскимъ берегамъ, и возвращеніе его въ Россію, съ обстоятельными увѣдомленіями объ открытіи новособранныхъ имъ острововъ Кадьяка и Аѳогнака, до коихъ не достигалъ и славный Англійскій мореходецъ Кадьякъ Кукъ, и съ пріобрѣтенными описаніи образа жизни, нравовъ, обрядовъ, языка и одежды обитающихъ тамъ народовъ, возвратившагося водъ Россійскую державу тамъ Кликнетъ, годовыя

(Continued)

Shelekhov, Grigorii Ivanovich, 1748–1795 Россійскаго купца (Continued)

переѣзды, звѣри, земныя животныя рыбы птицы, земныя произрастенія и многія другія, любопытныя пріобрѣтенія тѣхъ мѣстъ найдены, что все вѣрно и точно описано имъ сказано Съ географическими чертежами, со изображеніемъ самаго мореходца и найденныхъ имъ дикихъ людей Въ Санктпетербургѣ 1791 года Надлежитъ В С 76 p 19cm

Map and plate missing

* 131 [1792–3 ed.]. Slav. Reserve

Shelekhov, Grigorii Ivanovich, 1748–1795

Россійскаго купца Григорья Шелехова странствованіе съ 1783 году изъ Охотска по Восточному Океану къ Американскимъ берегамъ Съ обстоятельными увѣдомленіями объ открытіи новособранныхъ имъ островахъ Кадьяка и Аѳогнака и съ пріобрѣтенными описаніи образа жизни нравовъ обрядовъ, языка и одежды обитающихъ тамъ народовъ возвратившагося водъ Россійскую державу тамъ Кликнетъ, годовыя переѣзды звѣри домашнія животныя, рыбы птицы, земныя произрастенія и многіе другіе любопытные пріобрѣтенія тѣхъ мѣстъ найдено

Shelekhov, Grigorii Ivanovich, 1748–1795. Российскаго купца Григорья Шелехова . (Continued)

что все вѣрно и точно описано имъ сказано Съ чертежами и со изображеніемъ самаго мореходца, и найденныхъ имъ дикихъ людей Санктпетербургъ, коспоненныя В С, 1791–1792 2 parts bd as 1. front., map 12°.

Title-page of part 2 reads Россійскаго купца Григорья Шелехова продольныя странствованія по восточному Океану къ

(Continued)

Shelekhov, Grigorii Ivanovich, 1748–1795 Россійскаго купца Григорья Шелехова (Continued)

Американскимъ берегамъ въ 1788 году Съ обстоятельными увѣдомленіями объ открытіи новособранныхъ имъ острововъ, до коихъ не достигалъ и славный Англійскій мореходецъ Кадьякъ Кукъ, и съ пріобрѣтенными описаніи образа жизни, нравовъ, обрядовъ, языка и одежды обитающихъ тамъ народовъ тамъ Кликнетъ, годовыя переѣзды, звѣри домашнія животныя, рыбы птицы, зем-

(Continued)

Shelekhov, Grigorii Ivanovich, 1748–1795 Россійскаго купца Григорья Шелехова (Continued)

ныя произрастенія и многіе другіе любопытные пріобрѣтенія тѣхъ мѣстъ находящіеся что все вѣрно и точно написано имъ сказано Во граѳ Санктпетербургѣ 1792 года Надлежитъ В С

132. Slav — Reserve-R

Sheremetev, Boris Petrovich, graf, 1652–1719

Записка путешествія генерала фельдмаршала россійскихъ войскъ графа Бориса Петровича Шереметева . изъ отечественнаго государства, изъ Краковъ, изъ Вѣны, изъ Венеціи, изъ Рязи и на Мальтійскій островъ, изданная по надлежащему описанію, находящемуся въ библіотекѣ сына его . Москва напечатана при Университетскомъ университетѣ, 1773 90 p plates f°.

Bound in leather, gilt, with arms of Counts Sheremetev on front and back covers. Title and text throughout within ornamental woodcut borders. Plates engraved on copper

133. * QCR

Shelekhov, Aleksandr Semionovich, 1754–1841

Списокъ кораблямъ и прочимъ судамъ всего Россійскаго флота, отъ начала заведенія онаго до нынѣшнихъ временъ, съ историческими, вообще о дѣйствіяхъ флотовъ и о каждомъ судѣ, краткими извѣстіями Часть I Содержащая въ себѣ Царствованіе Государя Петра Великаго Собралъ, изъ достовѣрныхъ записокъ и журналовъ, Контръ-Адмиралъ Александръ Шелеховъ [Санктпетербургъ, Печатано въ Типографіи Морскаго Шляхетнаго Кадетскаго Корпуса, 1799 года 323 p 17cm

(Continued)

Shelekhov, Aleksandr Semionovich, 1754–1841 Списокъ кораблямъ и прочимъ судамъ всего Россійскаго флота (Continued)

No more published.

With bookplate Севастопольскія офицерскія библіотеки

134. * QCR

[Shcherbatov, Ivan Kirill'yevich, ca 1630 – ca 1690]

Житіе святѣйшаго патріарха Никона писанное нѣкоторымъ бывшимъ при немъ Іеромонахомъ Въ Санктпетербургѣ печатано при Императорской Академіи наукъ и художествъ Типографіи 1784 года 223 p 20½ cm

Edited by O. P. Kozodavlev.

135. SLAV RESERVE

SLOVO O POLKU IGOREVE.

Ироическая пѣснь о походѣ на половцовъ удѣльнаго князя Новагорода-Сѣверскаго Игоря Святославича, писанная отъ старинныхъ русскихъ книгъ на употребляемое нынѣ нарѣчіе. Москва, Въ сенатской тип., 1800 viii, 48 p. tables. 26cm.

Electrostatic reproduction, The New York Public Library

Title romanized. Iroicheskaya pesn' o pokhode na polovtsov.

* * 138. SLAV RESERVE

СОБЕСѢДНИКЪ любителей россійскаго слова содержащій разныя сочиненія въ стихахъ и въ прозѣ нѣкоторыхъ Россійскихъ писателей

Въ Санктпетербургѣ печатаемъ при Императорской Академіи Наукъ 1783 1849 16 v in 8

v 1 13 and 14 electrostatic reproductions The New York Public Library

v 1 14 published in 1783–84

v 15 and 16 are 2 ed published in 1809

(Continued)

СОБЕСѢДНИКЪ любителей россійскаго слова (Cont)

Title transliterated Sobesednik lyubiteleĭ rossiĭskogo slova

Editor O P Kazodavlev

1 Periodicals—Russia I Kazodavlev Osip Petrovich 1754 1819 ed

* 137 [lacking vol. 2]. * QDR

Sobranye Собраніе морскихъ журналовъ, или ежедневныхъ записокъ, Содержащихъ въ себѣ изданія Флотовъ, Эскадръ и судовъ Россійскихъ, начиная съ 1797 года, то есть со времени вступленія на Престолъ Его Императорскаго Величества Государя Императора Павла Петровича, издаваемое по Высочайшему повелѣнію, Ученостью и трудами Вице-Адмирала Александра Шишкова (Санктпетербургъ, Печатано въ Типографіи Морскаго Шляхетнаго Кадетскаго Корпуса, 1800 года 2 v in 1 2 engrs , tables 23½cm

(Continued)

Sobranye . Собраніе морскихъ журналовъ . (Continued)

No more published.
With bookplate: Севастопольская офицерская библіотека.

* 138 [lacking Sept – Oct. 1775, Dec. 1775 – Dec. 1776]. Slavonic Reserve

Sobranye Собраніе разныхъ сочиненій и извѣстій, ежемѣсячное изданіе, содержащее въ себѣ новыя на россійскомъ языкѣ сочиненія и переводы новые успѣхи въ наукахъ и художествахъ и прочія любопытныя вещи, служащія къ пользѣ нынѣшняго вѣка и умноженію знаній всякаго состоянія Сентябрь, 1775 – декабрь 1776 (Санктпетербургъ Императорская Акад наукъ, 1775–76 4 v 12°

Monthly

1775 title reads Собраніе новыхъ ежемѣсячныхъ сочиненій, содержащее въ себѣ краткую исторію нынѣшняго времени

(Continued)

Sobranye Собраніе разныхъ сочиненій (Continued)

Sept , 1775 – Jan , 1776 have imprint Въ Санктпетербургѣ, печатано при артиллерійскомъ и инженерномъ шляхетномъ кадетскомъ корпусѣ типографическою Н К Шноромъ

Ceased publication with Dec., 1776.

139. * QCB

Sobranye sochineniĭ. Собраніе сочиненій, выбранныхъ изъ ежесочиненій на разныя годы . v 1–40 Въ Санктпетербургѣ: Напечатаемыя Императорской академіи наукъ, 1785–96 40 v. maps, plates tables 20cm

Vol 1, "Предисловіе" signed Н Озерецковскій

140. Slav. Reserve

Sbornik. Сборникъ изъ новыхъ, сочиненныя имъ сочиненій и переводовъ прозаическихъ и стихотворныхъ

v 1–2

Въ Санктпетербургѣ, 1772–73 2 v in 1 18cm

Editor В Г. Рубанъ.

Ceased publication with part 2.

* * 141. *QDI p. v 26, no 10

Sumarokov, Aleksandr Petrovich, 1718–1777

Ода ея императорскому величеству всемилостивѣйшей государынѣ Императрицѣ Елисаветѣ Алексѣевнѣ императрицей и самодержицей всероссійской на день восшествія ея на всероссійскій престолъ Іюня 28 дня 1772 года Сочиненіе Александра Сумарокова Въ Санктпетербургѣ при Императорской Академіи Наукъ, 1772 8 p 12°

142. * QDB

Sumarokov, Aleksandr Petrovich, 1718–1777

Полное собраніе всѣхъ сочиненій, въ стихахъ и прозѣ Александра Петровича Сумарокова Собранныя и изданныя въ удовольствіе любителей россійской словесности Николаемъ Новиковымъ Москва въ Университетской типографіи у Н Новикова, 1781–82 10 v front (port) 20cm

Russ- and fol recs.

* 143 [1774 ed.]. * QCC p v 87

[Sumarokov, Aleksandr Petrovich,] 1718–1777

Ежемѣсячныя сочиненія [С-Петербургъ изд Импер Акад наукъ, 176–?] p 225–296 8°

* * 144. Slav Reserve

Svedov, Matvei

Достопамятности Чесменскаго дворца, состоящаго По Московской дорогѣ въ 7й верстѣ отъ Санктпетербурга, описанныя По приказанію Генералъ Пилсевера и Кавалера Мордвинова, Находящимся при царскомъ сего дворца Дикономъ Матѳеемъ Сѣдовымъ (Санктпетербургъ, въ 1782 году 20 p 23 x 18cm

Russ- and Italian recs.
Chiefly a list of portrait paintings hung in the palace.
With stamp on t.-p. Bibliothèque du Tsarskoe sélo.

145. Slav.-Reserve

Tatishchev, Vasilĭ Nikitich, 1686–1750

Исторія россійская съ самыхъ древнѣйшихъ временъ неусыпными трудами через тритцать лѣтъ собранныя и описанныя покойнымъ тайнымъ совѣтникомъ и астраханскимъ губернаторомъ Василіемъ Никитичемъ Татищевымъ Т 1–4 (Москва) Напечатана при И Московскомъ университетѣ, 1768–1848 [1768]

4 v 23½ x 10–24 x 39cm

(Continued on next card)

Tatishchev, Vasilĭ Nikitich, 1686–1750 Исторія россійская . 1768–1848 (Card 2)

Imperial censor v 4 (Санктпетербургъ, Тип. Императорскія, 1784 — v 3, Москва, Университетская типографія, 1848

Title-page of v 1 reads Исторія россійская Added notice at v 1 on subsequent issues: Продается у книгопродавцовъ

Vol 1 in 2 pt, 1768–69

Vol 1–3 edited by G F Müller, v 4 by several order of Empress Catherine II, v 5 by the Imperial society of history and Russian antiquities

Manuscript text of v 1 not discovered until 1943

Tatishchev, V.N. Istoriia rossiĭskaia... cont'd

For v.5 see Obshchestvo istorii i drevnostiĕĭ rossiĭskikh, Moscow. Vremia.1847, no.4, p.I-X,1-152; no.5, p.153-218; 1848, no.9, p. 219-553.

* * 146. Slav. Reserve

Topograficheskiya . Топографическія краткія на знатнѣйшія мѣста путешествія Ея Императорскаго Величества въ Бѣлорусскія Намѣстничества При С П Б Имперъ Акад. Наукъ, 1780 147 p front , illus 19cm (12°)

147. Slav - Reserve

Trediakovskii, Vasilii Kirillovich, 1703–1769
Три разсуждения о трех главнейших древностях российских, а именно 1 О первобытностях словенского языка против тевтонических 2 О переменах россов 3 О нравах русских славенского языка, рода и языка, сочиненныя Васильем Тредиаковским St Petersburg, 1773 3 p l, 273 p 12°

148. *QCA

Trudoliubivaya ... Трудолюбивая пчела Генварь–Декабрь 1759 года Вторыя тисненныя Санктпетербургъ Императорская академия наукъ, 1760 767 p 19½cm

Monthly

Editor A II Сумароковъ.
"Первое славянское частное издание в России." — Lisovskii

149. Slav Reserve

Tsiklicheskaya ... Церковныя книга то есть тетрадесять церковныя пира Иоакима Васильевича, отъ 7042 году до 7061, включая съ писменнаго, которой списывал из Москвы из Патриаршей библиотеки Санктпетербургъ Императорская академия наукъ, 1769 347 p front 8°.

150. Slav. — Reserve

Utrennikiye ... Утренния часы
Ч 1–4, or, № 1–52 (April 20, 1788 – April 12, 1789)
Санктпетербургъ печатано съ дозволения у цензора 1788–89 4 v 8°

Weekly
Editor I G Rakhmanov
Ceased publ with April 12 1789

151. Slav - Reserve *QCA

V***, M.
Небылица ... Сочинения М В*** Въ Санктпетербургѣ, 1778 года 64 p 16°

152. *QCA

Vechera [weekly]
Вечера, еженедельное издание. 2nd.
Moscow: Kompaniya Tipograficheskaya, 1789 2 parts in 1 v. 12°

* * 153. Slav — Reserve

Vechernye ... Вечерние часы или древния сказки старинных древлянских Москва тип Компании типографической, 1787–1788 6 v 12°

p. 206–end, of v. 6 missing

". . Сказки (древния) славян, Древлянские, или вечерние часы, 6 частей, М., 1787 Печатались из течения 1787–1788 гг Авторов сказок Гнедича (см Словарь т 2, стр 418) называет Вас Алекс Левшина и прибавляет, что эти сказки принадлежат М Чулкову, хотя Гнедичь (см Историч хрест т 2, стр 557) авторов называет

(Continued)

Vechernye. Вечерние часы, или древния сказки славян древлянских (Continued)

Мих Чулкова Надписи принадлежат к тексту печатных и весьма редких" (Sopikov, V S. Опыт российской библиографии, 1905 no 10306)

154. Slav.Reserve

Vechernyaya Zarya. [monthly]
Вечерняя Заря
Moscow: Universitetskaya Tip., 1792 12°
Year 1792.

* * 155. Slav. Reserve

[Vinskyiki, Ivan, 18th cent
Потерянная и краеобретенная рай [Санктпетербургъ, Съ дозволения Святейшаго Синода, Напечатана при Императорской Академии наукъ типографщиком Х Ф Клеэнъ и В Х Гейзе, 1792, 10 l, 276 p 21cm

Signed, l 8, Иванъ Виницкий

156. Map Room

[Wildbrecht, Aleksandr Mikhailovich], d ca 1820
Российской атлас изъ сорока четырех карт состоящей и на сорок на два министерства Империю разделяющей [Санктпетербургъ, Сотня гравир и печат при Горном училище, 1792 44 (really 46) maps illus 54 x 39cm

Map 43 in 2 sections
Map 45 (карта Минской, Пинской и Брянской губерний) is not listed in the table of contents

Maps engraved after A Wildbrecht (Wildbrecht) by A. Sverdeev, T Mikhailov, and others.

(Continued)

[Wildbrecht, Aleksandr Mikhailovich], d ca 1820 Российской атлас (Continued)

Illustrations 1–9 and 43 cartouches engraved by A F Bernardov, G I Kolpakov, G Kharitonov, G Mordukov, or I C Zakharov.
Binding: original, of full decorated calf, ruled bands, back lettered and gilt, black leather title. Hand-made French marbled end papers. Embedded plates are old and hinged.

157 [1792 ed.]. Map Room

[Wildbrecht, Aleksandr Mikhailovich], d ca 1820
Российской атлас изъ сорока трех карт состоящей и на сорок одну губернию Империю разделяющей [Санктпетербургъ], Печат при Географическом департаменте 1800 2 p l, 43 maps 52½ x 65cm

Cover-title: Атлас Российской империи (sic)
T.-p. printed on large paper; maps are not fold
The maps engraved after A. Wildbrecht (Wildbrecht) by A. Sverdeev, T. Mikhailov, and others.
Illustrations: the illustrated t.-p. and the 43 cartouches engraved by A. F. Bernardov, G. I. Kolpakov, G. Kharitonov, G. Mordukov, or I. C. Zakharov.
Binding: contemporary, of full crushed red levant morocco, gilt, marbled end papers. With stamp of Public Library.

158 [backing Jan. 1758]. *QCA

Yezhemesyachnyye...Ekonomicheskiya sochineniya i vedomosti o uchenykh delakh.
1755–1764.
Sanktpeterburg: Imperatorskaya Akademiya nauk, 1755–64 20-22cm
20v.
Monthly.
Some volumes have engraved title-pages.
Various mistakes in pagination.
Published by Akademiy nauk
Title varies: 1755–1757, Ekonomicheskiya sochineniya
(continued)

Yezhemesyachnyye...Ekonomicheskiya...(Continued)

k pol'ze i uveseleniyu slushatelya, 1759–1762, Sochineniya i perevody k pol'ze i uveseleniyu slushatelya, 1762–1764, Ekonomicheskiya sochineniya i vedomosti o uchenykh delakh.
"Это первый ученo-литературный журнал в России." – Lisovskii.
Ceased publication, Dec.1764.
——Second copy July-Dec.,1755.

* * 159. Slavonic Reserve

Yershoded'ick . Газеда дѣльныхъ, или, Собранiе разныхъ физическихъ, историческихъ, физическихъ и нравоучительныхъ разсуждений, переведенныхъ съ разныхъ языковъ, такъ-же многихъ, сего интереса и другихъ разныхъ въ стихахъ и прозѣ россiйскихъ вѣдомыхъ сочиненiй переводчиковъ на 1792 годъ изданныхъ [illegible] .№ 1–18 (1792) Москва тип Хр [illegible], 1792; 288 p 12°

nos 1–18 called Часть 1

Ceased publication with no 18 (cf Nevostroyev, A. N Историческое розысканiе о русскихъ повременныхъ изданiяхъ p 721)

160. * QDH

Zavalishin, Izmaĭlik Ivanovich, 1770–1822

Суворовъ, новая героическая Творенiя Прiапра в Замзаниях Сочиненiя въ Вирiанiй въ 1798 году Санктпетербургъ съ дозволенiя Украина благочинiя, 1796 xxxvi 66 p 8°

161. *QCA

Zhityshtsa.

Житьишка, епиграфическое сатирическое сочиненiе [Изд Николай Ивановичъ Новиковъ] Часть 1-2 St Petersburg Imperatorskaya Akademiya Nauk 1793 2 parts in 1 16°

* 162 [1799 ed.]. Slav.Reserve

Zhuravlev, Andreĭ Ioannov, 1751–1813

Полное историческое извѣстiе о древнихъ страноименитыхъ и новыхъ расколникахъ, такъ называемыхъ старообрядцахъ, о ихъ ученiи, дѣлахъ и разсылкѣхъ собранное изъ потаенныхъ старообрядческихъ преданiй, записокъ и писемъ царскаго Совместна Святаго Духа, что на большой Охтѣ, протопереинъ Андреемъ Іоанновымъ. Изданiе второе исправленно и умноженно приобщенiемъ Санктпетербургъ Императорскiя академiи наукъ, 1798 xi, 107, 103, 63, 147 p. front (port), plates 20½cm

163. * QCN

Zhuravlev, Andreĭ Ioannov, 1751–1813

Полное историческое извѣстiе о древнихъ страноименитыхъ и новыхъ расколникахъ, такъ называемыхъ, старообрядцахъ, о ихъ ученiи, дѣлахъ и разсылкѣхъ. Собранное изъ потаенныхъ старообрядческихъ преданiй, записокъ и писемъ, царскаго Совместна Святаго Духа, что на большой Охтѣ, протопереинъ Андреемъ Іоанновымъ. Изданiе третiе исправленно и умноженно приобщенiемъ Санктпетербургъ Императорскiя академiи наукъ, 1799 434 p front (port), plates 20½cm

164. Slav.Reserve

Zhuravlev, Andreĭ Ioannov, 1751–1813

Полное историческое извѣстiе о старообрядческихъ [illegible] дѣлахъ и разсылкѣхъ Собранное изъ потаенныхъ старообрядческихъ преданiй записокъ и писемъ царскаго Совместна Святаго Духа что на большой Охтѣ протопереинъ Андреемъ Іоанновымъ и из три части разделенное Санктпетербургъ тип Святѣйшаго Синода, 1794 3 v in 1 20cm

165. Slavonic Reserve

Zritel' Зритель, ежемѣсячное изданiе 1792 года (Feb – Dec, 1792) Санктпетербургъ въ тип II Крылова съ товарищи, 1792 3 v 8°

Monthly

Feb.–Dec., 1792, in 3 separately paged v called part 1–3

Ceased publication with Dec, 1792.

166. Slav. Reserve

Zuyev, Vasiliĭ Fedorovich, 1754–1794

Путешествiя изъ записокъ Василья Зуева отъ С Петербурга до Херсона въ 1781 и 1782 году Въ Санктпетербургѣ при Императорской академiи наукъ, 1787 года 273 p plans, plates 24½cm

Imperfect pl. no. 1 missing

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THE CENTRAL BUILDING

Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street

CHILDREN'S BOOKS SUGGESTED AS HOLIDAY GIFTS — ROOM 78

A selection of new children's books and the perennial favorites, with original drawings for illustrations, to mark the fiftieth anniversary of Children's Book Week. Through January 6.

FLOWERS IN THE LIFE AND LORE OF THE JEWS — ROOM 84

Illustrative materials from books in the Jewish Division depict the many allusions to flowers in the Bible, floral decorations used on festival days, and the importance of flowers and other plants in particular rites and ceremonies. Through January.

"FLOWERS" OF THE PHYSICAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL SCIENCES

FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

An array of illustrations of flower-like structures in the earth sciences, chemistry, physics, and metallurgy, such as crystallization processes and paleontological forms, selected from books in the Science and Technology Division. Through December 15.

FLOWERS FLOWERS FLOWERS YESTERDAY TODAY

LOBBY AND LANDING CASES AND SECOND FLOOR GALLERY

Ranging from early and rare books with handsome plates to recently published works on ballet and music, the exhibits offer a panorama of books in bloom, as well as a survey of the influence of the flower on the arts, its ornamental and decorative qualities, and its economic and botanical importance. Through December 15.

In the Lobby: the art of botanical illustration, including works by Otho Brunfelsius and William Blake.

The Central Building, continued

In the Landing Cases: flowers in the arts of poetry and cooking; and scientific explorations of the plant world, especially those of Alexander von Humboldt.

In the Second Floor Gallery: books on gardening, flower arrangement, and flowers in the decorative arts.

FLORAL MAPS OF THE UNITED STATES — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

The versatility of map making is shown in this display of maps with decorative flower motifs, including spring flowers, the state flowers, and the various planting seasons as spring heads northward. Through December.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIAN IMPRINTS — SECOND FLOOR CENTRAL CORRIDOR

Examples of early Russian printing from the collection of the Slavonic Division: works of non-fiction on subjects such as law, history, and science, and works of fiction. Through January.

THE GREEN THUMB — THIRD FLOOR PRINT GALLERY

From window boxes to country fields, flowers spring up in lithographs, etchings, engravings, and woodcuts, by such artists as Raimondi, Daumier, Gauguin, and Shahn. Through December.

PEN & BRUSH: THE AUTHOR AS ARTIST — ROOM 318

A Berg Collection exhibit* of art work by authors who were also artists, some amateur, some professional, from William Blake to Denton Welch. Over ninety caricatures, sketches, and finished drawings by Thackeray are on view, as well as works by thirty-nine other artists, including self-portraits by Bernard Shaw, Henry Miller, and Dylan Thomas. Through May.

THE LANGUAGE OF FLOWERS — ROOM 324

Printed herbals and other botanical works from as early as the sixteenth century, from the Arents Tobacco Collection; and, from the Arents Collection of Books in Parts, flower books in which the scientific text rivals in excellence the superbly colored plates. Through January.

FLORAL DECORATION IN MANUSCRIPTS — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

Illuminated manuscripts from fifteenth-century France: four examples of the Book of Hours selected for the beauty and uniqueness of their floral designs. Through January.

* * *

TECHNICAL BOOKS OF THE MONTH — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

A monthly selection of new books received in the Science and Technology Division, and reviewed in *New Technical Books.*

UNITED STATES POSTAGE STAMPS — MAIN LOBBY

An almost complete collection of United States postal issues and airmail stamps, 1847–1926. Permanent exhibition.

HISTORY OF PRINTING — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR

Examples of the recorded word and the graphic arts from Babylonian tablets to modern press work. Permanent exhibition.

WALT WHITMAN — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR

The Oscar Lion Collection of books by and about Whitman, including first editions, manuscripts, letters, portraits, and memorabilia. Permanent exhibition.

WASHINGTON IRVING — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR

Selections from the Seligman and Hellman collections of Irvingiana consisting of first editions, manuscripts, sketchbooks, etc. Permanent exhibition.

AMERICAN VIEWS — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

A selection of prints from the I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection. Permanent exhibition.

* An illustrated catalogue of the exhibit is available from the Sales Shops at $3.

THE LIBRARY & MUSEUM OF THE PERFORMING ARTS AT LINCOLN CENTER

111 Amsterdam Avenue

SHELBY CULLOM DAVIS MUSEUM

THE FILMS OF MACK SENNETT — PLAZA GALLERY

A kaleidoscopic showing of Sennett's one reel comedies featuring "The Fatal Glass of Beer," with W. C. Fields. Through January.

DEATH OF ELIZABETH — PLAZA GALLERY

A mural by the contemporary English artist Leonard Rosoman on the colorful events and personalities of England in the time of the queen and after. Through January.

SETS DESIGNED BY MING CHO LEE — AMSTERDAM GALLERY

Delicately fashioned models of sets by the New York designer Ming Cho Lee for dramatic and musical productions, particularly those for the New York Shakespeare Festival and the New York City Opera. Through November 15.

TERPSICHORE'S PROGRESS: THE EVOLUTION OF DANCING FROM SOCIAL PASTIME TO THEATRICAL ART — VINCENT ASTOR GALLERY

In prints, books, and photographs the revival of academic interest in dancing is traced; through social dancing, choreography and technique, choreography for spectacle, and ballet at court and in the theatre. Through February.

ISADORA DUNCAN, DANCING REVOLUTIONARY — DANCE COLLECTION

The professional career and the personal life of one of the pioneers of modern dance are described through photographs, original drawings by Grand'jouan, and her own trunk, costumes, and books. Through the winter.

DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER

20 West 53rd Street

"Patterns on Indian Beaches." Color photographs by Stella Snead, showing the designs and hues of the grasses, stones, sands, and waters. Through November.

HUDSON PARK BRANCH

10 Seventh Avenue South

"Aesthetic Realism." Black and white photographs by Nancy Starrels, diverse in subject, reflecting the influence of the philosophy of aesthetic realism. Through November 28.

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION

103 West 135th Street

Etchings by the New York City artist Albert A. Smith, including scenes of Europe and a portrait of Arthur Schomburg. Through November.

DECEMBER 1969

BULLETIN

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On the cover: This quiet and homely rendering of the Nativity is from a French picture Bible of about 1300, one of the treasures of our Spencer Collection; it is a miniature from item 41 in Karl Kup's *The Christmas Story*, which we are happy to give serial publication in the *Bulletin* this month and to publish in two separate editions, both in attractively illustrated blue covers: cloth, $7.50; stiff paper, $5.00. *The Christmas Story* was designed by Bert Waggott, the text composed in the Library's Printing Office, and the book printed at Meriden Gravure Company.

Subscribers: please note that the Library's Annual Report will be printed in the January 1970 *Bulletin* and that our subscription rate will be $7.50 a year, effective January 1 1970.

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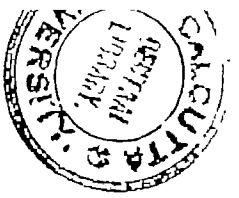


Front Matter

A Gift of Music

The Rodgers and Hammerstein Archives of Recorded Sound have been greatly enriched by the latest gift to the Archives by Lauder Greenway of a collection of 9,000 operatic and concert recordings featuring nearly every important vocal artist of the last seventy years.

The Library honored Mr Greenway, Chairman of the Board of the Metropolitan Opera Association, on Thursday, November 13, for his many important contributions to the Rodgers and Hammerstein Archives, with the unveiling of his name as a benefactor, carved on the pylon in the main lobby of Central Building.

The recordings in the Greenway collection were made in all of the great musical capitals of the world; in particular, they provide a documentation in depth of virtually every singer who has performed in major roles at the Metropolitan since the advent of commercial recording. Nearly half of the collection consists of operatic and concert recordings from the 78 rpm electrical era of 1925–48. There are also early Edison cylinders, rare Pathé vertical-cut disks and lacquer-disks of off-the-air broadcasts of major operatic performances of the past decade from all over the world.

Among the more notable recordings are three 1902 Pathé sides recorded by Enrico Caruso in Milan, a 1902 Chaliapin recording of the "Calf of Gold" aria from "Faust" done in St Petersburg, and an equally scarce 1903 disk of Felia Litvinne in Brünnhilde's "Hojo-to-ho" from "Die Walküre," with Alfred Cortot at the piano.

Two earlier gifts from Mr Greenway were the initial group of wax cylinders recorded in 1902 by Alfred Mapleson from live performances at the Metropolitan Opera, including the only recorded examples of the voice of the legendary Jean de Reszke and the only known complete set of the 1903 Columbia Grand Opera series disks featuring such great artists as Ernestine Schumann-Heink, Antonio Scotti, Marcella Sembrich, and Guiseppe Campanari.

The recordings in the collection will be ready for auditioning by the late spring of 1970.

Music of Israel

A unique collection of Israeli music — never before generally available in New York — has been given by the America-Israel Cultural Foundation to the General Library of the Performing Arts. In a special presentation ceremony on October 29 Jan Peerce, chairman of the Foundation's Arts Council, said the gift represents part of the Foundation's continuing effort "to serve as a bridge bringing Israel's culture to the United States."

The gift consists of approximately 400 scores by contemporary Israeli composers, including Paul Ben-Haim, Oedoen Partos, Josef Tal, Marc Lavry, Ben-Zion Orgad, Ron Lewy, Ram Da-Oz, Karel Salmon, and Mordecai Seter. Included are works for a variety of individual instruments as well as orchestra and chamber ensemble music; there are also scores for solo voice and choral music, children's songs, books and recordings, etc.

The material is now being catalogued and will be available for circulation some time in the early part of 1970.

The Makings of an American

More than thirty years ago the papers of Jacob A. Riis were brought to the Library in order to insure their safety. They were not our property and they were not available to scholars who

might have had an interest in them. Through a happy chain of events, however, the collection has now been turned over to the Library by a deed of gift made by the grandsons of Mr Riis, Dr J. Riis Owre of Coral Gables, Florida, and Dr Oscar Owre of Miami, Florida.

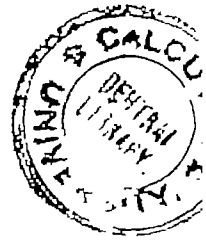
Jacob A. Riis was a Danish immigrant who became a journalist, lecturer, and writer. More importantly he became a great American who learned "how the other half lives" and then devoted his own life to social welfare, reform, and practical philanthropy so that the living conditions of the poor might be improved. The holograph manuscript of his book *How the Other Half Lives* (1890) is in the collection as are the manuscripts of his book on child labor, *The Children of the Poor*; the biography of his hero, *Theodore Roosevelt the Citizen*; the classic *The Making of an American*; and other works. The Library of Congress also has a notable collection of letters and diaries of Jacob Riis, but in the gift made by his grandsons are the diaries he kept as a youth in Denmark, about two large cartons of correspondence, together with notebooks, financial records, lecture notes, papers on good government, photographs, clippings, and other ephemera. In New York his name and something of his work live on in the settlement house named for him in 1901, in Jacob Riis Park, in his autobiography *The Making of an American* — still read and still in print — and now, most decidedly, in the Library's Manuscript Division. (G.D.McD.)

All of Irving

We have received the first of twenty-eight volumes of *The Complete Works of Washington Irving*, subtitled *Journals and Notebooks, Volume I: 1803–1806*. It is edited by Nathalia Wright and published by the University of Wisconsin Press. The whole undertaking, a complete edition of Irving's works, journals, and letters, with "a critical authoritative text," is engaging three supervising editors with an editorial board of six, working under the auspices of the Center for Editions of American Authors.

This first volume impressively demonstrates the worthy purposes of the work, defined as filling in gaps of publication and correcting errors of earlier text, as rounding out the picture "with a wealth of detail that presages a better understanding of the man and eventually a sounder interpretation and appraisal of his writings."

We can remember the early, hesitant beginnings — an annotated text, in this *Bulletin*, of Irving's Madrid diary, and a project to repair the inaccuracies of earlier editions of some of the journals. Much of the Irving manuscript material is in this Library, and we are pleased to have encouraged these proposals, and to see this first published volume of the complete Irving.



THE CHRISTMAS STORY IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE SPENCER COLLECTION

By KARL KUP

CANTATE DOMINO CANTICUM NOVUM: QUIA MIRABILIA FECIT, reads the ninety-eighth psalm, here introduced by a large and illuminated initial letter from a medieval English manuscript with miniature paintings relating to the Christmas story from the Spencer Collection of The New York Public Library. The Spencer Collection was created by the bequest of William Augustus Spencer who had lived in New York and Paris where he had collected finely illustrated French books in fine bindings of his time, from 1880 to 1910. His bequest to the Library included not only 232 handsome books of his own, and so a personal collection, but also a generous endowment fund, together with a most perspicacious and promising direction: "that the income from the endowment is to be spent for the purchase of the finest illustrated books and manuscripts that can be procured of any country, and in any language, and of any period." These books, so Mr Spencer suggested, might well represent the arts of illustration and binding throughout the centuries. Thanks to this generosity and vision, the Spencer Collection now contains several thousand books and manuscripts, from many lands the world around.

From the nearly two hundred illuminated and illustrated medieval and renaissance manuscripts, a selection has been made to illustrate the timeless Christmas story. As we know it best, this traditional story is made up of the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the Magi. But the story has its beginnings in Old Testament prophecies and in the scenes from the life of the Virgin. Its spiritual significance is deep in the literature of the Scriptures. Illuminated manuscripts of the Bible, Breviary, Book of Hours, Missal, and Lectionary contain innumerable miniatures telling the Christmas story: naively, symbolically, realistically. They recall to us not only the artistry but, above all, the faith, the devotion, and the delight of their makers: "Sing unto the Lord a new song: for he hath done marvellous things."

Part One:

The Prophecies

The Three Angels Appearing to Abraham

1 RUDOLF VON EMS: WELTCHRONIK

MANUSCRIPT IN GERMAN ON PAPER / GERMANY, 1402

And the Lord appeared unto him in the plains of Mamre: and he sat in the tent door in the heat of the day; And he lift up his eyes and looked, and, lo, three men stood by him: and when he saw them, he ran to meet them from the tent door, and bowed himself toward the ground, And said, My Lord, if now I have found favour in sight, pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant. — Genesis 18:1–3

Abraham, the "exalted father," is perhaps best known for the goodness of his character, his intimacy with God, and his spiritual fatherhood of man. He had marched across the ancient world from the Euphrates to the Nile, he had undergone trials and tribulations, a first born was denied him. For his faith, the Christian Church recognized in Abraham a spiritual ancestor; because when the three angels of the Lord came to call he offered them hospitality, eagerly awaited a message, and was rewarded in the end. In byzantine times the three angels represented the Holy Trinity, in the typology of the medieval Western Church the announcement of the birth of Isaac by the angels prefigures the annunciation to the Virgin of the birth of Christ.

The pen and ink drawing in the German manuscript of 1402 represents the appearance of the angels, Abraham's name is neatly written above the entrance to his "tent," and the drawing emphasizes the element of surprise, of tidings to come. Rudolf von Ems's *Weltchronik*, based on Old Testament stories, was composed in the earlier part of the thirteenth century when the author, living at the court of Simon de Montfort, seemed to have leisure to write and compose — in the spirit of the times — versified popular histories of Alexander, Josaphat and Barlaam, and the World Chronicle shown here. The manuscript, one of about eighty of this text to have come down to us, most of them of the fifteenth century, contains 287 colored sketches full of liveliness, spontaneity, and story-telling impact. In its joyfulness this visitation ushers in the Christmas story.

die noch man gewinne nie
die nempt vnd habt sie
daz mein geste pleibn fri
des grozzen mayles vnd auch ich
des lat euch erpitte mich
durch ew' sailichaite gir
nicht tut so groz last mir
Es warte si vil chlain
Si drunge all gemain
vnd wolte auff prechn dy tur
do si chome warn do fur

vnd wolte han geprochn in
In wart betaubet so d' sin
daz si zer selbn stundn
die tur nie vinden chundn
vnd wa daz haus war gesat
die tumben so von d' stat
Schieden vo dem haus dan
zu lott vil gute man
Sprachn dy engl do hast du
Jemant den du wellest nu

Gesunt vnd lemptig bewarn
Dn hais mit din human varn
daz im leydes icht geschech
vnd hut daz si icht vmbe sech
Ew' chaines auff den leyp
Es sey man od' weyp
daz mit dir indem schar
welle varn vnd mit var
daz es ich chom inwernde not
Nu het pey den zeite lot
Gelobt zwain chnappn..
von der stat
Sein tocht' do er dy pat
vnd in riet das si..
mit im dan
ffurn dy selbn zwe man
Achte clain d' geschicht
vnd varn mit im nicht
Got d' gut rain man
hub sich auf vnd schied vo dan
des morges do es tage
vil pald fur sich iage
Chind vnd weyb do..
wart zehant
Vo himel auf dy stat gesat
Prinnendes pech vn swebel
vnd ein brinend' nebel
Mit ein dikchen hagel groz
Stete vnd lant so sere begoz
daz si an den stundn
zer fliezzn gar begundn
vnd gein dem apgrunde sich
Rich sich ir werte strich
Also daz do zehant
daz apgrunde si vrslant

Abraham Serving the Three Angels

2 THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO SAINT LUKE

MANUSCRIPT IN CHURCH SLAVONIC ON PAPER / RUSSIA, 15TH CENTURY

Let a little water, I pray you, be fetched, and wash your feet, and rest yourselves under the tree: And I will fetch a morsel of bread, and comfort ye your hearts; . . . . And Abraham hastened into the tent unto Sarah, and said, Make ready quickly three measures of fine meal, knead it, and make cakes upon the hearth. — Genesis 18:4–6

Sarah rushed to the larder, a calf, tender and good, was fetched, dressed with butter and milk, and was set before the visitors seated around the table. Abraham stood by them under the tree, and they did eat. And when they had partaken of Abraham's hospitality they said: "and, lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son."

The miniature in the Slavonic manuscript shows, ikon-like, the feast, the guests, the hosts. Abraham holds a pitcher, Sarah the plate of cakes; a chapel is in the background, and a little ghost of a tree gives them shelter from the heat of the desert. The angels sit rigidly, with byzantine stringency of movement. The central angel, with wings outspread, is larger, more majestic, than his companion. In the view taken by the fathers of the Eastern Church he represents a vision of the pre-existence of Christ.

The Gospel according to Saint Luke, from the Spencer Collection, is written in Church Slavonic dating from the early fifteenth century. The placing of this familiar Old Testament scene as an illustration to the Gospel emphasizes its prophetic prefiguration of the coming of Christ.

не́сшоу же сѧ гв҃ни и павлоу вѣровавшоу бы́ти съ
шестъ вна и послѣдователѣ томоу гл҃ѧ павлꙋ.
и оу бо съписавь еѵ҃лїе съ въсѣкы́м извѣстьствомъ.
ꙗкоже и самое то начѧло ѡбы ꙗвлѣетъ. попѧ
надесѧти лѣтѣхъ хв҃а въ знесенїа. Пишетже
къ ѳеѡфилоу сигклитикоу сѧщоу и кнѧзꙋ
оу бо. еже бо дръжавныи. на кнѧзе и гемо
нѣхъ гл҃аашесѧ. И павелъ рече къ игеѧлѡноу
фїстоу. дръжавныи фїсте. И въсѣкъ же чло
вѣкъ бг҃олюбивыи. дръжавѫ на страстми
въ сприемъ. ѳеѡфилъ есть дръжавныи. сирѣ.
бг҃олюбецъ. иже
до ннь есть по
истинѣ слы
ша
ти
ст҃го
еѵ҃лїа

The Sacrifice of Isaac

3 DE LA TWYERE PSALTER

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / ENGLAND, YORKSHIRE, CA1320

And he said, Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of. . . . And Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son. And the angel of the Lord called unto him out of heaven. . . . And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him. — Genesis 22:2–12

One of the many Old Testament prophecies foretelling the coming of Christ is the sacrifice of Isaac regarded as the prototype of Christ in his obedience to God. The miniature within the initial letter of the manuscript combines three illustrations of prophetic and symbolic significance. The sacrifice shows the hand of God saving Isaac at the decisive moment; the Nativity presents a cozy, domestic scene in the stable with Mary happily reclining, Joseph at her bedside, and both adoring the Child in the arms of a nurse. Ox and ass enjoy their trough of fodder; two hanging bowls give warmth and light. The third scene shows the annunciation to the shepherds with a gracious angel pointing to the star of Bethlehem, symbol of the birth, and holding a palm leaf in his hand, symbol of peace. One of the shepherds in traditional medieval garb is blowing a ram's horn, conveying the glad message to others in the field and to the world at large. The initial letter "C" begins the ninety-eighth psalm *Cantate domino canticum novum* — O sing unto the Lord a new song.

The manuscript, called the De la Twyere Psalter, was written in Yorkshire for the De la Twyere family about the year 1320. Saint Hylda of Whitby and Saint Everilda, both local saints in Yorkshire, are among those invoking the Virgin, in the text. And a notation on one of the calendar leaves records the death of William De la Twyere, patron of the Saint Sepulchre Hospital at Preston in Holdernesse, founded by members of the family.

The Angel Stays the Arm of Abraham

4 LIBER GENESIS

MANUSCRIPT IN GERMAN ON PAPER / GERMANY, CA 1470

And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold, behind him a ram caught in a thicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt offering in the stead of his son. — Genesis 22:13

Abraham's offering of Isaac, the crowning test of faith, taught the need of consummate sacrifice for the final ratification of the covenant. But it also furnished the early Church fathers with a model of perfect submission to the will of God, even in the severest trials. The ram that is finally killed signifies the humanity, and Isaac who remains alive the divinity of God. In medieval times the sacrifice became one of the most beloved subjects for the mystery plays performed in churches, before church portals, or on wheeled stages in the market place. Here the Old Testament stories were versified, popularized, made palatable for the common man and his devotions; they were usually played by the guilds and trades. The "Sacrifice of Isaac" is one of the cycle of the "Histories of Lot and Abraham," played in Chester and acted by the Barbers and Wax Chandlers some time during the latter part of the fourteenth century. God, Abraham, Isaac, and the Expositor are the actors: Isaac pleads for his young life, Abraham assures him of God's will, of his possible mercy: "Dreede thee not, my childe, I reade; Our Lorde will sende of his godheade. Some manner of beaste into this steade, Either tame or wilde."

The ram caught in the thicket and the angel of the Lord soaring from heaven and literally taking hold of the obedient sword make but one of the fifty-seven pen and ink sketches — lightly colored, crude perhaps, but popular and arresting in their immediate, literal rendition of the Bible tale — which illustrate this manuscript of the Book of Genesis, written by an unknown hand in Southern Germany not much later than 1470.

abraham sprach zu dem chind sun
nu gee wir an dy stat dy vns got
gepot Also nam er das holtz des
opphers vnd legt es auff seinen sun ysaac
vnd hyes in das tragen Er selber trueg das
fewr vnd ain swert vnd do sy mit ainander
giengen Do sprach das chind ysaac zu dem
vater mein vater Der vater antburt was
wil du mein sun ysaac sprach Nym war
fewr vnd holtz sind hye wo ist aber das
oppher Do sprach abraham Got fursicht
vns des opphers Also giengen sy vntz an
dy stat dy im got het gezaigt do er sein
sun ysaac solt opphern Do macht abrahaz
ain altar vnd legt dar vnter fewr vnd
holtz ¶ 2hye schreibt Josephus dy wort
dy abraham mit seinem sun redt siech sun
recht als dy welt von gottes willen ist
ausgegangen wunderleich von nicht Also
ist es auch ain notturft wann got ainen
menschen wil nemen von der welt ann
siechtumb an streit vnd an alles leyden das
den menschen an gett Das der also nach
gottes willen verschaid vnd siech selber
got erpit zu ainem oppher Also gieng ysa
ac willigleich zu dem tod Do gieng abra
ham vnd nam das swert vnd wolt den sun
opphern wann er het gantzen gelawben
zu der vrstend Do ruft der engel abra
ham vnd sprach abraham abraham Er
antburt ich pin hye Der engel sprach
Nicht streckh dein hant vber das chind vñ
tue im auch nicht laides wann gott erchent
nu das du in furchst vnd hast nicht geschant
deines ainigen suns durch in wann gott
maint ysaac tod nicht Er wolt allain zai
gen das man west wy hart abraham got
forcht Do hueb abraham sein augen auff
vnd sah hinder im ain wider mit dem ge
huren in der stauden hafften den opphert er

got fur sein sun vnd nemt dy stat der herr
hat es gesehen Darvmb haist der perg
vntz auff den hewtigen tag Der herr hat
es gesehen da von halten dy iuden also wan
sy in truebsal sein noch ein sprich wort
Got wirt sehen auff den perg Recht als sy
sprechen Als got erchennt ysaac auff dem
perg Also erchenn auch vns in den truebsal
vnd erledig vns Dy iuden sprechen das
ysaac an dem ersten tag des subentten mo
neidt erledigt sey Darvmb pegenn sy noch
dy hochzeit an dem tag vnd plosent mit
haren Darnach ruft der engel an der stund
abraham vnd sprach Er spricht der herr
pey mir selbs hab ich gesworen darvmb
das du das ding hast getan vnd hast dei
nem ainigen sun nicht vber sehen durch
meinen willen Darvmb gesegen ich dich
vnd maniguelt deinen samen als dy stern
des hymels vnd als des meres gries dein
sam sol pesitzen dy porten irer [illegible] vnd
in deinem namen werden gesegent alle
geslecht der erdenn wann du pist gehorsaz
gewesen meiner stym Do chert abraham
wider zu seinen chnechten Do er sy vor
lie vnd giengen mit ain ander ger bersabe
vnd waren wonhaft da ꝛc ¶

2hye hort von nachor abrahams pru

Moses and the Burning Bush

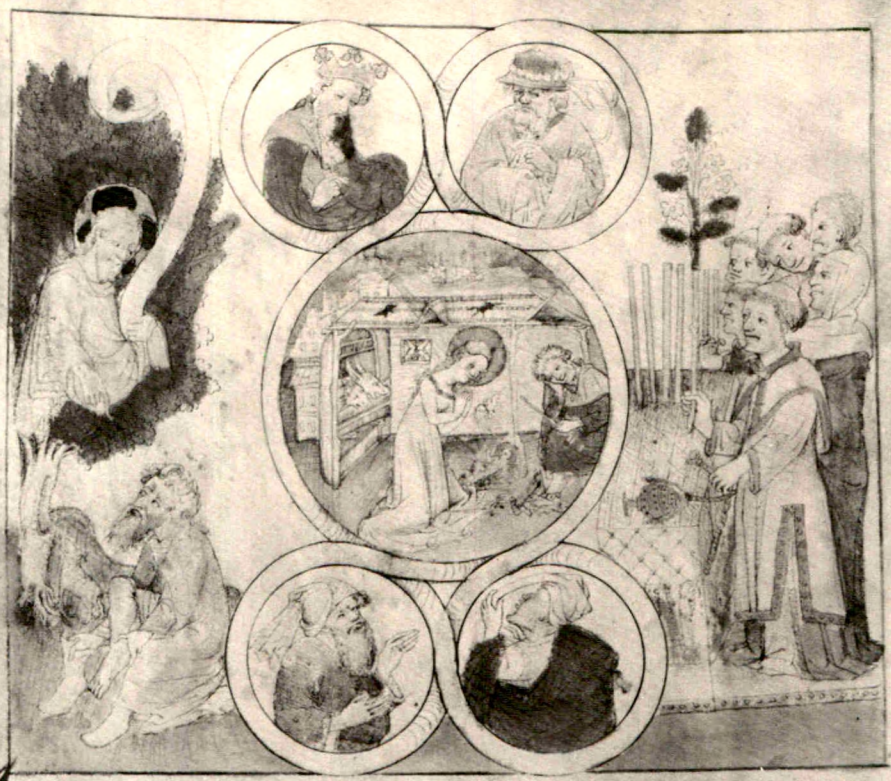
5 BIBLIA PAUPERUM

MANUSCRIPT IN GERMAN ON VELLUM / GERMANY, CA1420

And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed. — Exodus 3:2

Saint Augustine's saying, *novum testamentum in vetere latet*, becomes more understandable when one regards a Biblia Pauperum in which scenes from the Old and the New Testaments are paired to show how the messiah's coming was foretold. Developed from biblical cycles in mural, enamel, or stained glass, this typological text was never the work of one man; it had grown out of the teaching of theological scholars, and its full cycle had later been painted and illustrated by anonymous medieval artists and scribes. Over the years the Biblia Pauperum became a convenient concordance for those teaching, preparing sermons, or merely studying. And its name, the Bible of the Poor, indicates that it may have been meant for the poorer mendicant who had not the money to acquire so expensive a work as a complete Bible.

Both Moses and Aaron, here on either side of the Nativity, prefigure the Immaculate Conception: Moses in his vision of the angel of the Lord in the bush that "was not consumed," a bush which can be seen to this day growing within the monastery walls on Mount Sinai, and Aaron, here in medieval costume, whose rod "brought forth buds, and bloomed blossoms, and yielded almonds." The manuscript's thirty-eight full-page drawings are all similarly arranged: the New Testament fulfilment is flanked on either side by an Old Testament prophecy; the whole surrounded by four portraits of prophets within circles, such as Elijah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel. The manuscript, written in a Bavarian dialect, was illustrated in Southern Germany in about 1420.



In dem Buch Exodi an dem Tritte
Capitel Das moyses sach Brynne
amen Busch der doch nit verbran
vnd hort das der herr vff dem busch
zu jm rett Der Busch der da bry
net vnd nit wirt verizert bedütet
vns daz ain Junckfrow ain kindlin
solt geberen an menlichen samen
vnd doch Junckfrow solt beliben daz
ist beschehen wen si Junckfrow be
liben ist vor der geburt jnder geburt
vnd auch nach geburt ¶ .. ..

In dem Buch der Zal An dem si
benzehenden Capitel List man daz
die gert Aaron vff am nacht bluent
ward die was dürr vnd bracht man
del. Das bedütet die Junckfrowen die
gottes sun geberen solt an menliche
samen ¶ ¶ .. ..

Moses and Pharaoh

6 ISHAQ IBN IBRAHIM: TALES OF THE PROPHETS

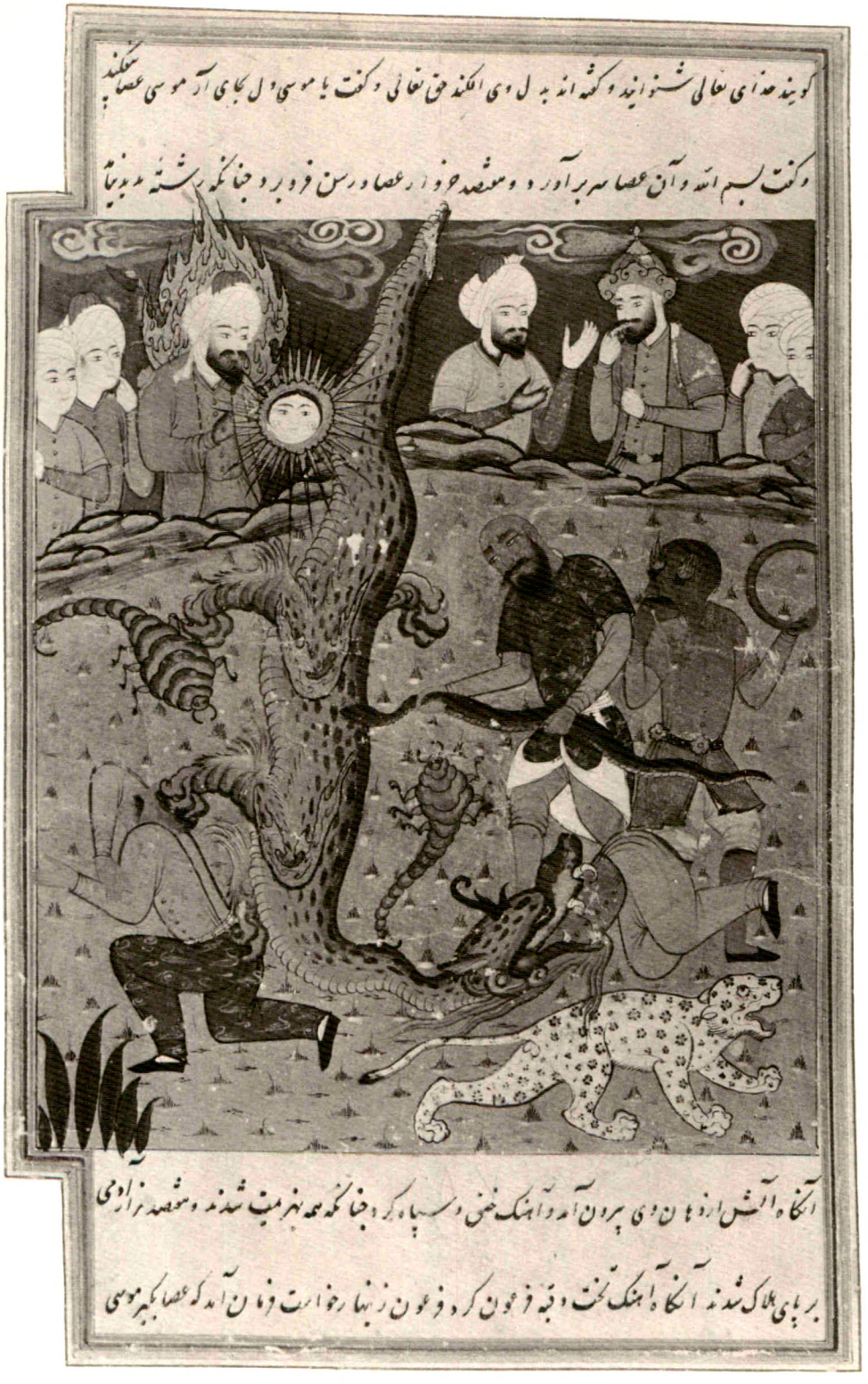
MANUSCRIPT IN PERSIAN ON PAPER / PERSIA, SAFAVID PERIOD, 1577

And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh and they did so as the Lord had commanded: and Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh, and before his servants, and it became a serpent. Then Pharaoh also called his wise men and the sorcerers . . . . they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents: but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods. — Exodus 7:10–12

The Moses who was to become the leader of his people had the confidence and the trust in his God, as he had in his people, to free them from Pharaoh's bondage and lead them to the promised land. In this role, Moses was seen by the early Christian Church as the prototype of Christ as the messiah. The Bible relates a miraculous and arresting incident in Moses's effort to persuade, to threaten, Pharaoh to let his people go. The dramatic tale of "the rod of Aaron" turning into a serpent of terrific appearance and gigantic dimensions, which swallowed the serpents produced by the rod of Pharaoh, including "wise men and the sorcerers," presents a symbol of the power of faith and conviction.

In the world of Islam, and recorded in the Koran, many of the Old and New Testament great have been accepted as "prophets." Abraham, Isaac, Joseph, David, and Christ himself are included. In accordance with the established Islamic tradition of Muslim theologians who condemned all forms of representational art, Ishaq ibn Ibrahim's "Tales of the Prophets," a compilation of miracles and marvels composed in the twelfth century, was not illustrated at first. Later, as the "Tales of the Prophets" came to be considered history, the most imaginative, delightful, and colorful illustrations began to glow from the pages of many such "worldly" manuscripts. Islamic illustrative art, ironically inspired by the rival and Christian faith, had arrived.

The miniature from a Persian manuscript of 1577 relates in radiant color the tale of Moses' faith and follows the text of Exodus almost literally. There is Pharaoh, there are Moses and Aaron, the servants, the serpents. Moses' serpent has become a dragon of the fiercest kind, and the Persian text states that it "swallowed seven thousand men and then approached the throne of Pharaoh who begged for mercy." The manuscript, possibly written in Isphahan, contains eighteen equally entertaining miniatures.



Elijah in the Fiery Chariot

7 BIBLE HISTORIÉE ET VIES DES SAINTS

MANUSCRIPT IN FRENCH AND LATIN ON VELLUM / FRANCE, CA1300

And it came to pass, when the Lord would take up Elijah into heaven by a whirlwind, that Elijah went with Elisha from Gilgal. . . . And it came to pass, as they still went on, and talked, that, behold, there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, and parted them both asunder; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven. — II Kings 2:1–11

Next to Moses, Elijah is the greatest of all of the Old Testament figures. His uncompromising effort on behalf of moral right and social justice paved the way for the later development of ethical monotheism. Opposing King Ahab and Jezebel's Canaanite and Phoenician cult of Baal, Elijah withdrew into the desert where, by the brook Cherith before the Jordan, he was fed by a raven. Called by a voice to come forth from the cave, he went to the top of the mount. After a storm that tore down mountains and opened valleys, he heard the voice of God, smooth and calm: "return on the way to the wilderness of Damascus." And Elijah, simple, fearless, and stern, went and righted the destiny of the people and thus became the preserver of Israel's distinctiveness.

Since both Moses and Elijah had been in the presence of God, they appear in early Christian iconography in representations of the Transfiguration; by his miraculous ascent into heaven, Elijah prefigures the Ascension of Christ.

The miniature, set against a background of traditional diaper pattern, tells most eloquently of God's calling Elijah to heaven, together with the "chariot of fire, and horses of fire." Hands raised in anticipation of heavenly shelter, Elijah leaves the worldly world and his chosen successor, Elisha, in wondrous awe; and the latter takes the mantle "that fell from Elijah." The miniature is part of a manuscript of stories from the Old and New Testaments which also recounts the lives and miracles of the apostles, saints, and martyrs; these stories and lives are presented in 846 miniatures accompanied by a text in French and Latin. The manuscript was written in the North of France, possibly Rouen, in the year 1300.

8 PSALTERIUM

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / GERMANY, BAVARIA, 12TH CENTURY

Why boastest thou thyself in mischief, O mighty man? The goodness of God endureth continually. Thy tongue deviseth mischiefs; like a sharp razor, working deceitfully. — Book of Psalms 52:1–2

The Book of Psalms is commonly attributed to David, an authorship that was upheld by the early Latin fathers but opposed by Saint Jerome. It is a compilation of one hundred and fifty songs to be accompanied by string music. Called the songs of praise, they form a commentary upon the one thousand years of history of Israel and, in part, look forward to the coming of a messiah. Indeed, the aspirations of the Psalmist seem to concentrate on this expectation. Whenever evil men appear about whom the Psalmist frequently complains as in the above quotation, they are represented as sorcerers, so that the psalms turn into countercharms, foretelling the coming of the Son of God! The Psalter is essentially a liturgical book, and is often called the hymnal of the second temple. In the Christian Church the Psalter was usually the first book given a convert; its beauty and its poetry made it a splendid book for prayer and devotion.

The Psalter was also the most often illustrated liturgical book of the Christian Church. Versions of splendid cycles of illumination exist from the earliest time, and the variety of subject matter drawn from the Bible points up the imagination fostered by the psalms themselves. *Quid gloriaris in malitia qui potens es in iniquitate? Tota die injustitiam cogitavit lingua tua,* reads the opening passage of Psalm 52 reproduced here and quoted in English above. This is one of the more plaintive songs but it ends in a joyful and elated feeling of emergence from depression into hope.

The manuscript is a small codex of 152 vellum leaves with six miniatures and many initial letters, strong, decisive, full of character. Its scribe might have been a Carthusian monk from the monastery of Buxheim in Bavaria; its illuminator an artist from the Upper Rhine region. Both hand and miniature indicate the twelfth century.

GLORIA PIS.

In maricia. Qui potens
es in iniquitate: Tota die iniusticiā
cogitauit lingua tua. sic̄ nouacula acu
ta fecisti dolum. Dilexisti maliciam
sup̄ benignitatē. iniquitatē magis q̄m
loqui equitatem. Dilexisti om̄a uer

Psalm LXIX, A Psalm of David

9 LES HEURES DE BLANCHE DE FRANCE

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN AND FRENCH ON VELLUM / FRANCE, PARIS, 1350–1360

Save me, O God; for the waters are come in unto my soul. I sink in deep mire, where there is no standing: I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me. I am weary of my crying: my throat is dried: mine eyes fail while I wait for my God. — Book of Psalms 69:1–3

David pleading to the Lord for deliverance prefigures Christ in his agony. The Psalter is filled with allusions to the coming of a messiah, to quote Bossuet: "David saw the messiah from far, far away and he sang in his many psalms with an incomparable magnificence. '*Salvum me fac, Deus, quoniam intraverunt aquae usque ad animam meam*, the waters have come into my soul!' "

The manuscript is a splendid example of innumerable prayer books and psalters for which fourteenth-century France is responsible. Not only did the scribe do himself honor in the quality of his hand, but the miniaturist, a true representative of the artists of the Ile de France, rendered some of the more illustrative scenes touchingly, imaginatively, and beautifully. The large initial letter "S" is here divided into two sections: Christ bends his head slightly, listening, understanding, and holding up his hand, the sign of acceptance, of grace; David, below *usque ad animam* in deep waters, raises his hands in supplication — he is nude except for his crown, sign of his royal stature. *Les Heures de Blanche de France*, a prayer book which contains many psalms, has several similar scenes telling of the coming of Christ.

The manuscript was written for Blanche de France, daughter of Charles le Bel, who lived from 1328 to 1370. In 1345 she married Philippe d'Orléans. The daughter of a king and of Jeanne d'Evreux, a queen, she often appears in the miniatures of the manuscript as a donor in prayer, before the Madonna, participating in divine services. She is always depicted as small, slim, graceful, and appealing yet of great style and personality.

nubibus. Mirabilis
deus in sanctis suis de
us isrl: ipse dabit virtu
tem et fortitudinem ple
bis sue benedictus ds.
Dominator. Oro.
domine qui iu
stis spirituale epulum
tribuens facis eos in le
ticia delectare. concede
quesumus gregi tuo
mortem tuam intelli
gere. atque triumphato
rem mortis sedentem
ad dexteram patris con
fiteri. Qui tecum vi
vit et regnat deus. per
omnia secula seculo
rum. amen. Psalmus
dauid.

Sal
vum
me
fac
ds
quoniam
intraverunt aque: us
que ad animam meam.
Infixus sum in li
mo profundi: et non
est substancia. Veni
in altitudinem ma
ris: et tempestas deme
sit me. Laboravi cla
mans rauce facte sunt
fauces mee: defecerunt
oculi mei dum spero
in deum meum. Mul
tiplicati sunt super ca
pillos capitis mei: qui

10 PSALTERIUM GRAECE

MANUSCRIPT IN GREEK ON VELLUM / BYZANTIUM, CA1300

For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. — Isaiah 9:6

Isaiah ranks as the staunchest among the major prophets, and while no historical document of his life exists, he appears time and again in both Testaments, often in prophetic visions and exhortations of the coming of the messiah. In his counsel urging Judah to keep out of foreign alliances and trust in God alone, Isaiah went so far as to implore his people to remain quiet and treat futile attacks with contempt. This derived from his confidence in the inviolability of Jerusalem and the coming of the Lord. "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel," a prophecy, according to the Latin fathers, of the Annunciation. Later medieval lore tells that Mary was reading that very Bible passage when the angel Gabriel announced the will of God.

Before Handel wrote *The Messiah* in 1741, he asked a London clergyman to draw on the Bible for the text. The basso air, "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light," is answered by one of the most powerful and compelling of choruses: "For unto us a child is born," the words of Isaiah.

The manuscript psalter was written in a most elegant and fluent cursive Greek hand, reminiscent of the great scribes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; but for stylistic reasons, mainly of the miniatures, the manuscript must be assigned to, approximately, the year 1300, with the assumption that it is a copy of one of the great earlier court manuscripts. In one of the many miniatures by an artist of the school of Constantinople, following the ikon-like tradition of the time, Isaiah is holding the small figure of Christ with hand raised in blessing. The venerable old man in the costume of a byzantine priest with white hair and beard and a halo for holiness is represented in the splendid pose or gesture of introducing, if not presenting, Christ as the messiah, to the readers of the psalm.

τοῦ μικῆσαί με ἐν τῆι ὠ-
δῆ αὐτοῦ· ὦ ἐ
ἡ σαΐου τοῦ προφητ.
κμυκτὸς ὀρθρίζει
τὸ ὠμάμου πρὸ
σὲ ὁ θ̄ς. διότι φῶς
τὰ προστάματα
σου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
Δικαιοσύνην μάθε-
τε οἱ ἐμοικοῦντες
ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· πέ
παυται γὰρ ὁ ἀσε-
κὴς· οὐ μὴ μάθη δικαιο
σύνην· ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀμή
θεαν οὐ μὴ ποιήσει·

Isaiah Sawn Asunder

11 SYNAXARION OR LEGENDS OF THE SAINTS

COPTIC MANUSCRIPT IN ARABIC ON PAPER / EGYPT, 17TH CENTURY

Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this. — Isaiah 9:7

As Isaiah continued to prophesy the continuity of the throne of David and thus the coming of the Christ, the almost violent anti-prophetic reaction of Manasseh, ancestral head of one of the tribes of Israel, increased. So foul were his deeds, as reported in the Bible, that he made his son "pass through the fire," introducing the cult of the Assyrian astral system; he used "enchantments and dealt with familiar spirits and wizards"; he persecuted the prophets in their righteousness; he even practiced human sacrifice. For his sins, Manasseh was taken prisoner by the king of Assyria, bound in fetters, and carried to Babylon.

The Bible does not tell us of an incident which has become a legend of Isaiah's, and is often depicted in later art. The legend, adding to the already lurid account of Manasseh's cruelties reported in the Book of Kings, is that Manasseh, when enraged by the prophet's insistence on his message, commanded Isaiah to be spread across the branches of a strong tree and sawn asunder.

In the illustration, Isaiah, saw in hand as a symbol of his martyrdom, stands upright, with hand on heart and a halo representing sainthood. His expressive and benign face radiates the goodness of his calling. The illustration is one of ninety-six colored drawings in a Coptic manuscript, written in Arabic during the seventeenth century, relating the stories of the saints, and drawn from the Coptic *Synaxarion* or Golden Legend. The scribe, Ghubriyal ibn Sulaiman, is named on one of the pages, but there is no indication of the name of the artist who drew the pictures, primitive yet story-telling and in each case identified in English by inscriptions supplied by a nineteenth-century owner.

فنشره بمنشار من خشب السنديان من راسه الى اسفل وتناء
فوق السبعين سنه وسبق ورودة السيد المسيح بتسعمايه وثلاثة عشر سنه
صلواته تكون معنا امين صورة اشعيا النبي والمنشار الذي نشروه به في بيده

The Tree of Jesse

12 THE TICKHILL PSALTER

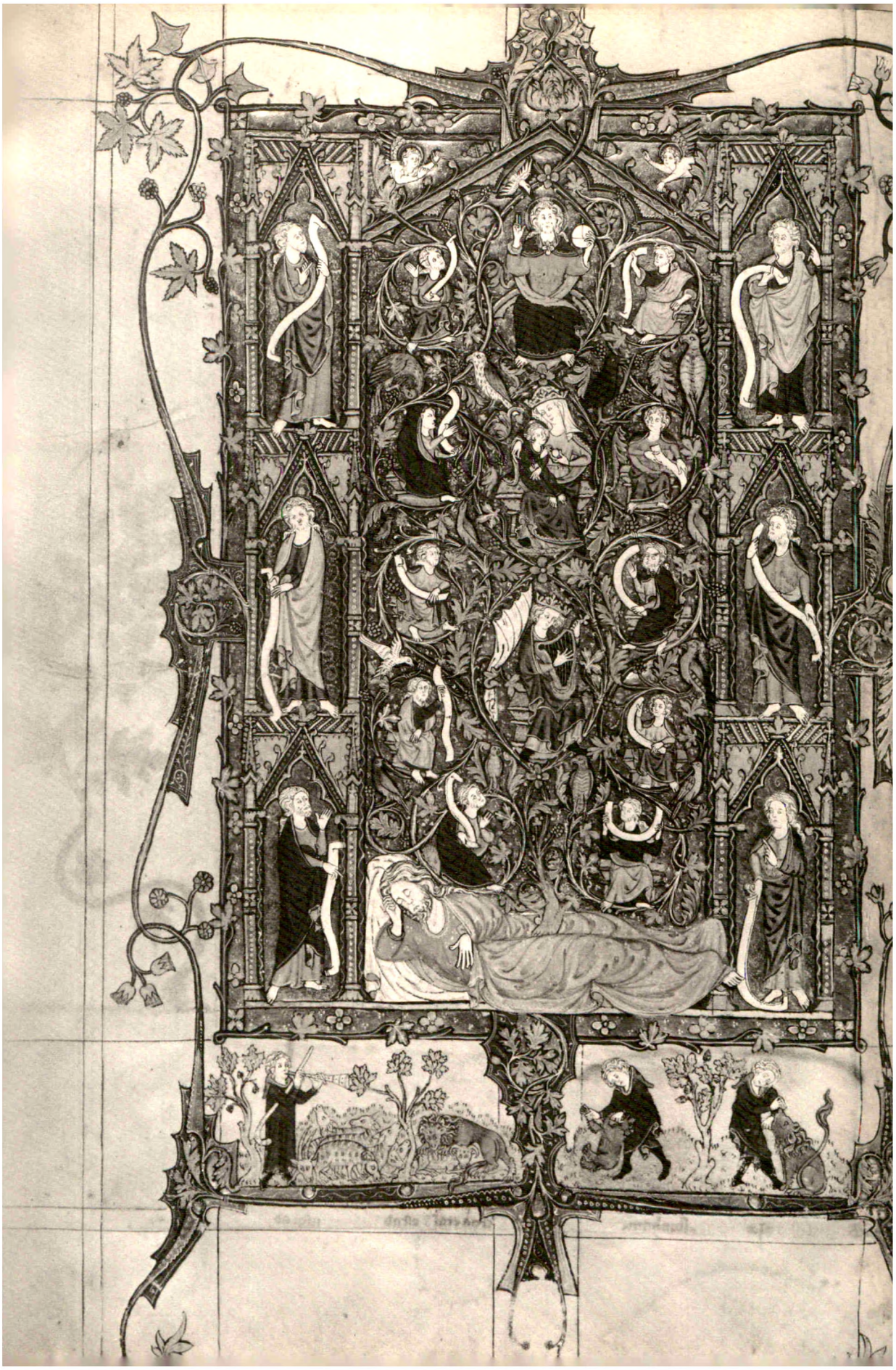
MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / ENGLAND, PRIORY OF WORKSOP, CA1310

And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots. — Isaiah 11:1

Here, again, is Isaiah prophesying the coming of the messiah! And from the rod of Jesse! Jesse, father of David the King, was a Judaean from Bethlehem, perhaps the headman of the village; Isaiah stresses the contrast between small beginnings and future glory for Jesse is always mentioned in connection with his illustrious son. Both names have come to symbolize the royal family and the messianic hope involved.

The full-page miniature of the Tree of Jesse from the Tickhill Psalter is a magnificent example of English Gothic art of the early fourteenth century, somewhat under the influence of French examples in the fashion of the time. The Tree is divided into panels: Jesse, in the center one, lies asleep. From his side spring forth branches enclosing David, playing the harp; the Virgin Mary with the Christ child; and Christ in Majesty, with orb and dove; and a representation of the Holy Ghost at the very top. On either side and within roundelled branches are ten patriarchs, while within niches of the outer panels stand, imposingly, six great prophets of the Old Testament. Below are two scenes from the life of David: keeping his father's sheep, and defending the ram from the attack of a lion — deeds symbolic of the Good Shepherd and of the Defender of the Faith.

The Tickhill Psalter, written and partly decorated by John Tickhill, the Augustinian prior of the monastery of Worksop in the Midlands is an unusual example of bookmaking of the English Middle Ages in which both scribe and gilder are named. Its text begins with a preface by Petrus Lombardus the learned twelfth-century theologian and archbishop of Paris; and the text is that of the Gallican Psalter in Saint Jerome's translation of the Septuagint, made in Bethlehem in 382. With its seven full-page miniatures of color and pure gold, and more than 466 smaller marginal scenes from the Old Testament, the psalter is an extraordinary ambassador of medieval England.



"In Illa Die Radix Jesse"

13 BIBLIA LATINA

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / ITALY, 13TH CENTURY

And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek: and his rest shall be glorious. — Isaiah 11:10

Isaiah's prophecy implied in the root of Jesse is literally given at the beginning of Saint Matthew: *Liber generationis Jesu Christi, fillii David, filii Abraham,* followed by the geneaological sequence of the generations of the ancestors of Christ.

The initial letter "L," which begins the Latin Gospel according to Saint Matthew, comes from a large and handsome Italian Bible manuscript written sometime during the latter part of the thirteenth century, possibly in Southern Italy. It is decorated with ninety-two story-telling initial letters almost byzantine in their stillness and simplicity. Again, we find Jesse asleep at the root of the tree, reclining rather than lying down; the root is shooting upwards, and within its entwining branches are the portrait busts of the immediate ancestors of Christ: the crowned David with his harp; Solomon holding a sceptre, symbol of royalty; the Virgin Mary with hands upheld in prayer and supplication; and a young and beardless Christ. Isaiah's prophecy here recalls to the reader the true "ensign of the people."

Incipit plog[us] in sancto matthei [illegible]

Matheus ex iudea sicut in ordine
primus ponitur: ita euangeli-
um in iudea primus scripsit. Et
uocatio ad deum ex publicanis
actibus fuit. Duorum ingenia-
tionis xpi principia presumit. Unius scilicet p-
ma circumcisio in carne altera [illegible]
[illegible] electio fuit. Et [illegible] pa-
tribus xpe. Sicut [illegible] non [illegible]
formatur posito principium accepta-
di fide in electionis tempus porrig-
ens. Et electione usque in transmigra-
tionis diem dirigens. Atque a transmi-
grationis die usque in xpm confirmat
[illegible] adueniens dominum ostendit
generationem. Et numero satisfaciens
et tempori. Et sequitur esse ostendens. Et [illegible]
se opus monstrans. In his quorum gen-
posuit xpi operantis a principio. Te-
stimonium non negaret. Quamuis
omnium rerum tempus ordo numeris
dispositio uel ratio. Quod fidei necessa-
rium est. Deus xpe est. Qui fratres est et co-
uliere. Fratres sub lege. Natus ex uirgi-
ne. Passus in carne. Omnia in cruce fixit
ut triumphans ea in semetipso. Resur-
gens in corpore. Et patris nomen in patribus
filio. Et filii nomen patri restituens in fi-
lijs. Sine principio. Sine fine ostendens
unum se esse cum patre. Quia unus est. In
quo euangelio utile est desiderantibus
deum. Sic prima uel media uel perfecta
cognoscere. Ut et uocationem apostoli et
opus euangelij. Et dilectionem dei in
carne nascentis. Per uniuersa legentes
intelligant. Atque ideo in eo in quo ap-
prehensi sunt. Et apprehendere expetunt.
Se cognoscant. Nobis enim hec in stu-
dio argumenti fuit. Et fidem fratres tra-
dere. Et operantis dei intelligendam
diligenter esse dispositionem querentibus
non tacere. Explicit plog[us] [illegible]

Liber generationis ihesu
[illegible] xpi filij dauid. Filij a-
braham. Abraham
genuit ysaac. Ysaac autem genuit iacob. Ia-
cob autem genuit iudam et fratres eius. Iudas autem
genuit phares et zaram de thamar. Phares
autem genuit esrom. Esrom autem genuit ara-
ram. Aram autem genuit aminadab. Aminadab
autem genuit naason. Naason autem genuit sa-
lmon. Salmon autem genuit boz de raab.
Boz autem genuit obeth ex ruth. Obeth autem
genuit iesse. Iesse autem genuit dauid re-
gem. Dauid autem rex genuit salomonem ex
ea que fuit urie. Salomon autem genuit roboam.

Roboam autem genuit abiam. Abia autem
genuit asa. Asa autem genuit iosaphat. Io-
saphat autem genuit ioram. Joras autem gen-
uit oziam. Ozias autem genuit iotham. Joatham
autem genuit achaz. Achaz autem genuit ezechiam.
Ezechias autem genuit manassen.
Manasses autem genuit amon. Amon autem
genuit iosiam. Iosias autem genuit iechoniam
et fratres eius in transmigrationem babilonis.
Et post transmigrationem babilonis. Ie-
chonias genuit salatiel. Salatiel autem ge-
nuit zorobabel. Zorobabel autem genuit abi-
ud. Abiud autem genuit eliachim. Eliachim
autem genuit azor. Azor autem genuit
sadoch. Sadoch autem genuit achim. A-
chim autem genuit eliud. Eliud autem genu-
it eleazar. Eleazar autem genuit mathan. Ma-
than autem genuit iacob. Iacob autem gen-
uit ioseph uirum marie. De qua natus est ihesus
qui uocatur xpus. Omnes ergo generationes
ab abraham usque ad dauid generationes
xiiij. Et a dauid usque ad transmigrationem
babilonis generationes xiiij. Et a transmi-
gratione babilonis usque ad xpm generati-
ones xiiij. Xpi autem generatio sic erat. Cum
esset desponsata mater ihesu maria ioseph. Antequam
conuenirent. Inuenta est in utero habens
de spiritu sancto. Ioseph autem uir eius cum esset iu-
stus et nollet eam traducere. Uoluit occulte
dimittere eam. Hec autem eo cogitante. Ecce
angelus domini in somnis apparuit ei dicens.
Ioseph filij dauid. Noli timere accipere man-
am coniugem tuam. Quod enim in ea na-
tum est. De spiritu sancto est. Pariet autem filium
et uocabis nomen eius ihesum. Ipse enim sal-
uum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum. Hec
autem totum factum est. Ut adimpleretur quod di-
ctum est a domino per prophetam dicentem. Ec-
ce uirgo in ire ab herbe. Et pariet filium. Et
uocabitur nomen eius emanuel. Quod est in
tempretatum nobiscum deus. Et urgens autem a
somno ioseph. Fecit sicut precepit ei angelus domini.
Et accepit coniugem suam. Et non cognosce-
bat eam. Donec peperit filium suum primo
genitum. Et uocauit nomen eius ihesum.

Cum ergo natus esset ihesus in bethleem iude in
diebus heredis regis. Ecce magi ab oriente ue-
nerunt ierusalem dicentes. Ubi est qui na-
tus est rex iudeorum. Uidimus enim stel-
lam eius in oriente. Et uenimus adorare eum.
Audiens autem herodes rex turbatus est. Et omnis
ierusalem cum illo. Et congregans omnes pri-
cipes sacerdotum. Et scribas populi. Sciscitaba-
tur ab eis ubi xpus nasceretur. At illi dixerunt
ei. In bethleem iude. Sic enim scriptum est
per prophetam. Et tu bethleem terra iuda. Neque
quam minima es in principibus iuda. Ex
te enim exiet dux. Qui regat populum meum

14 BIBLIA LATINA

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / FRANCE, CA1250

Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth. — Jeremiah 23:5

So persistent and beautifully phrased are the prophecies of a messianic nature in Jeremiah's outcries, teaching, and writing that he is called the poet of the heart, the golden tongue among prophets. His vision of God who made him the first to see the rod of the almond tree in bloom after its deep winter's sleep, assured Jeremiah that his vocation had divine guidance. "Almond tree" in Hebrew also means "to be aware, to watch," and this in medieval theology and typology made the flowering tree represent the Church. To the Christian Church Jeremiah also served as a prefiguration of Christ and of Christ's Passion, and he is often represented with a cross, sometimes also with a manticore, a legendary beast with threefold rows of teeth, a lion's body, and a tail like the stinging scorpion that lives below the earth — as had Jeremiah in his agony when he was cast into the dungeon, let down with cords, and sank into the mire! Jeremiah's charging the people with disobedience and his foreboding of disaster give us a rare opportunity to hear, incidentally, of the writing of books in biblical times. In the thirty-sixth chapter, the Lord tells him: "Take thee a roll of a book, and write therein all the words that I have spoken unto thee against Israel."

The small manuscript Bible, almost pocket size, is written in Latin upon 516 leaves of the finest and thinnest vellum, in a minute and much abbreviated hand. It is open to the beginning of the Book of the prophet Jeremiah: *Verba Jeremiae, filii Helciae, de sacerdotibus qui fuerunt in Anathoth, in terra Benjamin* — The words of Jeremiah the son of Hilkiah, of the priests that were in Anathoth, in the land of Benjamin. The manuscript was written in Northern France, possibly Paris, some time during the thirteenth century.

15 BIBLE HISTORIAUS OU HYSTOIRES ESCOLATRES

MANUSCRIPT IN FRENCH ON VELLUM / FRANCE, 15TH CENTURY

How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people! how is she become as a widow! She that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary! — Lamentations of Jeremiah 1:1

With Isaiah and Ezekiel, Jeremiah is one of the three great prophets, and his weeping and his lamentations over the doomed city of Jerusalem have traditionally been interpreted as symbols of the life of Christ. The most striking likeness is seen in Jeremiah's vision of a new covenant which God will make with his people and in which the Gentiles will participate under the rule of a messianic king of the seed of David. In Jewish worship, the Book of Lamentations was appointed to be read at the annual commemoration of the destruction of Jerusalem. Scholarship has not upheld the earlier belief that the lamentations were written by Jeremiah himself, and has placed this somewhat contrived, literary product, reminiscent of Hebrew burial chants and laments, at a somewhat later time. The verses bemoan the destruction of the temple; the horrors of the siege are brought out; finally, the poet himself speaks and recalls the love of God and Jerusalem's hope for the future. In all these, the Christian Church saw a symbolic parallel to the suffering of Christ and the hope for man.

The "Historiated Bible or Theological Stories," as the title of the manuscript can be read, is the work of a thirteenth-century Northern French scholar, Guiars des Moulins, Dean of Saint Pierre d'Aire, Pas de Calais. From the Vulgate he adapted the Bible stories freely. "Comment siet la cité qui estoit pleine de peuple. Et comment est feite veuve cele qui estoit dame des contrées" is a paraphrase of the official wording but permissible in a book which is to tell the "stories of the Bible." The manuscript consists of three giant volumes, in bold Gothic, written at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It contains 197 miniatures by various anonymous hands, and was possibly written to the order of Aymar de Poitiers, grandfather of Diane, whose coat of arms can be seen on some of the pages. Aymar's books became the property of Diane de Poitiers, bibliophile and collector, who housed them in her Chateau d'Anet. There they remained until 1724 when the library was dispersed.

Ci commence la lamentacion
ieremie le prophete.

Cy commence la lamentacion
ieremie le prophete.

Comment siet la
cite qui estoit plai
ne de peuple. Et
comment est fai
te venue cele qui
estoit dame des contrees est fai
te son creu. Aleth. Ele plorant
plora en la nuit et ses lermes
en ses maisseles. Il nest qui
la conforte de tous ses amis.
Tous ses amis la despitrent
et deuindrent ses anemis.
Beth. Judas trespassa pour
afflicton et pour le grant ser
uage et habita entre les gens et
ne trouua mie repos tous ceulx
qui le poursuiuent le pristrent
entre ses angoisses. Gimel.
Les voies de syon plourerent car
il ne sera qui viegne ala solemp
nite. Toutes ses portes sont des
truites ses prestres gemissent et
il a pristrent damertume. De
lech. Ses anemis sont fais en
chief et sont fais riches car nostre
sires a parle sur lui pour la mul
titude de son iniquite cest adire
pour son grant iniquite ses en

16 BIBLE HISTORIÉE ET VIES DES SAINTS

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN AND FRENCH ON VELLUM / FRANCE, CA1300

The heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God. . . . And I looked, and, behold, a whirlwind came out of the north. . . . Also out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures. . . . they four had the face of a man, and the face of a lion, on the right side: and they four had the face of an ox on the left side; they four also had the face of an eagle. — Ezekiel 1:1–10

The vision of the Four Living Creatures assured Ezekiel that his ministry was to have the approval and support of Jehovah. Following Isaiah and Jeremiah, he was the third and last of the great prophets and the closest to God. Does not Ezekiel in Hebrew mean "strengthened by God," and did not his first vision give him the assurance that his ministry was blessed? Later in life he became a stronghold for his people. Taken into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar after the fall of Jerusalem, and living in a small colony of exiles near Babylon, Ezekiel enjoyed a comparative measure of freedom. So highly regarded was he by the Israelites that the elders of the community visited him for consultation; he uttered prophetic discourses to large crowds; he bolstered the morale of those in captivity, strengthening their hope in the redemption and reconstruction of the nation. In one of his later visions, the Lord spoke to him of the door of the tabernacle which was shut: "Then said the Lord unto me; This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it; because the Lord the God of Israel hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut." In Christian interpretation this reference to the closed door became both prophecy and prefiguration of the Immaculate Conception, and in the later Middle Ages when the cult of Mary had blossomed to unforeseen proportions, Ezekiel became one of the great who had foretold the coming of the Christ.

The miniature shows the prophet deep in sleep, and in his dream or vision seeing the Four Heavenly Creatures later symbolic of the Four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. The power of the vision and the beauty of the poetry inspired a Northern French artist to this iconographic rendering, one of the many miniatures that make up this splendid picture Bible.

IOHANNES

Daniel

17 OFFICIUM BEATAE MARIAE VIRGINIS

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / ITALY, FERRARA, CA1500

I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed. — Daniel 7:13–14

In his vision of the Son of man, Daniel, a mythological figure for whom no historic evidence may be given and whom Saint Jerome calls a fable, is still considered one of the prophets who foretold the coming of Christ. Daniel's experiences during the Babylonian captivity make splendid reading and his many prophecies, his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams, his opposition to empires, government, and oppression of the people, his miracle-like saving of the three Hebrews from the fiery furnace, as well as his own deliverance from the lions' den, establish him as a model of wisdom, patience, and justice. As Daniel was cast into the lions' den, and emerged miraculously unhurt, the Christian Church likened this event to that of Joseph's triumph in Egypt, and to the resurrection of Christ from the sepulchre. And when Daniel cries out: "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt," he evokes the inevitable struggle against the evil forces and the consequent testing of the faithful.

The thirteenth-century miracle play *Daniel*, performed in the churches of Beauvais and preserved in its contemporary manuscript form in the British Museum, is a deeply moving religious, and at times almost happy, popularization of a Bible lesson. It was recently revived in musical form and adapted into free verse by W. H. Auden: "So Daniel is down in the deep pit, Alone among the lions. But the Lord of Heaven Sends an angel with a sword to keep Those beasts at bay that they bite him not." The small portrait of Daniel, within an initial letter of the Ferrara prayer book, is unusual in that it shows the prophet bearded and of advanced age. The manuscript, a Book of Hours, contains a number of prophet portraits; it was written and illuminated towards the end of the fifteenth century.

recolimus patrocinia sentiamus: ⁊ pa
cem tuā nr̄is concede temporib⁹: et
ab ecclia tua cunctā repelle nequitiā:
iter: actus: et uolūtates nr̄as: ⁊ om
nium famulorum tuorum i salutis
tue prosperitate dispone: benefacto
ribus nr̄is sempiterna bona retribue.
et omnib⁹ fidelibus defunctis requi
em eternam concede. ꝑ do. ⁊ c̄. ℣.
Dn̄e exaudi oīonem meam. ℟ Et clamor me
us ad te ueniat. ℣ Benedicamus dn̄o. ℟
Deo gr̄as. ℣ fidelium aīe per misericordiam
dei requiescant in pace. ℟ Amen: Ad
complectoriū. ℣
Conuerte nos deus
salutaris noster.
Et auerte iram
tuam a nobis. Oc
us in adiutorium
meum intende. ⁊

18 THE BIBLE IN HEBREW

MANUSCRIPT IN HEBREW ON VELLUM / GERMANY, XANTEN, 1294

Now the Lord had prepared a great fish to swallow up Jonah. And Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights. . . . And the Lord spake unto the fish, and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land. — Jonah 1:17; 2:10

Jonah, the disobedient, the rebellious, the repentant, belongs to the group of minor prophets; his book with its short four chapters reads like a tale from the Thousand-and-One-Nights. Yet it contains a prophecy and a moral lesson which have made the book and its hero beloved by story-tellers and artists alike. Jonah's call to go to Niniveh and preach repentance; his disobedience; his escape; his being cast into the sea in punishment; his deliverance after three days and three nights within the belly of the whale — all these are known as the "sign of Jonah," regarded in New Testament times as a prophecy of the Resurrection. Christ speaks of Jonah in the twelfth chapter of Matthew: "For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."

The illustrated page from the thirteenth-century Hebrew manuscript showing Jonah vomited by the whale "upon dry land" and joyfully grasping at leaves and plants, heads the beginning of the Book. Within the delicate scroll work, there are other animals drawn by pen and ink and lightly touched with color. It is unorthodox and unusual for a Hebrew Bible to carry illustrations. Even in the tenth and eleventh centuries these manuscripts usually contained traditional pattern design only. Yet, a little later in time, restrictions loosened and drawings illustrative of the text did appear. The manuscript in the Spencer Collection contains a most charming and touching colophon: "I, Joseph of Xanten, son of Kalonymus from Neuss have written and handed over these 24 books to my friend Moses, the 21st of the month of Sivan, in the year 5054 [1294 AD] of the Creation of the World, and the Creator may let him live to study these books until the end of the days. Amen, Amen, Amen, Selah."

יעשה לך גמולך יע
ישוב בראשך: כי באשר
שתיתם על הר קדשי
ישתו כל הגוים תמיד
ושתו ולעו והיו כלא
היו: ובהר ציון תהיה ז
פליטה והיה קדש ויר
וירשו בית יעקב את
מורשיהם: והיה בית
יעקב אש ובית יוסף
להבה ובית עשו לקש
ודלקו בהם ואכלום ולא
יהיה שריד לבית עשו
כי יהוה דבר: וירשו ז

הנגב את הר עשו וה
והשפלה את פלשתים
וירשו את שדה אפ
אפרים ואת שדה
שמרון ובנימן את
הגלעד: וגלות החל
הזה לבני ישראל אשר
כנענים עד צרפת וגלות
ירושלם אשר בספרד
ירשו את ערי הנגב:
ועלו מושיעים בהר
ציון לשפט את הר עשו
והיתה ליהוה המלוכה:
חוק

ויהי

דבר יהוה אל יונה בן
אמתי לאמר: קום לך
אל נינוה העיר הגדולה
וקרא עליה כי עלתה
רעתם לפני: ויקם יונה
לברוח תרשישה מלפני
יהוה וירד יפו וימצא
אניה באה תרשיש ויתן
שכרה וירד בה לבא ע
עמהם תרשישה מלפני
יהוה: ויהוה הטיל רוח
גדולה אל הים ויהי סער

גדול בים והאניה ח
חשבה להשבר: ויירא
המלחים ויזעקו איש
אלהיו ויטילו את
הכלים אשר באניה אל
הים להקל מעליהם
ויונה ירד אל ירכתי ד
הספינה וישכב וירדם:
ויקרב אליו רב החבל
ויאמר לו מה לך נרדם
קום קרא אל אלהיך א
אולי יתעשת האלהים ל

Habbacuc and the Angel

19 BIBLE HISTORIAUS OU HYSTOIRES ESCOLATRES

MANUSCRIPT IN FRENCH ON VELLUM / FRANCE, 15TH CENTURY

Now there was in Jewry a prophet, called Habbacuc, who had made pottage, and had broken bread in a bowl, and was going into the field, for to bring it to the reapers. But the angel of the Lord said unto Habbacuc, Go, carry the dinner that thou hast into Babylon unto Daniel, who is in the lions' den. And Habbacuc said, Lord, I never saw Babylon; neither do I know where the den is. Then the angel of the Lord took him by the crown, and bare him by the hair of his head, and through the vehemency of his spirit set him in Babylon over the den. — Apocrypha: Bel and the Dragon: 33–36

This touching incident in the life of Habbacuc comes from the Apocrypha and, proving its popularity, has often appeared in painting and sculpture. To the Middle Ages the incident was taken typologically as a prefiguration of the Eucharist, and some said that the rolls which Habbacuc carried had the Cross of Saint Andrew upon them, anticipating the Last Supper. Habbacuc's vision and prophecy of the birth of Christ, the Nativity: "Between two Animals will you find Him," comes from Habbacuc's Canticle in the Septuagint, or Greek version of the text. Septuagint, so called, after the seventy-two scholarly translators of the third century before Christ who translated early Hebrew texts into Greek to the order of Ptolemaeus Philadelphus for his library in Alexandria.

The angel carrying Habbacuc by the tuft of his hair appears in a miniature within an early fifteenth-century French manuscript of Bible stories written and illuminated with more than 197 others by a group of fair artists from Northern France. It is a compelling little picture, with the prophet's eyes, hopeful but not convinced, turned to heaven, as he carries gifts of sustenance and salvation. It is not unamusing to remember that Mohammedans, to this day, shaving their heads leave a small tuft of hair in the back so that the angel may safely carry them to paradise.

dicion apristrent la main
sur soy car sur lui queult ta
malice ne trespassa mie tous
temps. Ci fine naum et com
mence abachuc prophete

Disais que abachuc
le prophete vit
sire pour quoy
crierai ie et vous
ne morrez pour quoy crierai
ie souffrant force et vous ne
me saluerez pour quoy ma
uez vous demonstre iniqui
te et labour a vos proies et uis

20 PROPHETAE MINORES ET ACTA SANCTORUM

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / GERMANY, MONASTERY OF WEINGARTEN, CA1225

Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple. — Malachi 3:1

Malachi is the last of the twelve minor prophets in the books of the Bible, though not in date. Like so many of his forerunners, contemporaries, and successors he announces the coming of the messiah but also exhorts the nation to resist insincere worship and empty, corrupt, and unworthy priestcraft. But he promises that happiness and prosperity can and shall be restored by the regular payment of tithes and dues! In addition, the passage: "in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering," has often been quoted in Christian tradition from Saint Justin Martyr onwards as a prophecy of the Eucharist. It has also been said that Malachi's prophecies and poetry — he lived about 450 BC — were circulated in writing. A better explanation may be that the prophet's method of teaching became a favorite in the schools and synagogues of Judaism.

The miniature shows Malachi, seated within a large letter "O," the beginning of his book: *Onus verbi Domini ad Israel in manu Malachiae . . .* — The burden of the word of the Lord to Israel by Malachi. The miniature is part of an incomplete manuscript, of the minor prophets from Nahum to Malachi, and of the lives of the saints, including Saint Oswald of England, patron saint of Weingarten. The manuscript was written and illuminated in the monastery of Weingarten, near Lake Constance in Southern Germany, for its distinguished and scholarly Abbot, Berthold, who lived and worked in the early part of the thirteenth century. Its existence is duly recorded in the famous Berthold Missal of the Pierpont Morgan Library, written about the same time and also coming from the Weingarten scriptorium. And it is recorded there, and by title, that a number of manuscripts were written "de novo" for the scholarly and distinguished abbot-collector. The miniature and its thirty-four companions, painted in gouache, are unusual examples of the Weingarten school, severe in the draughtsmanship of the figures, stiff-necked and cramped in posture of wild intensity, and with deeply furrowed facial lines. There is such emphasis on the impact of the "message" that it is hard to reconcile the traditional, almost byzantine style of restraint and regality of the time with such avant-garde outbursts. Malachi's hands are tightly clasped, tension is in his shoulders, and his coat flies up high in a meaningful gust. He is intentionally most serious when he announces: "The Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple."

NVERBI
DNI AD ISRAHEL
IN MANU MALA
CHIE PPHETE. DI
LEXI VOS DICIT DO
MINUS. ET DIXIS

The Tiburtine Sibyl

21 SPECULUM HUMANAE SALVATIONIS

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / NORTHERN GERMANY OR THE NETHERLANDS, CA1410

And he saw in heaven a virgin, passing fair, standing upon an altar, and holding a man-child, whereof he marvelled exceedingly; and he heard a voice from heaven saying: This is the Altar of the Son of God. — Mirabilia Romae

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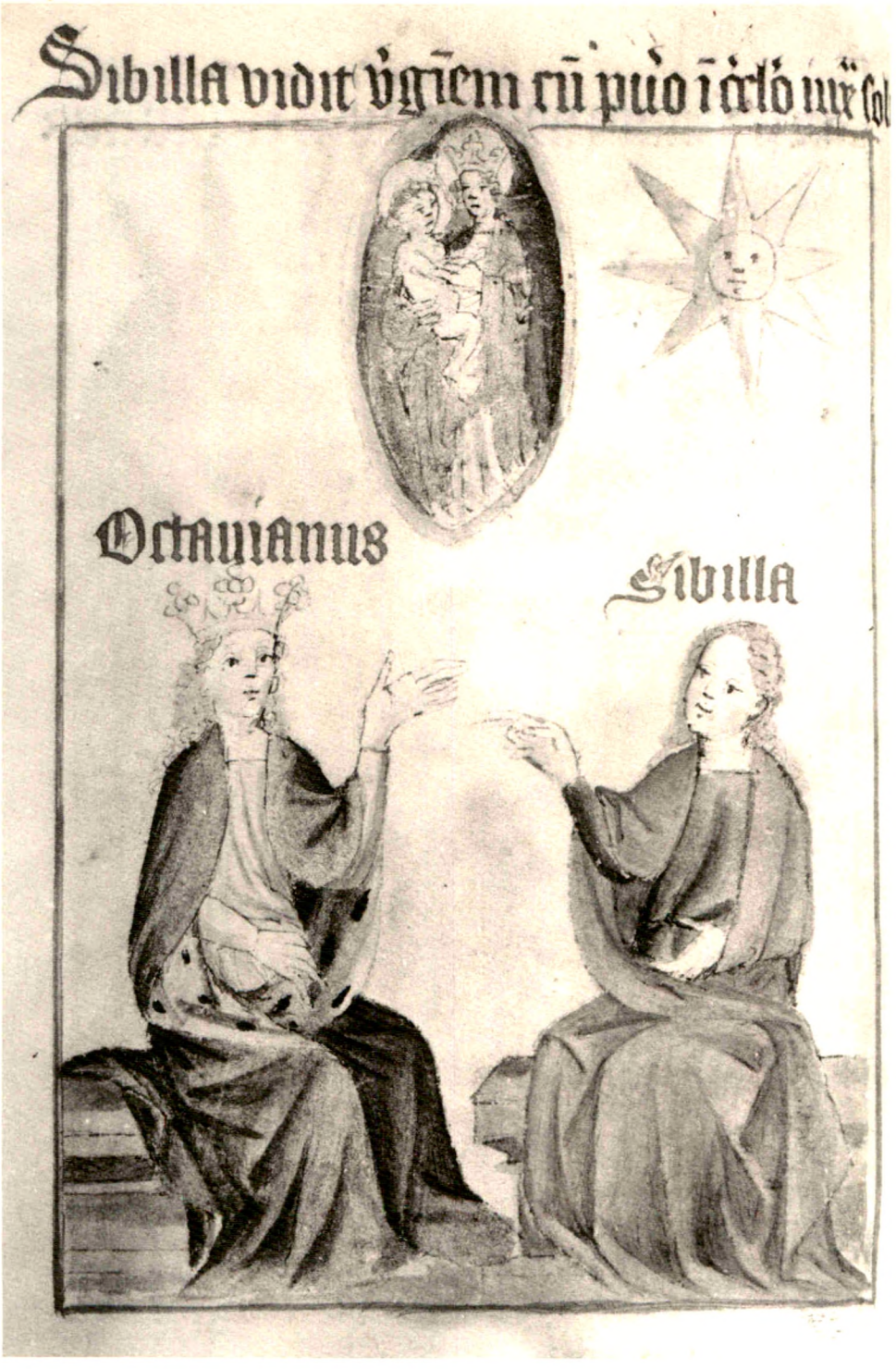
When the Roman Senators, overcome by the virtues of the Emperor Octavianus Augustus, desired to have him worshipped, he asked leave to consult the Tiburtine sibyl, prophetess from Tivoli, who told him: "From Heaven shall come the King evermore," pointing towards the apparition in the heavens. The *Mirabilia Romae*, a twelfth-century guide book of the marvels of Rome for the pilgrim, relates the legend and continues: "The Emperor straightway fell to the ground and worshipped the Christ that should come." An altar was erected to his order, on the very site of today's Santa Maria in Aracoeli on Rome's Capitoline Hill. The sibyls, connecting the Greek and Roman world with the Christian era, increased during the Middle Ages to the number of twelve to become the distaff side, typologically, of the twelve minor prophets. Like their ancestors, the Vestal Virgins, they were rewarded for their virginity, as Saint Jerome laconically discloses, by an ability to prophesy.

The miniature appears in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, a harmony of Old and New Testament stories. It is a book for the unlearned, for those eager to learn, and for the teaching clergy; and it must have been most popular: more than two hundred manuscripts have come down to us. The miniature *Sibilla vidit virginem cum puero in cielo* is a simple, almost artless representation of the miraculous event. The Tiburtine sibyl with Octavianus Augustus next to her, points towards the Virgin and Child in the sky. A prophecy of the Nativity, indeed. It is one of 194 similar colored sketches in the manuscript, which according to an inscription once belonged to Joannis Wassenbergh *custodis montis sanctae odiliae*, Sankt Odilienberg in the Vosges mountains. The manuscript was written and illustrated in Northern Germany, possibly the Netherlands, at the beginning of the fifteenth century.


Sibilla vidit v̄gīem cū puo ī c̄clo iux̄ sol
Octauianus
Sibilla

Part Two:

The Life of the Virgin

The Office of the Blessed Virgin

22 OFFICIUM BEATAE MARIAE VIRGINIS

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / ITALY, FERRARA, CA1500

The rod of Jesse hath bloomed, a virgin hath brought forth God and man: God hath restored peace, reconciling in himself the lowest with the highest. Alleluia — Responsory from the Mass of Our Lady: from the Purification to Advent

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The cult of Mary developed but slowly. Ignatius of Antioch of the first century refers to Christ as "verily born of a virgin"; the Book of James or Protoevangelium tells much of Mary's life but betrays lack of knowledge of the Hebrew world and the Gospels; Ambrose of Milan in 350 called her *typus ecclesiae* which became Saint Augustine's favorite connotation; the council of Ephesus in 431 bestowed the title *theotokos* or *genetrix Dei*, the Mother of God. Only later in the Middle Ages, Bernard de Clairvaux's *De Laudibus Virginis Mariae* established the cult as we know it today. The humanists moulded her into *notre dame* or *unsere liebe Frau*, and she has remained as such in people's delight and devotion.

And so in art. If Mary and the Child look stern, uninviting, on the walls of the Catacomb of Santa Priscilla in Rome, she appears in radiant byzantine majesty in the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore a few hundred years later. Soon her image emerges as the Virgin Enthroned, the Fair Lady of Chivalry, the Beautiful Madonna, and finally, the familiar, comfortable and comforting maiden of the people, the beloved Mother of God and the patron of the afflicted and devout.

The miniature is the title page of an Italian Book of Hours or prayer book, to be read at certain hours of the day by both clergy and any of the laity who wish to partake. *Domine, labia mea aperies. Et os meum annuntiabat laudem tuam* — You shall open my lips, O Lord. And my mouth shall declare your praise. Mary, the Child in her arms, is the image of the *mater amabilis*. Within the historiated and decorated border are four of Christ's ancestors: David and Abraham, Moses and Aaron. God the Father, small and inconspicuous, appears at the top directing Gabriel, Mary, and the Holy Spirit in the form of a diminutive descending child, in the parts they are to play. To either side of the border is the scene of the Annunciation: Gabriel, the messenger, kneeling and giving the salutation: "Blessed art thou among women," holding the lily, symbol of the Immaculate Conception — and to this day called *fleur de Marie* by the French. Mary reading in her study — it has been said that she was reading Isaiah's prophecy in Scripture, at that very moment — turns her head sweetly and gracefully, acknowledging her calling.

Incipit officium beate marie virginis secundum consuetudinem romane curie. Ad matutinum.

Domine labia mea aperies. Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam. Deus in adiutorium meum intende. Domine ad adiuuandum me festina. Gloria patri et filio: et spiritui sancto. Si

Prayers to the Virgin Mary

23 HORAE BEATAE MARIAE VIRGINIS

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / NETHERLANDS, 15TH CENTURY

Ad beatam virginem mariam: Obsecro te domina mea sancta maria mater dei pietate plenissima, summi regis filia mater glorissima mater orphanorum consolatio desolatorum. . . .

It is usually the Little Office of Our Lady, *officium parvum beatae mariae virginis*, representing a brief office in honor of Mary, modelled on the Divine Office, the obligatory prayer of the church, from which are read the seven "hours." It originated in the tenth century, being adopted by the Cistercians in the Monastery of Cîteaux where, later, Bernard de Clairvaux was to write his *De Laudibus Virginis Mariae* which produced a veritable outburst of the Marian cult.

The prayer of this manuscript page is not liturgical and seems to stem from Saint Bernard, perhaps Saint Bonaventura. Within the manuscript's many initial letters are some of the typological scenes from the Old Testament which were considered by exegetical theologians to be prophecies of the coming of the messiah. Scenes of the Immaculate Conception, the Annunciation, the Nativity, were likened to the Burning Bush, Aaron's Rod, the Closed Door of Ezekiel, Nebuchadnezzar's Dream, even Habbacuc's coming to the rescue of Daniel. But the more appealing part of the manuscript to the eye are the many delicious borders of insects and flowers, set upon a background of pure gold. The butterfly with its range of color and movement, symbolizes the resurrection of Christ, and in its cycle of caterpillar, chrysalis, and butterfly, the hope and resurrection of man. Since all flowers were dedicated to Mary, many are highly symbolic: the cyclamen with its red spot signifies the bleeding sorrow of Mary's heart; the violet is the symbol of humility: the columbine is the dove, meaning the Holy Ghost; the carnation symbolizes pure love — and to this day is worn by Flemish and Dutch bridal couples on their wedding day; the lily, the finest of them all, implies purity — it was later to become the emblem of royalty. There is a legend that a certain knight who could never remember more than the first two words of the *Ave Maria* had died, addressing to Mary his stumble of a prayer. The Virgin heard his plea, accepting his faulty memory, and a lily sprang from his grave, displaying on every blossom, and in golden letters, the words *Ave Maria.*

Ad beatam uirginem mariaz.

Obsecro te domina mea sancta maria mr̃ dei pietate plenissima. summi regis filia mater gloriosissima mat̃ orphanorum: consolatio desolatorum: via errantiũ. salꝰ et spes in te sperantiũ. uirgo ante partum. uirgo in ꝑtu et uirgo post partum. fons

Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate

24 SERVICE BOOK OF THE ARMENIAN CHURCH

MANUSCRIPT IN ARMENIAN ON PAPER / ARMENIA, 1489

And, behold, Ioacim came with the flocks, and Anna stood at the gate and saw Ioacim coming, and ran and hung upon his neck, saying: Now know I that the Lord God hath greatly blessed me: for behold the widow is no more a widow, and she that was childless shall conceive. — Book of James, or Protoevangelium IV:4

Both Anna and Joachim were of the house of David, coming from Nazareth and Bethlehem. In the story of Anna's barrenness and God's favor, they are the counterpart of the Old Testament motif of Abraham and Sarah, and they also prefigure the Immaculate Conception of the New Testament. Anna had mourned excessively, but on the advice of her maid, so the story goes, had adorned herself with her bridal dress. She had gone into the garden where a nest of sparrows sat within the laurel bush and it was there that the angel of the Lord appeared to her, announcing that she would be blessed with child. She rushed forth to meet Joachim who had been tending his flocks, and at the Golden Gate they embraced and vowed their child as an offering to God. When the child was born, they called her Mary.

Armenian manuscripts lack the splendor and the majesty of byzantine art. From it they derived great profit and stimulation, but there is a touch of provinciality in their compositions, an over-emphasis on movement in the illustrations, and a rather subdued use of color. The frontispiece to this Armenian Service Book of the fifteenth century — it is actually dated 1489 — represents the very scene of Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate; even the nest of sparrows in Anna's garden had been taken there, with a domestic and symbolic touch of the mother bird feeding her young.

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The Birth of the Virgin Mary

25 MISSALE

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / GERMANY, BAVARIA, 15TH CENTURY

And her months were fulfilled, and in the ninth month Anna brought forth. And she said unto the midwife: What have I brought forth? And she said: a Female. And Anna said: my soul is magnified this day, and she laid herself down. — Book of James, or Protoevangelium V:2

The Gospel of the birth of Mary, an apocryphal book, contains the narrative of Mary's birth, her life in the temple, her betrothal to Joseph, her marriage, the Annunciation, and the Virgin birth of Christ. It is a Latin work of the Middle Ages which has at times erroneously been attributed to Saint Jerome who, according to Jacobus de Voragine, had read of Mary's nativity "in a certain little book." Voragine, the thirteenth-century archbishop of Genoa and the compiler of the Golden Legend, himself relates unsubstantial detail of blessed imagination in the life of the Virgin but reports the actual birth, laconically, with a few words: "And Anna conceived and bore a child, and called her name Mary." The fullest account of the actual birth, however, is in the Book of James, or Protoevangelium, dating from the second century, wrongly attributed to James the Apostle, probably compiled by a convert to Christianity using the Gospels and several other sources, and to this day surviving in a number of early Greek and Syriac manuscript versions.

The illustration of the birth of the Virgin Mary in medieval art is usually an excuse for displaying a great deal of worldly and contemporary domestic gear. Anna in bed, happy and reclining, is watching the babe laced in her cradle, fast and enduring. Midwives fetch and carry. At times, the girl child is being bathed and washed among a great many tubs, pitchers, and towels and the swish of the midwives' skirts. It is an essentially cozy scene, one of earthiness and promise, and close to the people.

This scene, within an initial letter of a Bavarian missal, once in the *conventus ratisbonensis carmelitarum discalceatorum* — the Convent of the Barefoot Carmelites of Regensburg — is a simplified, almost stylized rendering of the hustle and bustle so often preferred. But its conventional background and its sparcity of composition make mother and child stand out extremely well. The initial "G" introduces the Mass of the Nativity of Our Lady: *Gaudeamus omnes in Domino, diem festum celebrantes . . .* — Let us all rejoice in the Lord, celebrating a festival day.

oia cu sanctis e in gla et pheuni gaudio. Ne
o lucernaz. offer. Osuisti dne. Secret.
Intercessio quis dne bti Egidii Abbis nos
uera nra comendet: nos qz eius venera
one sancta. tue magestati reddat accep-
is. Per. to. Agua est gla. Iplen. Ove
um omps ds: ut qui celestia alimenta
cepimus. intercedente bto Egidio Abbate
ntra oia aduersa muniamur: et ad e
erna gaudia consequenda. spes nobis.
ppet. c et facultas. Per. In Natiuita
e Beate Marie virginis. Officium.

Audeamus
omes in duo diem festu
celebrantes In honore
Marie virginis de cuius
Natiuitate gaudet an
gli et collaudat filiu di.
ps Eructauit cor meu
verbu bonu dico ego o
pera mea regi. Oratio.
Famulis tuis
dne quis celes
tis gracie munus
impartire: ut quibus bte virginis partus ex
citit salutis exordium. natiuitatis eius
votiua sollempnitas pacis tribuat incre
mentum. Pe. Sapientie.

The Presentation in the Temple

26 OFFICIUM BEATAE MARIAE VIRGINIS

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / FRANCE, AVIGNON, CA1375

And Ioacim brought the child to the priests, and they blessed her, saying: O God of our fathers, bless this child and give her a name renowned forever among all generations. And all the people said: So be it, so be it. Amen.
— Book of James, or Protoevangelium VI:2

The Protoevangelium renders the fullest account of Mary's presentation and relates how "the priest received her and kissed her and blessed her" and how being placed upon the altar, she danced with her feet, so that all the house of Israel rejoiced with her, and loved her. And Mary was in the Temple of the Lord as a dove that is nurtured, and she received food from the hands of the angel. "And around the Temple there were fifteen steps," according to Jacobus de Voragine, "one for each of the fifteen gradual Psalms . . . and the Virgin placed upon the lowest of these steps, mounted all of them without the help of anyone." The *cantica graduum* or fifteen songs of degree of the Psalter connect Old and New Testament in imagery and verse: "I will lift up mine eyes onto the hills, from whence cometh my help," sings the Psalmist, and Mary demonstrates the faith in these words by ascending the steps unaided.

But it is perhaps best to look at the many representations in the arts, to recognize the impact this tale has had on man: Giotto's lofty mural in the Arena Chapel; the Limbourg Brothers' miniature in the Book of Hours of the Duc de Berry; Titian's breathtaking composition in Venice; and Dürer's cycle of woodcuts made as late as 1505, with the life of his own contemporary Nuremberg surrounding the scene. Mary, aloof, self-contained, dignified and incredibly lovable, ascends the steep steps in each instance: an unforgettable image.

The event within the initial letter "D" is reduced to the barest infinitesimal detail: the Temple, the steps, the priest. Mary ascending unaided except for the outstretched hands of her mother, behaving as any mother would instinctively do. The manuscript, pocket-size, compactly designed, is the work of Avignon, City of the Popes, who drew to it many Italian artists so that the town became a bastion of Italian artistic influence in France, stylistically and iconographically. The manuscript prayer book contains twelve calendar miniatures, nine full-page ones, and 128 historiated initial letters; each of its pages is surrounded by margins of delicate decorative foliage, often interspersed with drolleries drawn from secular and contemporary life. It was written probably about the year 1375.

Mary in the Temple

27 LEBEN CHRISTI

MANUSCRIPT IN GERMAN ON PAPER / GERMANY, 1440

And when she was twelve years old, there was a council of the priests, saying: Behold Mary is become twelve years old in the temple of the Lord. What then shall we do with her? lest she pollute the sanctuary of the Lord.
— Book of James, or Protoevangelium VIII:2

Hye kömen dye priester zü mariam vnd wolten ir einen man geben — Here, the priests come to Mary and wish to give her a husband, reads the caption above the illustration in the manuscript *Leben Christi.* According to the Protoevangelium, Mary lived for years in the Temple where she received instructions in Scripture. It was time, the priests or elders knew, to have her married and taken from the sanctuary as was the Hebrew custom. Jacobus de Voragine relates how "Mary had advanced in every virtue and was daily visited by the angels." And in a letter, Jerome tells that the Blessed Virgin had set herself a rule: from dawn to the third hour she devoted herself to prayer, from the third to the ninth she worked at weaving, and from the ninth hour she prayed until the angels appeared with food. Earlier, her mother, so it is said, had taught her how to read, and while this fact is related neither in the Bible nor the apocryphal books, it is much illustrated in the later Middle Ages when the cult of Anna flourished. Now, that the priests had so seriously spoken to her, Mary replied that she could not leave, nor be married. Her parents had dedicated her to the Lord, and she herself had vowed her virginity to God. Upon the High Priests' prayer for divine guidance, a voice was heard "that all the marriageable men of the house of David who had not yet taken a wife, each should bring a branch and lay it upon the altar. . . ."

The popularly written and illustrated Life of Christ in this German manuscript is a typical example of the form of book and the literature that preceded the invention of printing. People were eager to read, and manuscripts were copied one from the other: whole workshops working, the scribes writing, untrained and often unoriginal illustrators copying a cycle of pictures from earlier and similar manuscripts. Though the quality of calligraphy and draughtsmanship is questionable, these manuscripts have character and a style of their own. The manuscript of *Leben Christi* contains 256 pen and ink drawings, many of them of most unusual iconography. It was made in Southern Germany, possibly Swabia, and is dated 1440.

an heben da ich es gelassen hab ¶ Nye komen dye
priester zu Mariam vnd woltn ir einen man geben

DO nw Maria in dem Templ was xv. iar
allt warden Do sprachen die priest Es wär
gots gepot dy mayd die zu irn iarn wärn
komen dy soltn chanschafft habe Also giengen sy zu ma
ria vnd sprachen Maria magt du pist erhöcht in
allen tugentn daz dir yeder man hold ist Darumb pit
ten wir dich das du deine vleis fur dich nempst vnd
zu vnser ee cherst vnd nempst iunkfraw eine man nach
gotes gepot vnd als es her Moyses gesetzt hat das
von deine leib die welt gemert werd vnd da vo got
gelobt Maria erschrakch von dem wort vnd swaig
still vnd pat got taugentleichen das er sy weyset wie
sy antwurt sult geben Das geschach also Sy sprach
sy wolt chains mannes weyb werdn Aber sy hiet ir
eine man auserchorn in des selbigen herrn landt wär
weder hunger noch durst noch chain lay vngemach

Joseph the Just Man

28 SYNAXARION OR LEGENDS OF THE SAINTS

COPTIC MANUSCRIPT IN ARABIC ON PAPER / EGYPT, 17TH CENTURY

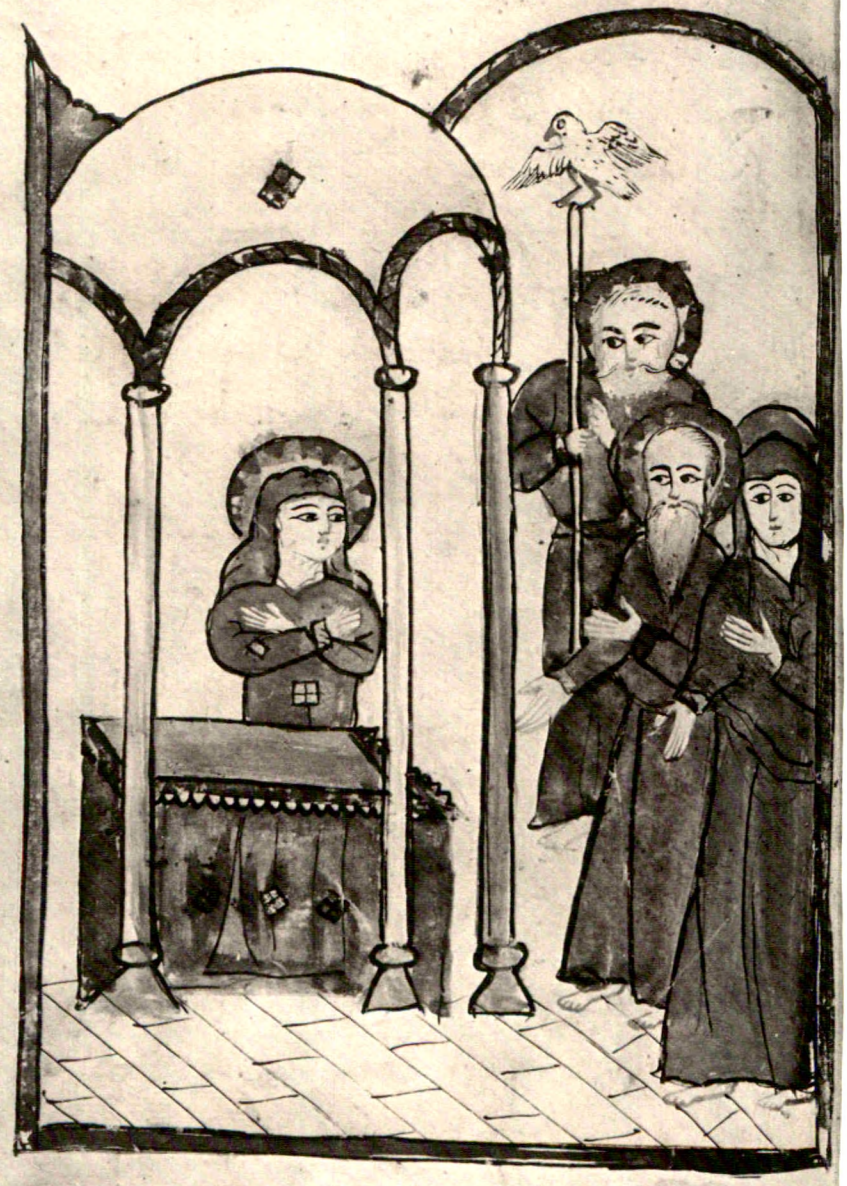
Zacharias, Zacharias, go forth and assemble them that are widowers of the people, and let them bring every man a rod, and to whomsoever the Lord shall show a sign, his wife shall she be. — Book of James, or Protoevangelium VIII:3

Joseph the carpenter threw down his working tools and took up his staff to go before the priest with the rest of the widowers. And when he laid his staff upon the altar, as had the others, the staff began to bud. One legend has it that the others were so disappointed by this sign that they broke their staffs; another version speaks of the dove that descended and settled upon Joseph's staff and was unanimously accepted as coming from God. These variations of the tale cannot be found in either Gospels or apocryphal writings, but Joseph's staff might be typologically likened to Aaron's rod, and the dove, bringing Noah and Moses to mind, might well represent both purity and the God-sent Holy Spirit. Legendary sources for incidents in the life of Joseph are sometimes dated as early as the fourth century, but it was actually not until the fifteenth that his feast was given liturgical celebration. About that time also, representations of the flowering staff appear, usually a branch of the almond tree, sometimes with a dove on top.

This Coptic manuscript, written in Arabic, tells the tale, but its illustration has an anachronistic touch. Joseph appears to be present at the presentation of the very young child Mary with Joachim and Anna at her side, an event some twelve years earlier than the miracle of the flowering staff. The Arabic text itself is fairly close to the Book of James, or Protoevangelium: "Now twelve God-fearing men from Judah gathered, took their staffs and went to the temple. It was there that a dove flew down and rested on the staff of Joseph, a sign of God that he was chosen as the just man; and he took Mary to himself, and she stayed until the Angel Gabriel announced the birth of the Saviour." This is from the third book of the *Kihak* of the Coptic *Synaxarion*, written and illustrated with ninety-six colored drawings of the most primitive rendering. It was written by Ghubryal ibn Sulaiman, the scribe whose name is mentioned on folio 204, and was probably made in Coptic Egypt some time during the seventeenth century. There is no name for the illustrator and we must forgive him for Joseph's premature, anticipatory, but understandable impatience!

20

صورة دخول السيدة الهيكل ويوسف النجار والحمامة ويواقيم وحنة



Vergin Mary and Joseph the Carpenter

The Marriage of the Virgin

29 LA VIE DE JESUS

MANUSCRIPT IN FRENCH ON VELLUM / FRANCE OR FLANDERS, 15TH CENTURY

And the priest said unto Joseph: Unto thee hath it fallen to take the virgin of the Lord and keep her for thyself. — Book of James, or Protoevangelium IX:I

"And Joseph refused, saying: I have sons and I am an old man, but she is a girl: lest I become the laughing stock of the children of Israel." But the High Priest persuaded Joseph to take Mary and, to quote the Golden Legend, "when the espousals were completed, Joseph went back to his city of Bethlehem to make ready his house, and to dispose of all that was needful for the wedding." The Gospels tell us nothing of the actual marriage ceremony, nor do the apocryphal writings. One must turn to the legends. And there are reasons: to the ancient Hebrews marriage was a civil contract and not a religious rite; the ceremony as we know it was equally unknown to the early writers of Scripture. The East, with its emphasis on chastity and monasticism, brought marriage almost into disrepute; even the early Church fathers would have preferred denying marriage to Mary; yet Luke speaks of "a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David," and so the Church yielded to this testimony as too direct to be set aside and allowed the recondite motives, and later, legends. The West was more chivalrous in its attitude. Bernard de Clairvaux, the Cistercian theologian of eleventh-century Burgundy, promises that the marriage of Mary would take whatever curse from every degree of womanhood, namely from virgin, wife, and widow — since, after all, Mary herself had been all of these.

The illustration of the manuscript *La Vie de Jesus* represents the marriage ceremony, simply and of its time, with the betrothed holding hands, *conjunctio manuum*, while the High Priest gives them his blessing. The scene has been moved into a small gothic chapel with slight anachronisms in costume: the bridal couple and their friends in clothes timeless yet medieval; the High Priest with mitre and cope. The simple composition in this simple manuscript is in contrast to the splendid and ecstatic late gothic and renaissance renderings which made a feast, a festival out of the ceremony. The manuscript was written and illustrated with thirty-seven similar pen and ink sketches in Northern France or Flanders in the fifteenth century.

Cy parle de la sainte natiuite de la glorieuse vier-
ge marie. de sa conuersation. comment elle fut ma-
riee a Joseph. puis parle du temps de lincarnation
de nre benoit sauueur ihus. et des vtilitez de son
aduenement. Chappitre

Sainte Anne la mere de la vierge marie ot
vne soeur nommee hesmerie. Celle hesmerie
fut mere elizabeth. et dun filz qui ot nom
Eliud. Elizabeth fut mere de saint Jehan bap
tiste. Eliud engendra vng enfant qui ot nom Emi
nem. Eminem engendra saint seruais qui puis fut
euesque de tongres. Quant sainte Anne ot porte la
vierge marie neuf mois en son ventre. elle sen deliura
et lui donna nom marie ainsi comme langele lui eut

The Annunciation

30 BIBLE HISTORIÉE ET VIES DES SAINTS

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN AND FRENCH ON VELLUM / FRANCE, CA1300

And in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth, To a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary. — Luke 1:26–27

The Annunciation recalls many an Old Testament or other typological example or prototype. As the three angels of the Lord announced to Abraham the birth of Isaac, who was to become heir to the messianic message; as the angel of the Lord announced to Manoah's wife the birth of Samson, who was to deliver Israel from the Philistines; so did Gabriel, the messenger of God, announce to Mary the birth of the Saviour. And Mary herself recalls the Psalmist when he sings: "Hearken, O daughter, and consider, and incline thine ear."

Innumerable are the representations of the Annunciation: symbolic murals in catacombs, Santa Maria Maggiore's mosaics, the Rabula codex in Florence, Giotto in Padua, and untold miniatures in manuscripts from the sixth to the sixteenth century. Depending on date and country of origin, these representations range from humbleness, imperiousness, emotionalism, warmth and beauty, to comfortable domesticity. Throughout the centuries the scene has stood for faith and hope, and throughout the centuries artists, great and small, have given it their loving attention.

This miniature in the manuscript of the early fourteenth century is an example of the French Gothic par excellence. Against a background of stylized diaper pattern, Mary and Gabriel stand out like actors in a play and against a curtain; and well may a miracle play have been the source of inspiration to the artist, at a time when more realistic representation had not yet come. Gabriel, the guardian of the celestial treasure, the angel of Redemption, the messenger, whose name means "power of God," timeless and ageless, approaches Mary, raising his hand in blessing and salutation: *Ave Maria gratia plena*!

The Annunciation and the Virgin Enthroned

31 OFFICIUM BEATAE MARIAE VIRGINIS

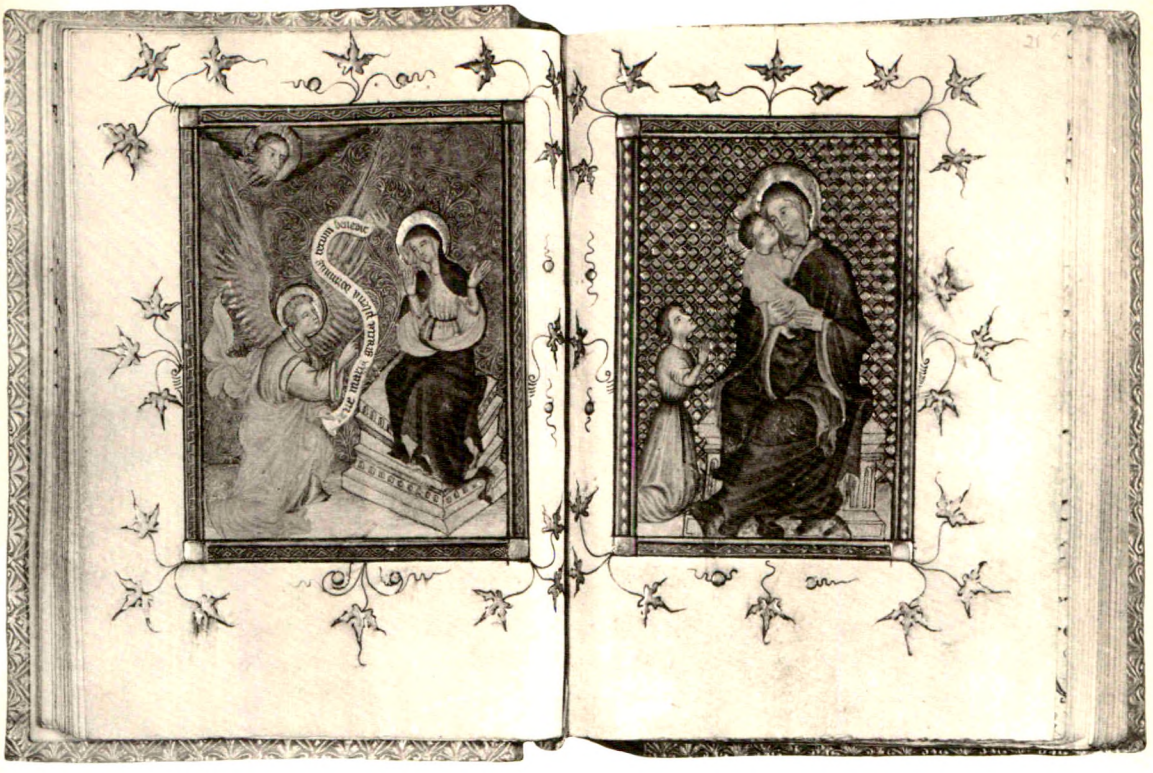
MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM /
FRANCE, AVIGNON, CA1375

And the angel came in unto her, and said, Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women. — Luke 1:28

The Little Office of Our Lady, *officium parvum*, is an essential liturgical text for both clergy and laity. It is also a most personal book, the closest perhaps *in conversazione* between the devout and his God. And so it became the most frequently penned and illustrated of all the offices during the Middle Ages; it invited patronage, personal possession, even vanity. But it also had a decisive and lasting influence on the art of illustration and painting.

The unusual feature of this prayer book from Avignon in the Spencer Collection is the number of full-page miniatures which seem to sum up or introduce certain prayers, passages, or hours to be recited. Twelve calendar leaves precede the actual text, exquisite genre scenes. For April a small miniature shows two extremely fashionable ladies, Botticelli-like in their litheness, posture, and dress, who entertain a handsome young knight offering a wreath of flowers; May, now that spring has come, shows a proud falconer prancing across the fields in pursuit of not very much; but November, in preparation for the needs of winter, has peasants feed their bursting pigs with more acorns. The full-page miniatures appear in pairs, with no text on the reverse of their fine vellum leaves, as if they had been added later — perhaps at the suggestion and pay of a donor or a patron?

Like a diptych, this Annunciation faces the graceful image of the Virgin Enthroned — the one set against a stylized background often found in French work of the time, the other against solid and blazing gold. Mary with the Child in her arms, smiles at an adoring owner or patroness who kneels before her, smaller in scale to prove her humility. Opposite is the illustration of our interest: the Annunciation proper. Mary seated on a dais has outstretched her hands in delighted acknowledgment of the message; Gabriel, breathlessly "come in unto her" with wings almost in motion, holds a scroll: *Ave Maria gratia plena; Dominus tecum; benedicta tu in mulieribus* — as reported by Luke. God the Father, bearded and benevolent, is seen in the sky.


ave maria gratia plena dominus tecum benedicta

The Annunciation

32 ONS VROUWEN GETIJDE

MANUSCRIPT IN DUTCH ON VELLUM / NETHERLANDS, UTRECHT, 1450

And when she saw him, she was troubled at his saying, and cast in her mind what manner of salutation this should be. And the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary: for thou hast found favour with God. — Luke 1:29–30

Troubled by the impact and implication of the message, Mary somewhat shrank back, girlishly, unprepared. "How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?" But reassuringly "the angel answered and said unto her, the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be the Son of God." Looking up from her book, comfortably seated in her bedroom with its checkered tiles, a canopied bed, and curtains neatly folded, she appears to have been more frightened than necessary by the light of the angel. His kneeling, devoted, and sympathetic approach ought to have reassured her and made her submit in humility. And does not Gabriel carry the sceptre, symbol of authority, borne by princes on the earth and by the archangels in heaven? Earlier, he had announced to Daniel the return of the Children of Israel from captivity and to Zacharias Elisabeth's happiness and blessing. Now he brings to Mary God's message, awkwardly abbreviated in our miniature to a mere: *Ave gratia plena domin . . .*, as if the illustrating artist or scribe had not been sufficiently dexterous in the use of space.

The simple, unpolished miniature, with its framework of latticed scrolls and unrecognizable flowers, is also lacking in execution and finish. The calligraphy on the opposite page, dominated by a handsome enough initial letter "H," with scroll work extending into the margins and with bold gothic lettering that is firm and characteristic, is not too well aligned at the outer margin — as if the scribe too lacked experience or patience. The words: *Here, du selte opdoen mijn lippen — Domine, labia mea asperies* — You shall open my lips, O Lord, from the Matins of the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, introduce the opening of *Ons Frouwen Getijde*, Our Lady's Hours, written and illuminated in Utrecht. Provincial? Surely. Less refined, less finished than the schools of neighboring Flanders so much closer to French influence. The Dutch illuminator and scribe was ruder in speech, harsher with his brush. Yet he did convey to his reader the impact of the Annunciation, even if set into a burgher's house on the canals of fifteenth-century Utrecht.

Here du selte
op doen mijn
lijpen Ende
mijn mont
sal voertkun
dighen dijn
lof God
wilt denckē
in mijn hulpe Here tot mij te helpē
haeste Glorie si den vader ende den
zoen eñ den heilighē gheest Ist was
inden beghinne eñ nu ende altoes eñ
ewelike sonder ende Amen
Inder eerlicheit des alre salichster iont
frouwen maxien. laet ons volher
telike blijscap hebben ten here
Comet laet ons seer verwon
wen ten here laet ons inbi
heren gode onsen heilgheuer. sijn aen
sichte laet ons te voren begripē mit

The Annunciation

33 HORAE BEATAE MARIAE VIRGINIS

MANUSCRIPT IN FRENCH ON VELLUM / FRANCE, 15TH CENTURY

And, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus. — Luke 1:31

Paris, as the center for manuscripts being written and illuminated for royal and aristocratic patrons of the court and from neighboring centers, Burgundy, Bourges, Dijon, attracted not only patrons with an interest in works of art but also artists come from Flanders and the Netherlands to vie with the native Parisians. With all her hold on culture and patronage Paris might have brought about a deadening uniformity, but she accepted from the competing newcomers new styles and ideas and standards of performance which only enhanced the lustre of her fame.

The representation of the Annunciation in this fifteenth-century Book of Hours in the Spencer Collection bears proof of this development, if not miracle. The continual wars might have torn the capital apart and strangled the coffers of the patron if not the state. But the art of Paris continued to flower and even to influence that of the neighboring lands to an almost stifling degree. This double-spread miniature, assigned to the school of Northern France, is a telling combination of French *mise en scène* in architecture, and of Flemish realism in the rendering of nature, of "the world around us," as the artist might have said. Mary in great style, sophisticated, almost assured yet politely reserved as befitted a lady of chivalrous times, is here approached by a less breathless and more controlled Gabriel who merely raises his hand to make her understand, as one does in speaking, that the message is of the greatest import. Touched with gold, the scene is laid within the portals of a cathedral. Is it possible to assume that the columnar bas-reliefs represent prophets: Elijah, Isaiah, Jeremiah? In the background, the silvery light of Paris upon it, stands a proud castle such as one finds in the miniatures of the Limbourg Brothers, the Boucicaut Master, the school of Jean Fouquet. But the over-decorated and surrounding frame of the miniature seems un-Parisian and of Northern origin. Was the manuscript illuminated by one of the newcomers from Flanders?

"And he shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David." Mary accepts, is deeply grateful.

The Visitation

34 WINGFIELD HORAE ET PSALTERIUM

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM /
ENGLAND, CA1450

And Mary arose in those days, and went into the hill country with haste, into a city of Judah; And entered into the house of Zacharias, and saluted Elisabeth. And it came to pass, that, when Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost.
— Luke 1:39–41

Bonaventura of Bagnoreggio near Viterbo, that saintly Franciscan theologian of the thirteenth century, lovingly called *doctor seraphicus*, instituted the feast of the Visitation, accepted by the Church one hundred years later. Its day is the second of July, and the lily its symbol, a symbol also of Elisabeth and Mary in their purity and blessedness, in their "salutation" and their "blessed encounter" prefiguring the coming of Christ. Mary, shortly after her marriage, hearing Elisabeth to be with child, went into the hill country to the dwelling of Zacharias, where she was welcomed with humility and righteousness: "Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" This is considered the first recognition of the character of the messiah. Since she had spoken through the influence of the Holy Spirit, and not through knowledge, Elisabeth is considered a prophetess.

The Protoevangelium recalls that Mary forgot the "mysteries which Gabriel, the archangel had told her," exclaiming: "Who am I, Lord, that all the generations of the earth do bless me?" And she lived for three months with Elisabeth and it was she who presented the babe John to his father Zacharias before she left. And "day by day her womb grew, and she was afraid and went home and hid herself from the Children of Israel."

Elisabeth is usually depicted as an older woman, "well-stricken in years"; the medieval caul for married women, if not the face, proves the artist of our miniature to have understood the story. As often, the scene is laid within the garden of Zacharias, highly regarded in Eastern tradition; Mary touching simple flowers, so a legend tells, gave them heavenly scent. The miniature is one of twenty-eight others that illustrate the Prayers and Psalter once in the possession of Humphrey, Earl of Stafford. From him the manuscript passed into the Wingfield family after whom it is named. *Deus in adiutorum meum intende* — O God, come to my aid, the second versicle of Matins of the Little Office, accompanies the extraordinary scene with its diminutive house or castle, its stylized ikon-like landscape, its shadowless trees — all proof of the English miniaturist's imagination and style: primitive, truthful, full of character and of haunting beauty.

Deus in adiu Laudes
torium meū intende. Do
mine ad adiuuandum
me festina. Gl'a patri.
Omi an. O admirabile.
nus regnauit decorē indu
tus est. indutus est dn̄s fortitudinē et p̄cin

Joseph's Dream

35 BIBLE HISTORIÉE ET VIES DES SAINTS

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN AND FRENCH ON VELLUM / FRANCE, CA1300

But while he thought on these things, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying, Joseph, thou Son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.
— Matthew 1:20

A satisfying and splendid manuscript in the Spencer Collection is this early fourteenth-century picture Bible, or *Bible Historiée*, with concisely abridged stories from Scripture, the text accompanied by an illustrative running cycle of 846 miniatures of high quality. Here the Bible and its pictures could be read without the help of a commentary; not by theologians versed in the *Bible Moralisée* with its endless typological and exegetical disputations and juxtapositions of Old and New Testament, but by laymen, even by those who were unlettered. Copied, that is, adapted, by a French scribe and illuminator, in both text and illustrations, from a Bible prepared to the order of the king of Navarre in the twelfth century, in Pamplona, and to this day kept in the library at Amiens, the Spencer Collection manuscript represents one of the fullest illustrated picture Bibles of the Middle Ages.

The manuscript page shown contains text and illustration of three successive events in the New Testament: the Visitation, Joseph's dream, and the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem to obey the Emperor Augustus's decree that one be taxed in one's home town. And while the miniature at the bottom of the page represents a most unusual and rarely seen iconographical presentation of the Journey — with Mary on foot, though immediately before the birth of her son, rather than seated on the ass led by Joseph — we are here mostly concerned with Joseph's dream, the central illustration. When Mary had returned from the visit to her kinswoman Elisabeth, Joseph found her great with child; "he smote his face and cast himself to the ground on sackcloth and wept." Later, and in his sleep, the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph explaining the divine message, foretold by Isaiah, and allaying his doubts upon waking. In the miniature, Joseph is seated, asleep, restless, disturbed. The angel in contrast is sympathetic, consoling, reassuring, convincing. Matthew, unsmiling, reports: "Now all this done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by his prophet," while the apocryphal books and the legends have indulged more than perhaps necessary. How refreshing then the simple French version: "Ioseph le mari de notre dame quant il aprit q'elle estoit plene et grosse se douta . . . mais il ne la vouloit pas accuser"!

Exurgens maria abut in mõ
tana ⁊ c. Apres ce sen ala nr̃e
dame es montaignes ou demouroit
elyzabeth sa couzine la fẽme zacha
rie la q̃le estoit grosse de s. iehan son
fil ⁊ quãt elle lot saluee lenfant ses
ioist en sõ uentre ⁊ fist reuerẽce en cõtre
la uenue nr̃es ⁊ lors elizabeth raem
plie du s. esp̃it dist a nr̃e dãme tu es
benoite sus toutes fẽmes ⁊ benoist est
le fruit de toi. Et couuient il ore q̃ tu
q̃ es mere de nr̃es mẽgnes a moi. vray
ement iapercu bien des ta uenue quil
estoit ainsi car mõ enfãt se esioi ⁊ remua
en mõ uẽtre. Beneuree es qui as creu
aus p̃oles de lãgre car nr̃es p̃fera en
toi ce q̃ il ta dit nr̃e dame. lame de moi Et dit
loe ⁊ mercie nr̃es ⁊ mõ esp̃it sesioist
en dieu mon sauueur ⁊ c.

Hec eo cogitante. ecce angl̃s dñi
apparuit ioseph dicẽs ⁊ c. Ioseph
le mari nr̃e dame q̃nt il apercut quelle
estoit plene ⁊ grosse se douta ⁊ come il
fust preudõ ⁊ iuste il ne la uouloit pas
accuser ne manifest̃. mais pensa quil
sen iroit repostement ⁊ la larroit ⁊ en
ce penser langre nr̃es li apparut. naies Et li dit
paour de marie ta fẽme car ce quelle
a v uentre est du s. esp̃it ⁊ elle enfantera
.i. fil q̃ sera appelez ihc q̃ sauuera sõ pue
ple ⁊ deliurera de leurs pechiez ⁊ c.

Ascendit aut̃ ⁊ ioseph a galylea
de ciuitate nazareth i iudeã in
ciuitate dauid q̃ uocat̃ beethleem ⁊ c.
Apres ce print ioseph nr̃e dame tou
te grosse ⁊ lẽmena auec soi ⁊ se p̃tirẽt
de nazareth une cite de galylee ⁊ sen
alerẽt en iudee en la cite dauid quon
appeloit beethleem p̃ ce quil estoit du
lignage ⁊ de la mesme dauid car il a
uoit este crie ⁊ omande de p̃ lempereur
cesar q̃ chascun se retraist en la cite dõt
il estoit nez pour faire sauoir la desc̃p
tion ⁊ le nombre de tout le pueple.

Mary Forgives Joseph

36 THE ARCHANGELS GABRIEL AND RAPHAEL

MANUSCRIPT IN GE'EZ ON VELLUM / ETHIOPIA, 18TH CENTURY

And Joseph was sore afraid and ceased from speaking unto her and pondered what he should do with her. And Joseph said: If I hide her sin, I shall be found fighting against the law of the Lord. — Book of James, or Protoevangelium XIX:1

A most unusual scene which, in a way, does belong to the Christmas story, is shown in an eighteenth-century Ethiopic manuscript of the legends and miracles of the archangels Gabriel and Raphael, as "told by Bishop Archelaus." Interspersed within the text is a small, column-wide, miniature or gouache painting of two scenes drawn within one composition. At the foot of the miniature, Joseph lies asleep while in a dream an angel, possibly Gabriel or Raphael, reveals to him not only the divine mission that, through Mary, has been cast upon his house, but also her purity and innocence. Mary, haloed, is draped in the native *shamma*, favored in Ethiopia and worn to this day by the country people; she raises her hand toward a smaller Joseph at her side, forgiving him for anger, unbelief, and doubt, while her lips were sealed.

Ethiopic manuscripts startle by their composition and color: the calligraphy of the literary and ecclesiastical language, called Ge'ez, is powerful and puzzling to the eye; it is derived from South Semitic script, and some believe that it was the creation of one man! The strong, stained-glass-window-like drawings, their range of color with red and yellow predominating, make us realize that Ethiopia is Africa, that her expression is individualistic and undaunted. Never under a conqueror for long, always autonomous, her arts have been flowering within conditioned limits for centuries. Few painters, muralists, or book illustrators, however, have dared to stray from accepted and established iconography, and in visiting the existing rock churches of an earlier epoch one is struck by the repetition of cycles, scenes, characters, with only occasional variation in composition. In this miniature of the Mentuab school, named after the Emperor of that name, near Gondar on Lake Tana of the middle of the eighteenth century, North African Christianity has given us a delightful, light-hearted introduction to the actual Christmas story.

ለወልድኪ፡፡እስመ፡ነገረኒ፡
መልአክ፡ወእሰብክ፡በእንተ፡
አ ሁ፡በቅድመ፡ኵሉ፡፡ወ
ህንተ፡ዘናፈቁ፡ኅዳጠ፡ናሁ፡
አአምን፡በኵሉ፡መዋሰሰ፡ሕ
ይወትየ፡፡እስመ፡መሰለኒ፡
እምዝሙት፡ውእቱ፡፡ወይ
እዚስ፡አእመርኩ፡ከመ፡እ
መንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡ውእቱ፡፡ን
ዒ፡እምይእዚስ፡ወኩነ፡እግ
ዝእተ፡ለቢትየ፡ወእትቀነይ፡
ለኪ፡በፍሥሐ፡ወበንጽሕ፡፡
እስመ፡አንጻሕኩ፡ሕሊናየ፡
እምእኩይ፡፡ወአግብኣ፡ው
ስተ፡ቤቱ፡ወነበረት፡እንዘ፡
ያከብራ፡፡ወይትፌሣሕ፡
ባቲ፡ወያዓብያ፡ወይትአኸ፡
ወይፈርሃ፡በልቡ፡ወያነጸ
ሕ፡ሥጋሁ፡በጽሩይ፡ልብ፡ወ
ሕሊና፡፡ወኮነ፡ከመ፡መልአ

ክ፡ለፈጣሬ፡ዓለም፡፡ወለእ
ግዚእነ፡ኢየሱስ፡ክርስቶስ፡
ስብሐት፡ወክብር፡ይእዜኒ፡
ወዘልፈኒ፡ወለዓለመ፡ዓለ
ም፡አሜን፡፡

Part Three:

The Nativity

Saint Matthew

37 THE FOUR GOSPELS

MANUSCRIPT IN CHURCH SLAVONIC / RUSSIA, 15TH CENTURY

The book of the generations of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham. — Matthew 1:1

The evangelists or proclaimers of 'glad tidings' were travelling missionaries who fulfilled Christ's conception of ministry as recorded in the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Ephesians: "And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers." Traditionally believed to have been a tax gatherer for the Roman oppressors in Capernaum, Matthew of Galilee went to Ethiopia at the time of the dispersion of the apostles. There he taught, worked, and overthrew the powerful influence of the magicians. On visiting Egypt he brought back to life the son of the Pharaoh. Judaea, Macedonia, Spain, Persia, and India have been claimed as possible fields of activity. Yet he is supposed to have died in Ethiopia in the year 90 AD. His relics were said to have been taken by Robert Guiscard, dashing Norman adventurer and brother of the King of Sicily, first to Bretagne, then to Salerno. There the Cattedrale di San Matteo not only prides itself on a magnificent mosaic portrait of the evangelist made in Norman times over its portal, but in its over-decorated crypt, the remains of Matthew "brought from the East in 932 AD," so legend adds.

The Gospel according to Saint Matthew, in common with others, speaks but briefly of the Nativity. Within two chapters and twenty-two verses the cycle from conception to Epiphany is covered; his book is the book of the generations and is concerned with recording the words and works of Christ, the redemption of man. Behind the written narrative stands oral tradition, more or less fragmentary, and since Scripture fails to name any one author, it is rather from critical study of the text that authorship may be claimed.

From the earliest centuries of the making of liturgical books, the Four Gospels rated high and were produced by the most exalted and inspired scribes and illuminators, binders, gilders, and goldsmiths. The Gospel stood for the Word. As such it was of utmost significance and impact, even in physical appearance. To Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John were added the symbols: angel, lion, ox, and eagle. Soon, the author "portrait" developed: seated in majesty at first; the scholar's study thereafter. The author at work with desk, book, nib, inkwell, and the stillness of the retreat! Ikon-like is the rendering of Matthew in this manuscript; with that of the other Evangelists, it is part of a devout Russian monk's work some time during the fifteenth century.

Saint Luke

38 LECTIONARIUM EVANGELIORUM

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / ITALY, POSSIBLY LOMBARDY, 15TH CENTURY

It seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee . . . , most excellent Theophilus.
— Luke 1:3

"Most excellent Theophilus," the recipient of the third Gospel, is said to have been an educated Gentile converted to Christianity. But Theophilus, "friend of God," and in need of further instruction and conviction, seems rather to represent the people to whom Luke the Evangelist wished to write. The facts about Luke himself are surrounded by fiction. Born in Antioch and converted after the Resurrection, he became Paul's favorite disciple, travelled with Paul to Greece and Italy, was shipwrecked with him on Malta, and was present at Paul's beheading in Rome. Egypt and Greece were visited, and in Patras he probably wrote most of his books. Buried near Patras, his remains were supposedly brought to Constantinople, to be kept in Justinian's magnificent byzantine Church of the Holy Apostles, burial place also of the byzantine emperors until the twelfth century.

The Christmas story is best known through Luke. It is known to Christians in unforgettable language, imagery, and moving detail; and to their children, impatient at the thought of the most wonderful gifts to come. "And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree. . . ."

Physician, Evangelist and painter! Luke took the fancy of legend and folk lore. Patron of painters, gilders, illuminators, he is closely connected with the arts. It has been said that a Madonna, carried by Gregory the Great through the streets of Rome against the great plague of 590 AD and now on the wall of the Borghese Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, is supposed to be from Luke's brush and easel. On the other hand Monsignor Joseph Wilpert, the byzantine scholar, attributes it to the thirteenth century!

In illo tempore: dixit Jesus discipulis suis . . . is the opening of the Mass for the First Sunday of Advent. The elongated initial letter "I" contains a contracted miniature of the scholarly Evangelist at a gothic desk with book, pen, and pen knife — an adoring ox, his symbol, tenderly looking towards its master. The *Lectionarium Evangeliorum* was written and illuminated in Italy, possibly Lombardy, in the fifteenth century and later owned by Cardinal Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini who became Pope Pius II in 1458. The stylized border design carries the Piccolomini arms.

¶ Incipit liber euangeliorum tocius anni secundum consuetudinem romane curie. ¶ Dominica prima de aduentu. ¶ Sequentia sancti euangelij secundum lucam.

Nullus. Dixit ihesus discipulis suis. Erunt signa in sole et luna et stellis. et in terris pressura gentium. preconfusione sonitus maris et fluctuum. arescentibus hominibus pre timore et expectatione. que super uenient uniuerso orbi. Nam uirtutes celorum mouebuntur. Et tunc uidebunt filium hominis uenientem in nube. cum potestate et magna et maiestate. His autem fieri incipientibus respicite. et leuate capita uestra. quoniam appropinquat redemptio uestra. Et dixit illis similitudinem. Videte ficulneam. et omnes arbores. Cum producunt iam ex se fructum scitis quoniam prope est estas. Ita et uos cum uideritis ea hec fieri: scitote quoniam prope est regnum dei. Amen dico uobis: quia non preteribit generatio hec. donec omnia fiant. Celum et terra transibunt. uerba autem mea non transibunt. ¶ Dominica secunda de aduentu. Sequentia sancti euangelij secundum matheum.

Saint Birgitta of Sweden

39 BREVIARIUM

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / GERMANY, 15TH CENTURY

Bene veneris deus meus, dominus meus, filius meus — Be welcome my God, my Lord, my Son. — Revelationes Sanctae Birgittae VII:21

"When therefore the Virgin felt that she had already borne her child, she immediately worshipped him her head bent down and her hands clasped, with great honor and reverence and said unto him: Be welcome my God, my Lord, my Son." These words are part of the Revelations of Saint Birgitta of Sweden, a medieval mystic of force and persuasion whose writings, divinely inspired, were denounced at one time but confirmed by the Council of Basel in 1520. Living in the fourteenth century and related to the Swedish royal family, Birgitta left her native country upon the death of her husband and went to Rome. There revelations were conveyed to her, some of political, others of mystical and religious nature. In 1370 she undertook a much cherished pilgrimage to Bethlehem and it was there that "she saw with her own eyes" how it had come to pass that Mary gave birth to her son and remained a virgin. Birgitta recorded this vision in writing, and it became a turning point in the iconography of the Nativity. The Virgin, she tells us, did not bear her child in pain, no, suddenly it was lying before her within the brightest radiance as she knelt in prayer. It is from this time on, 1370 to be exact, that we possess "Birgittine nativities" in the fine arts, special iconography based on Birgitta's revelation. The earliest extant example is a mural in Santa Maria Novella in Florence, dated 1375–1385. Thereafter a host of paintings, drawings, prints testify to the popularity of her revelations.

This manuscript is an unusual example of the Breviary; it was possibly written by and for the nuns of the Birgittine convent of Maria-Maihingen, near Nördlingen in Southern Germany. Saint Birgitta had established many such convents: in her native Vadstena, in Rome where she had lived so long, in Bethlehem, in England. The miniature, not by a great artist, is an intimate portrait of the saint. She is writing under the inspiration of the angel of the Lord, who seems to be dictating into her ear. Near her are the pilgrim's staff, hat, pouch, and several of the coveted badges proudly worn by pilgrims as proof of the accomplishment of their arduous journeys. Saint Birgitta is in the costume of the Birgittine Order, which exists to this day. Her contribution to the "Christmas story," inspired by medieval mysticism and devotion, is not to be overlooked.

Item Oraciones sancte Virgitte de tota pas-
sione domini numero quindecim cum totidem pater.

Iesu xpe eterna
dulcedo te aman
tium et iubilus
mentalis excedes
omne gaudium et
omne desiderium
salus et amator
pctorum q delicias
tuas testatus es
esse cum filijs hominum xpter homine homo
factus es in fine tpum Memento omnis pre
meditationis et intuitu intimi meroris que
in humano corpe sustinuisti instante salu
berrime passionis tue tpe in diuino corde ab et
no preordinato Memento tristicie et amari
tudinis quam in aia tempo attestante habuisti
quando in vltima cena discipulis tuis corpus tuum
et sanguinem tradidisti pedes eorum lauisti et
dulciter consolando imminente eis passionem

Bethlehem

40 NOË BIANCHI: VIAGGIO DELLA TERRA SANCTA DI IJHERUSALEME

MANUSCRIPT IN ITALIAN ON PAPER / ITALY, POSSIBLY VENICE, CA1470

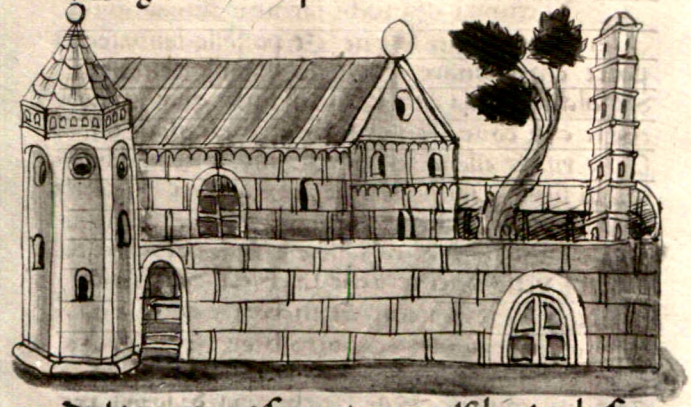
And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, are not the least among the princes of Judah: for out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule my people Israel. — Matthew 2:6

Noë Bianchi, a French Franciscan living in a Northern Italian monastery, undertook the pilgrimage to the Holy Land from Venice to Jerusalem during the latter part of the fifteenth century. His account in diary form is a veritable guide book, and the number of extant manuscript copies as well as later printed editions testifies to its popularity and the need for such a work. Cyprus, Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre, Nazareth, Bethlehem and Jericho! Thereafter, through the desert sands, to the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, site of the Burning Bush. He minutely and eloquently described what he saw: elephants, giraffes, people, life! "I can see more people in Damascus than I can see in Paris," he wrote, a surprising admission for a Frenchman.

Earlier than Noë Bianchi of whose existence we truly know, the alleged John de Mandeville the Knight, whose existence we doubt, reported even greater travels which had taken him not only to the Holy Land but further to India with its anthills of gold dust, and to the land of Prester John with its rivers of jewels. Mandeville borrowed heavily from Marco Polo's precursors, Friar Oderic di Pardenone and Giovanni de Piano Carpini, piling fiction upon distorted facts; yet they are amusing enough to let him speak: "Bethlehem is but a little city, and it was called in old time Effrata as holy writ says, *Ecce audivimus eum in Effrata.* Toward the east end of that city is a fair kirk with many battlements and towers, and within that kirk are forty-four pillars of marble, great and fair. Also beside the choir is the place where our Lord was born, that is now full well dight and richly depainted with gold and silver and azure and other divers colours. And a little thence, is the crib of the ox and the ass. And beside that is the pit wherein the star fell that led the three kings till our Lord."

Not only is today's traveler shown all these places, but surprisingly he will recognize in the towers of the Church of the Nativity a likeness to the drawing in Noë Bianchi's manuscript, which contains 155 additional and amusing ones, many of them veritable "marvels of the East."

longho xij collõne per longhezza della chiesa ch
fa quatro volte vij. che sono xlviij. colonne lequa
li sostengono il peso di sopra. Et di sotto e ella la
uorata cũ pietre. La naue del mezzo sie dipinta
delle colõne Insu dalla mano dritta sopra le colõ
ne sono tutte gli antiche Ischiatte chessi truoua
no per scripture del santo euangelio cioe Liber
generationis yhu ꝛc. Da abraham Infino al no
stro signore yhu xpõ. ꝛc. Et a man mãcha della



decta nauae e affigurato ogne Ischiatta chessi truo
ua nelleuangelio duno euãgelista. Factũ ẽ cuz
oĩs pplus baptizaret ꝛc. ꝛ molte altre ischiatte
Et e scritto In greco ꝛ In latino sop la porta grã
de verso oriente la qual nõ sapre. Et iui e figu
rato larbore chescie fuor del del costato dabrahã
E sul primo Ramo sta ezecchielle. Nellaltro sta

The Nativity

41 BIBLE HISTORIÉE ET VIES DES SAINTS

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN AND FRENCH ON VELLUM / FRANCE, CA1300

And Joseph also went up from Galilee . . . unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem. . . . And so it was, that, while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered. — Luke 2:4–6

In this manuscript the main themes of Christmas are arranged with compelling continuity: arranged for the story teller, one is likely to think, since compact rendering of Scripture in the vernacular accompanies each scene, headed by a caption in Latin. In the first scene is the Nativity in its most traditional form, with Mary lying abed in the manner of pre-gothic iconography and with Joseph taking a minor part; in the second or central miniature, Joseph seems to be observing the message to the shepherds; in the third, the Magi are alert, anticipating, on prancing horses!

How much did the medieval stage, the mystery play of the cathedral and church, influence not only the iconography of each scene but also the dramatic sequence in the manuscript? Or did manuscripts like this picture Bible influence the stage-struck clergy and laity in the setting up of their plays? In earliest times, the priest read the Christmas story from the Gospels. Later, a second priest joined him with the words of Christ, almost as a responsory, and the congregation replied in chorus. This led, in the tenth century, to the earliest "mysteries," written by the monk Tutilo in Saint Gall. Later yet, stage properties were added: the star of Bethlehem was carried up the aisle; the Holy Ghost was lowered from the ceiling; laymen in costume, taking the part of the Magi, were added to the reciting priests and responding people. Then it was decided that all this was not entirely suitable for the interior of the church; and the "play" moved before its portals, was performed in the market place, and was played on wheeled stages that could be taken to any part of the medieval town. The success of such popularization of the Christmas story, as well as of other feasts, in the dissemination of Scripture by participation of the man in the street cannot be overlooked. Yet Christmas and New Year's feasts developed excesses: the lower clergy aped the higher; people drank in church, played dice, introduced the ass and the fool. The ultimate creation of the Feast of Fools, however, allowed freedom of expression, riddance of strangled emotions. Christmas became expression of release, joy, as well as closer attachment to the traditional meaning of the holy days.

This picture Bible, by its very design, does invite speculation of a connection between the medieval theatre, the mysteries, and the writer and illustrator of books.

Factū est autē cū esset ibi ipleti
sunt dies ut pareret ⁊ peperit
filiū suū primogenitū ⁊ c. Or auint
ainsi cōme il estoyent en beethleem
que le tēps fu acōpli que nr̄e dāme
dut enfanter ⁊ enfanta son fil ⁊ len
uelopa en drapeaus ⁊ p̄ ce q̄ la uille
estoit occupee de gens ⁊ p̄ leur poure
te il ne porent auoir hostel p̄ estre her
bergies en la uille. si p̄chaca ioseph une
petite place ou estoit une petite esta
ble a .i. beuf ⁊ a .i. asne ⁊ la se retrairēt
⁊ couschierēt nr̄es ihūcrist en la crecche
sus le feing deles les bestes mues.

Pastores loquebant̄ ad inuicē ⁊ c.
Or estoit de coustume lors q̄
les pastoureaus es longues nuis dy
uer ueilloyent sus leurs foues de bestes.
⁊ ainsi cōme cil de bethleem ueilloyēt
ainsi langre nr̄es leur appuit ⁊ leur
anouca la natiuite de nr̄e sauueur
⁊ leur enseigna ou il trouuerroyent
⁊ oirent chanter les cōpaignies des an
gres ainsi. Gloire soit lassus v ciel a
nr̄es ⁊ en terre pais aus hōmes de bōne
uolente. ⁊ lors il uindrent. ~~⁊ lors il u~~
~~drent~~ en bethleem ⁊ trouuerēt ainsi
estre auenu cōme langre leur auoit
dit ⁊ sen retournerent loans ⁊ glore
fians nr̄es.

Cū nat̄ eēt ihc in bethleem iude.
⁊ c. Apres ce que nr̄es ihūcrist
fu ne en bethleem v tēps que le roy
herode regnoit en galylee. uecz ci uenir
iij. gr̄s roys. dorient en ihrlm qui cō
mencierēt a enquerre ⁊ a demander
p̄ tout nouuelles de ceste natiuite ⁊
disoyent ainsi. q̄ nous saura a dire
ou cest. q̄ cil est nez qui est rois des iuis.
Car uraiement diret il n̄ sauons bi
en q̄l est nez ci enuirō. car n̄ auons
ueu sestelle tres clere ⁊ luisāt en ori
ent ⁊ pour ce sōmes nous uenu de mlt
loing p̄ le aourer ⁊ li offrir de nos dōs

The Nativity

42 PSALTERIUM

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / GERMANY, BAVARIA, 12TH CENTURY

And she brought forth her first-born son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn. — Luke 2:7

The scene of the Nativity developed slowly in Christian art. On the earliest ivories and sarcophagi of the fourth century the Christ child is in his manger, alone, accompanied by ox and ass only. Shepherds as witnesses of the divine birth, or prophets with scroll in hand to testify to their messianic message, appeared later. In the sixth century the steadfast, stylized, and lasting byzantine iconography allowed Mary to be present, reclining if not lying, but distant, not a major part of the composition. Joseph was added, in meditation rather than participation; above them are the manger and child, raised high as an altar symbolizing Christ's incarnation and his sacrifice. Ox and ass are present; the whole is set within a cavern, well known to people in the East, and not yet a stable. Carolingian and Ottonian miniatures tenaciously, obediently, slavishly, continued the byzantine tradition. Only slowly did it soften, additional actors enter the stage, and a more human image develop. This evolution was due to the rapid growth of the cult of Mary in the fourteenth century, and to the teaching of such men as Bernard de Clairvaux and Giovanni de Caulibus. Giotto in his Assisi mural of 1305 gave the Western world the first — and surely upsetting — deviation from tradition: Mary still abed, lovingly bends over the manger, tending to the child! After Saint Birgitta's revelations later in the century, a veritable iconographic revolution set in: the genre scene developed; symbol was piled upon symbol; scholarly exegesis upon less scholarly exposition; legend upon legend.

In the miniature of this German psalter of the twelfth century, every detail of the byzantine tradition is apparent. An interesting feature, however, has been added. Isaiah's prophetic "The ox knoweth his owner; and the ass his owner's crib" had proved ox and ass to be aware of the child's divinity, and it invited untold and eager theologians to extremes in speculation on the deeper meaning of the saying. Finally, the ass meant the Old Testament, the ox the New. Yet while the Christ child has been seen playing with them both, the ox is more often singled out for a loving pat. The ass, more interested in his "owner's crib" and attending to its fodder, is obviously not as favored. In the miniature a contest seems to have developed: the Old Testament, as it were, tearing at the swaddling clothes; the New defending the Christ child's comfort and safety.

The Nativity

43 DOMINICALE ET MISSALE

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / ITALY, FERRARA, 1463

Puer natus est nobis, et filius datus est nobis, cujus imperium super humerum ejus; et vocabitur nomen ejus: magni consilii angelus. — The Third Mass of the Nativity of Our Lord

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"A child is born to us and a son is given to us, whose government is upon his shoulders: and his name shall be called the angel of great counsel." Thus begins the third mass of the Nativity in the Dominican missal to be sung on Christmas day. It is not known when the feast of Christmas was fixed on the twenty-fifth of December. In the earliest days of the Church the threefold manifestation of Christ: Birth, Adoration of the Magi, and Baptism, was solemnized in the first days of January. Later, the feast was set on the present day, and fourth-century Rome and Antioch accepted this practice; it became a day of feasting and rejoicing. Previously and in those parts of the world where the sun is more desirable than rain, the solstice had been celebrated in rites and services. The general atmosphere of rebirth suggested personal birth, and since Mithra, that radiant Eastern God of Light, was honored on the twenty-fifth, it is quite possible that associations and transferences, orally transmitted, grew into acceptable belief.

In the ninth century, Notker *balbulus*, Notker the Stammerer, wrote a most stirring and spirited "sequence" in honor of Christmas day. These sequences were sung between Gradual and Missal, following the jubilant and rousing *alleluia* of the former. *Natus ante saecula dei filius invisibilis, interminus . . .*, with voices rising to the ceiling of the chapel or choir, is first written down, with musical notations in the margins, in a contemporary manuscript still in Saint Gall, home of Notker.

It is also a variant of the text of the third mass for the Nativity which appears in this manuscript from the Spencer Collection. The large initial letter "P" — *Puer natus est* — begins the established text. Within the narrow space of the initial is an endearing scene of the Holy Family: intimate, adoring, domestic. The initial is enhanced by decoration, typical of the early renaissance school of miniature painting at the court of Duke Borso d'Este, that great bibliophile and patron of letters, who had set up a scriptorium where scribes and artists like Ercole Roberti, Franco di Russo, and Cosimo Tura worked. The manuscript, with thirty-eight additional initials and more than fifty marginal drawings, is dated 1463.

Satiasti Alia post cō.
dñe familiā tuā mu
neribus sacrs. eius q̄s sēp
intuentiōe nos refoue. cu
ius solēnia celebramus.
Pdo. Ad missam maio
rē. Intr.
Vernatus est
nob' ⁊ fi
lius da
tus ē no
bis cuius imperium su
per humerum eius ⁊
uocabitur nomen ei'
magni cōsilij angelus.
ps. Cantate dño i
canticum nouū. quia
mirabilia fecit. ℣. Glia. oro.

The Nativity

44 LECTIONARIUM ET SEQUENTIAE

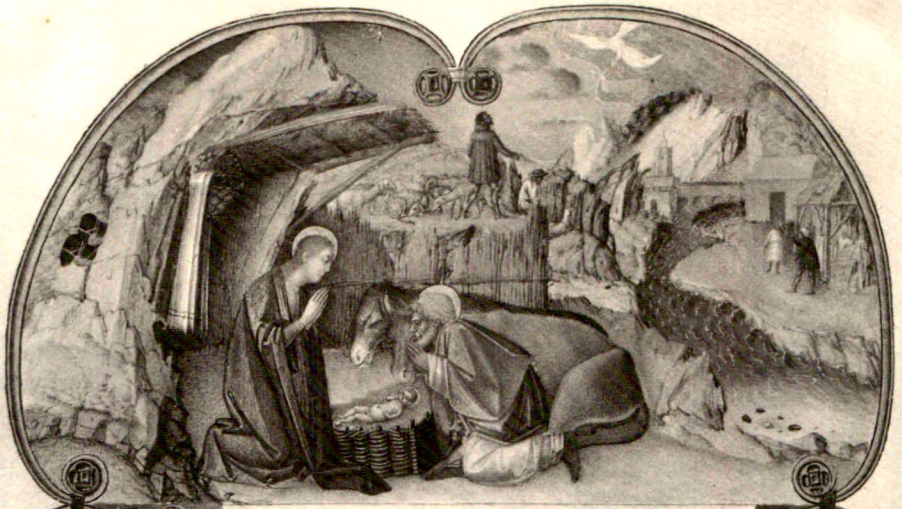
MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / ITALY, CA1520

Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us.
— Matthew 1:23

A festive renaissance manuscript, of the lessons and hymns to be sung at certain masses, shows a handsomely illuminated page, the opening of the third mass for the Nativity with a lesson taken from the Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews: *Fratres; multifariam, multique modis olim Deus loquens patribus in prophetis . . .* — God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spoke in time past to the fathers by the prophets. . . . The upper part of the miniature is taken up by a rather well-composed rendering of the Nativity, in rural setting, but with extraordinary concentration on the Holy Family. The work has been ascribed to a Roman artist, certainly Northern Italian, and surely written and designed for a person of consequence. The calligraphy has style, though not perfection, but the plaque-like frame for the whole shows imagination within the realm of renaissance imagery. The decorative border is composed of foliage, stylized and real, and within its intricate pattern the artist painted a few jewels. Within the border, *putti* play; the whole is supported by two sphinxes with the head of a woman and a lion's rump.

No longer is the manger a cave, as in byzantine and romanesque times; no longer is it inside a gothic stable; no, it has been moved under the Italian sky, sheltered by a simple canopy against excessive heat. Time stands still. Mary and Joseph, ox and ass, remain silent in the adoration of the child. In humility and wonder the parents kneel, accepting the blessing, thanking God. Soon the outside world will arrive: the shepherds will march in and the bustling midwives of legend will crave attention; the duty-bound, gift-bearing three kings from the East are already on their way. Outside, the angel of the Lord announces to the shepherds in field and village the divine message; but within the family, all is prayer and peace.

Seven similar illustrated and illuminated pages and chapter beginnings make up the manuscript of this lectionary. Its red velvet binding is studded with *nielli* of Pope Leo X, the son of Lorenzo di Medici, and of Pietro Bembo, his secretary and a great humanist.



IN NATIVITATE DOMI
NI IN TERTIA MISSA

Lectio Epistole Beati Pauli Apostoli ad Hebreos.

RATRES: Multifariam multisq; modis olim Deus loquens patribus in prophetis: novissime diebus istis locutus est nobis in filio: quem constituit heredē uniuersorum: per quem fecit & secula

The Shepherds in the Field

45 WINGFIELD HORAE ET PSALTERIUM

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / ENGLAND, CA1450

And there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flocks by night. — Luke 2:8

The exultation of the Holy Family was not immediately shared by the shepherds when the angel, Raphael chief of the guardian angels, announced the birth of Christ. Their reaction was bewilderment, fearfulness. And that is natural: they represent the people, unaware and only sensing potential danger to their flocks. That is conveyed when Luke says: "And they were sore afraid"; but Raphael assured them: "Fear not: for behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people."

The shepherds represent "all people" and as such are close to the artist of any period. In these pictures we find traces of realistic costume and manners even in the sarcophagus reliefs, the ivories, and in the miniatures of early art: the Roman girdled tunic, the Perso-Phrygian cap, the staff, the water bottle, the tools of their trade. After the budding of Franciscan piety, and when the Bible was no longer used to expound words but to stir people's hearts, we meet the shepherds more relaxed, participating, joyfully accepting the miracle. Seen at a distance in representations at first, they are soon on their way to pay homage to the child; adding human, almost comic, touches, they crowd in the doorway; they peep through windows from the outside; they humbly, shyly, but also curiously, present their gifts.

This miniature from the English Hours and Psalter shows the shepherds in an imaginary rural setting, eerie and forbidding. A small shed in the background for the sheep. Shielding his eyes from the blaze of light, a shepherd perceives the angel in the sky: *gloria in altissimis deo*, while his companions breathlessly watch for his report. His is the costume of the English working man, sturdy, functional. In the background a small bridge leads to a fortified mansion of the time of the War of the Roses, the time of Henry VI and Edward IV. Also the time when the manuscript's first owner, Humphrey, 7th Baron and 6th Earl of Stafford, created Duke of Buckingham in 1444, gave it to his wife, Lady Anna Neville, daughter of Ralph, 1st Earl of Westmoreland. Her name appears in one of the prayers: *ut avertas iram tuam a me famula tua anna.* It is a splendid book with twenty-eight miniatures, evocative, forceful. Their margins are filled with the wonders of England's late medieval imagination.

Deus in adiutoriū meū intē
de. Dñe ad adiuuandū me
festina. Gloria pr̄i. Sp̄nus
Veni creator sp̄s men
tes tuor̄ uisita imple
supna gr̄a que tu creasti pectora. Memento
salutis auctor qd̄ nr̄i quondam corporis ex il

The Annunciation to the Shepherds

46 HORAE BEATAE MARIAE VIRGINIS

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / FRANCE, NORMANDY OR BRITTANY, 15TH CENTURY

Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men. — Luke 2:14

In medieval legends Christmas Eve is filled with miracles. Following Saint Bernard's and Saint Birgitta's expositions, the story of the Nativity gathered additional imagery and the legends were multiplied and popularized. The vineyards of Jerusalem flowered and bore fruit; a Roman spring turned into oil and flowed into the Tiber; to the Emperor Augustus appeared the Tiburtine Sibyl pointing towards a king in heaven "who will be greater than you"; and three suns arose in the East, fiery and radiant, and were taken to represent the Holy Trinity. According to Saint Chrysostomos, the golden tongued, the star seen by the shepherds was the image of the Christ child; and tradition placed Saint Jude the Apostle and Saint Simon the Zealot among the shepherds. In medieval England a sheep was led in the Christmas procession, to commemorate the shepherds' visit.

A fourteenth-century miracle play, written by "the monks" of Widkirk Abbey and played by the tradespeople of Wakefield in the County of York, is a delightful mixture of Bible and banter, Christmas and the world! It is played by a number of shepherds "in the field," hardly enjoying the rudeness of the winter: "Lord, what these weders ar cold, and I am ylle happyd; I am nere-hande dold, so long have I nappyd," or the unexpected arrival of a neighbor of ill repute, known for his thievery. When they are ready for sleep, they make the suspect lie between them; but of sleep there is none until Mary appears, telling of the birth of her son: "He kepe you fro wo: I shalle pray him so." The play ends in an outburst of good faith and cheerfulness.

The manuscript miniature here conveys some of this cheerfulness. The shepherds salute Raphael like an old and familiar friend; the sheep are unconcerned; the world seems at peace. Not so the marginal illustrations and their deeper meaning, invented perhaps and painted by an unknown and unskilled hand in either Normandy or Brittany in the fifteenth century. With its repeated mottoes *je me plains a raison, espoir me*, its many drolleries, unpleasant and sinister, and its often appearing initials "G M" with a skull, the pocket-size manuscript, one is tempted to suppose, may have been made for a prisoner, for someone who suffered great injury, or possibly for one of the nobles disgraced by Louis XI. A prayer in the vernacular *donne nous misericorde mon sauveur* is in keeping with the text to the "shepherd miniature": *Deus, ad adiutorium meum intende* — O God, come to my aid.

Deus in ad
uitorium me
um intende.
Domine ad ad
iuuandum me festina.
Gloria patri. Alleluia.
Veni creator spiritus
mentes tuorum visita
imple superna gratia que
tu creasti pectora.
Clemento salutis auctor
quod nostri quondam corporis exi
libata virgine nascendo
formam sumpseris.
Gratia mater gratie nostre mie

The Journey of the Magi

47 LEBEN CHRISTI

MANUSCRIPT IN GERMAN ON PAPER / GERMANY, 1440

And there came a great tumult in Bethlehem of Judaea; for there came wise men, saying: Where is he that is born king of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east and are come to worship him. — Book of James or Protoevangelium XXI:1

The visit of the Magi represents Christ's first presentation to the gentiles and it is celebrated by the Church on January sixth, ecclesiastically called Epiphany, popularly Twelfth Night. In one instance, gold, frankincense and myrrh are offered in the Royal Chapel of Saint James's Palace on behalf of the sovereign; a Twelfth Night cake, a bean hidden in it, proclaims the finder King of the Bean and a lucky man. Twelfth Night brought all of Christmas to a hearty conclusion.

"When Christ was born," to quote the Golden Legend, "three Magi came to Jerusalem. In Greek their names are Appellius, Amerius, and Damascus; in Hebrew, Galgalat, Malgalat and Sarachin; in Latin Gaspar, Balthasar, and Melchior. . . . *magus* means the deceiver, the magician, the wise man. . . . For it is a Persian word, and in Hebrew means a scribe, in Greek a philosopher, and in Latin, *sapiens*, that is, wise man." More seriously, the Magi are considered to have come from Persia, from Mesopotamia, from the East!

Having heard of the birth of Christ and seen the guiding star in the sky, the Magi readied themselves to be on the way: Matthew speaks of three kinds of gifts, establishing the conception that there were three; yet an Arian legend of the fourth century speaks of twelve magi or kings. In those fabulous cave churches of Göröme in Cappadocia, in a tenth-century fresco, six magi bow low before the Madonna and Child. Even the Psalmist refers to four when he speaks: "The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents: the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts."

Melchior der kunig von India und Arabia der was der erst mit seinem Volckh — Melchior, king of India and Arabia, with his retinue, arrived first, according to this very popular German manuscript, mixing scripture, legend, and 256 amusing but crudely drawn pen and ink sketches, for the delectation of its fifteenth-century readers. Over mountains and through valleys of unknown lands the kings must travel to convey the perils of such a journey. However, they must travel in style as befits the medieval tradition, and a veritable royal progress is the consequence. In the lower illustration, Melchior greets Balthasar on Mount Calvary in Jerusalem; they have arrived at last and will soon be in the presence of the child.

35

Melchior der kunig von Iudea vnd Arabia
der was der erst mit seinē volkch vnd cham
zu dem perg Caluarie auff den her nach
xpus gefurt ward vnd gemartert Also pelaib
er in dem nepl auff dem perg

Hye cham der kunig Balthasar auch mit seinē
volkch ein andre strach auff den perg Caluarie

36

The Adoration of the Magi

48 PSALTERIUM

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM /
GERMANY, BAVARIA, 12TH CENTURY

Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem. — Matthew 2:1

Epiphany, manifestation of a divine being, had meant Incarnation in early Christianity, and the birth of Christ, the Adoration of the Magi, and Christ's baptism were celebrated together upon one occasion. Only after the fourth century did both the Eastern and the Western Church decide on the date of the Christmas feast as we know it today. Then, the Epiphany became the feast of the Epiphany of Our Lord, recalling Matthew's "star, which they saw in the east," which brought to pass Isaiah's prophecy: "Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee."

As early as the third century, representations of the Adoration of the Magi had been part of Christian art. While the scene, the grouping, the composition, underwent fashionable changes throughout the centuries, in essence the event is unmistakably recognizable whether one enjoys a fourth-century stone relief, a byzantine ivory, or an Ottonian miniature. Whatever change there is, it is change in technique: sculpting, carving, painting. The scene on the Clipeus sarcophagus in the Lateran, the mosaic in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, and Trier's tenth-century Egbert codex testify to the longevity of its almost unchanged iconography. It is only in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance that variations appear: these range from static, majestically grouped persons in austere, symbolic surroundings to the most outrageously extravagant settings and costumes of the richest Oriental splendor. It is the range from Giotto, from *Les Trés Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, to the most elaborate, almost foppish, representations of the late Flemish masters.

Legend has it that the empress Helena, that indefatigable traveller, had come upon the relics of the Magi in the Orient, and that she had them transferred to the city of her emperor-son, Constantinople. Legend also reports that the Milanese bishop Saint Eustorgius had them brought from Constantinople to his home town; near Milan they were discovered by the emperor Barbarossa in 1164, and it was he who had transferred the sacred relics to Cologne Cathedral. There, a shrine was fashioned by master Nicolas of Verdun in the twelfth century, a masterpiece of the goldsmith's art. Of the twelfth century also is the miniature of this Spencer Collection psalter. Set against a background of solid gold, the actors stand out like flaming design in a stained glass window. In the order of their age and station, the Magi present their gifts: gold, incense, and myrrh — that is, King, God, and Man.

The Adoration of the Magi

49 DE LA TWYERE PSALTER

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / ENGLAND, CA 1320

And when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts; gold, and frankincense, and myrrh. — Matthew 2:11

Thirteen leaves, with four miniatures each, introduce the Latin psalter written and illuminated for William De la Twyere of Preston in the early fourteenth century. It is a forceful and direct set of scenes from Old and New Testament; not from the finest hand but of character and immediacy. In the tradition of the time, the personages of the miniatures are in generally accepted semi-biblical costume, though with traces of contemporary realism and touches of the fashions of the fourteenth-century courts. In the upper sequence Mary with her great coat and veil could be any queen ready to sweep through the royal apartments; the Three Holy Kings in gowns of semi-clerical character worn by legal dignitaries and men of government are the artist's contemporaries. All these are set against backgrounds of solid gold or stylized diaper pattern; the illuminator is not yet of the time when artists introduced more realism in background and landscape. Lovingly, Mary gives the infant her breast, but — as a realistic touch — the child, accepting her grace as a matter of course, already has stretched out his hands towards the gifts that have come his way. The Magi are stately men, aware of the significance of the moment. The oldest kneels, a crown on his knee; the others, in lively agreement, are pointing to the star that had led them here so safely.

The sequence of scenes is by no means of typological significance as it would be in a typical "moralized Bible" of the Middle Ages. There, the Adoration would have been flanked by Abraham offering gifts to Melchizedek or the Queen of Sheba presenting gifts to King Solomon. In this manuscript, however, the sequence or grouping was meant to present biblical events as a general preparation to the reading of the Psalter, not unlike murals in a church, a cloister, a vaulted cemetery.

Had the artist of the De la Twyere Psalter read the Golden Legend? "Entering the manger, and finding the Child with His mother, the Magi fell to their knees and adored Him: and opening their treasures, they offered Him gifts, gold, frankincense, and myrrh . . . . among the ancients it was the custom never to present oneself before a god or a king without offering gifts; and the Wise Men, who came from the country of Persia and Chaldea, where the river Saba flows, brought the gifts which the Persians and the Chaldeans were wont to offer."

The Magi and the Star of Bethlehem

50 SPECULUM HUMANAE SALVATIONIS

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM /
NORTHERN GERMANY OR THE NETHERLANDS, CA1410

And, lo, the star, which they saw in the east, went before them till it came and stood over where the young child was. — Matthew 2:9

Legends of the Magi followed Scripture rather accurately. The Magi, so we learn, were not men who knew the arts of magic better than others, but wise princes of an Eastern land. The prophecy of Balaam, so legends insist, had been well remembered by their people: "there shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel." When the Magi saw a star so different from those they had known as astronomers, they recognized that it had deep meaning and prophecy. And they followed it at once. This scene had often been the subject of rather unusual representations in Christian art: Rogier van der Weyden, for one, inspired by the Golden Legend, painted the medieval Bladelin Altar with the star in the shape of a small child!

The *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* or "mirror of human salvation," a manuscript in the Spencer Collection with 194 colored drawings from about 1410, has "Christ Carrying His Cross" within the star message to the Magi: *hoc signum magni regis est.* A lively discussion by the Magi follows, and presently we find them in adoration of the Christ child, the star "over where the young child was." The manuscript, one of the many typological medieval works was probably written and illustrated by monks from Northern Germany or the Netherlands. At one time it was in the possession of one Johann Wassenbergh of the Abbey of Sankt Odilienberg near Strasbourg. In this book the star of the Magi had become the symbol of "human salvation."

Earlier, when Gregory Nazianzus, one of the great Eastern and Cappadocian fathers, wrote his Christmas *oratio* in the fourth century, the star was the main theme of the oration. But further away and halfway round the world, its fame had spread to China's Si-an, where it is inscribed on a seventh-century stone Nestorian "Monument of the diffusion through the Middle Kingdom of the Brilliant Teaching of Ta-Ch'in" — Ta-Ch'in being the Chinese name for the Near East here referring to the place from where Christian teaching had come. There, the inscription reads: "Upon this the divided Person of our Three in One, the brilliant and reverend Messiah . . . came to earth in the likeness of man. An angel proclaimed the good news; a virgin gave birth to the sage in Ta-Ch'in. A bright star told of good fortune; Persians saw its glory and came to offer gifts."

Hic tres magi adorāt puerū cū muneribꝰ

Tres magi viderū nouā stellā in oriente

Capitulū

In principio regnō audiuimus de xpō generatōe Cōsequēs audiam⁹ de magoꝝ oblatōe Eadē die cū xpc in iudea esset natus ortus est ⁊ in magis in oriēte ꝑ nūciatus fuerūt nāq; stellā nouā in ꝙ puer apparebat Sup̄ cuius caput crux aurea splendebat ⁊ audierūt ipsum vocē magnā dicētē sibi Ite in iudeā ⁊ nouū regē iuenietis ubi Tres uiri festinātes in iudeā ꝓgrediūt Et regi celi nato sua munia offerebāt hij tres magi per tres robustos ꝑsignā fuerūt Qui regi dauid aquā de cisterna bethleem attulerūt Isti robustoꝝ uirtus ⁊ audacia mihi commendat Sic magoꝝ aduentus ⁊ oblatiō valde appbat Tres robusti exercitū inimicoꝝ nō timuerūt Sed uiriliter castra eoꝝ tuleūtes aq̄ hauserūt Sicut tres magi potentiā herodis nō formidauerūt Sed audacter iudeam intrātes de nouo rege interrogauerūt Jaspar balthasar melchior nomina sūt magoꝝ Melchi sadoth balchias nomina robustoꝝ Tres robusti pertransierūt bethleem pro aq̄ cisterne Tres magi venerūt bethleem pro aq̄ grē eterne Tres robusti hauserūt aq̄ de cisterna citerioꝝ Tres magi suscepe runt aquā de patria celesti figurabatur ergo illa bethleemitica cysterna ⁊ bethlee

nascturus erat celestis primeua Qui ꝑsiar aq̄ gre oī sitienti et daret gratis aquam vite nō hūm dauid rex aq̄ oblatā dō pro grāz actiōe offebat Sanctas exultās ꝙ tam robustos viros habebat Christus aūt rex celi ⁊ ire gaudebat ⁊ exultabat Q⁹ aduēt⁹ magoꝝ nūsionē gētiū ꝑfigurabat Dauid rex ū videt aq̄ sitisse ꝑ suoꝝ suoꝝ uirtutē xpc videt sitisse nrām nūsionē ⁊ salutē Tres robusti bethleē brevit tpe ⁊ hora pervenerūt Tres magi de oriēte brevi tpe bethleem puenerūt Si qrat quō tā tū spaciū tam cito potuerūt tūsmeare dicē dū q⁹ xpō nato nō ipossibile fuit hec dare Qui cōcurit abbacuc subito de iudea i babilone Cito ꝑdūcē potuit de oriente in iudeoꝝ regionē Venētes igitur magi bethleem coram puō prostrabāt aurū thus et mirram ei offebant Figura huius regis noui et huius oblatōis primata fuit olim i regno regis salomonis Salomon rex licet puer esset tū sapientissim⁹ fuit Deus puer erās nō minus sapiēs ꝙ aurea extitit Salomon rex residebat in throno de ebore mundissimo Qui vestitus erat auro optimo et mundissimo Venerūt reges terre regē salomonē vidē desiderabant Et ei munera preciosa et carissima portabant Sed regina saba tāta

figura-m̄ primata

The Adoration of the Magi

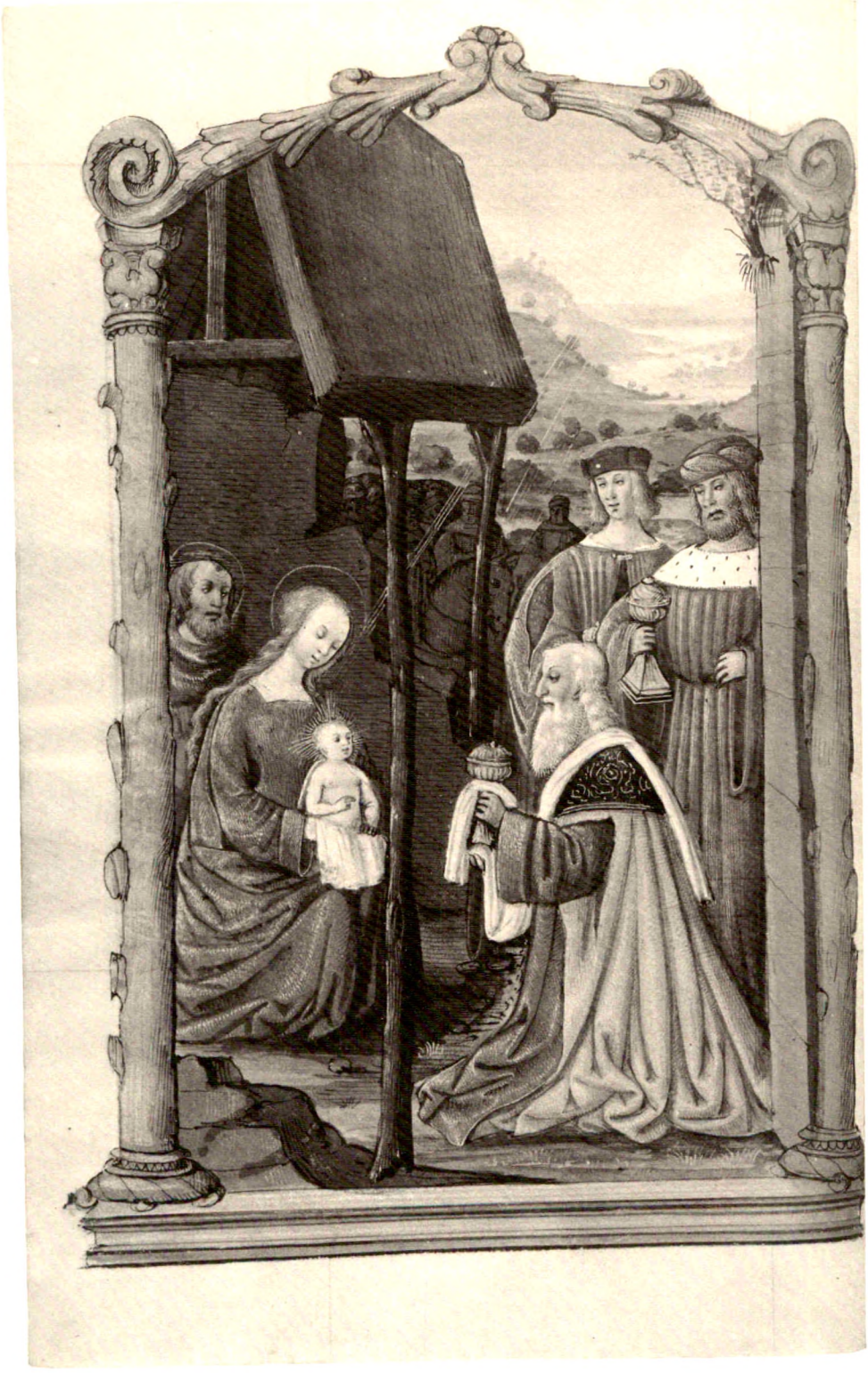
51 HORAE BEATAE MARIAE VIRGINIS

MANUSCRIPT IN FRENCH ON VELLUM / FRANCE, 15TH CENTURY

And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshipped him. — Matthew 2:11

Did the courtiers of Charles VIII or Louis XII arrive with gifts to a young woman in a village of Normandy? So worldly appears the scene in setting and dress that the thought springs to mind unwittingly. The manuscript was written and illuminated by an artist of the Northern school of painting towards the very end of the fifteenth century, and its text is in the vernacular, translated from the Latin. Fifty years earlier the great masters of the miniature, Jean Colombe, Jean Bourdichon, Jean Fouquet, had dared, successfully, to innovate the representation of biblical persons and times in contemporary dress, accoutrements, and detail. It must have seemed outrageous! This prayer book in the Spencer Collection is no exception to the trend which was to bring the Bible closer to the people, to attract and hold their attention, and please their vanity in proprietorship. Marginal drawings had become so worldly that decrees were issued to omit them lest her ladyship's attention be diverted from the required texts. But what was wrong in having men and women, in painting and in miniature, act and look as if the artist had just seen them walking in the avenues and gardens of the Quartier du Marais?

The manuscript with its thirty-eight full-page miniatures is not an uncommon product of the fifteenth century. Its range of imagery, particularly in the elegant and worldly scenes that accompany the twelve pages of the calendar, is considerable. As a whole it has unity of design, and it represents the proud property of a man of some taste and standing, for by this time the printing press was turning out hundreds of copies in letter press and woodcut, often based on manuscript models. The Magis' style, grace, and reserve harmonize well with the child in Mary's lap. How beautifully the Evangelist speaks: "they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshipped him."



Presentation in the Temple

52 PSALTERIUM

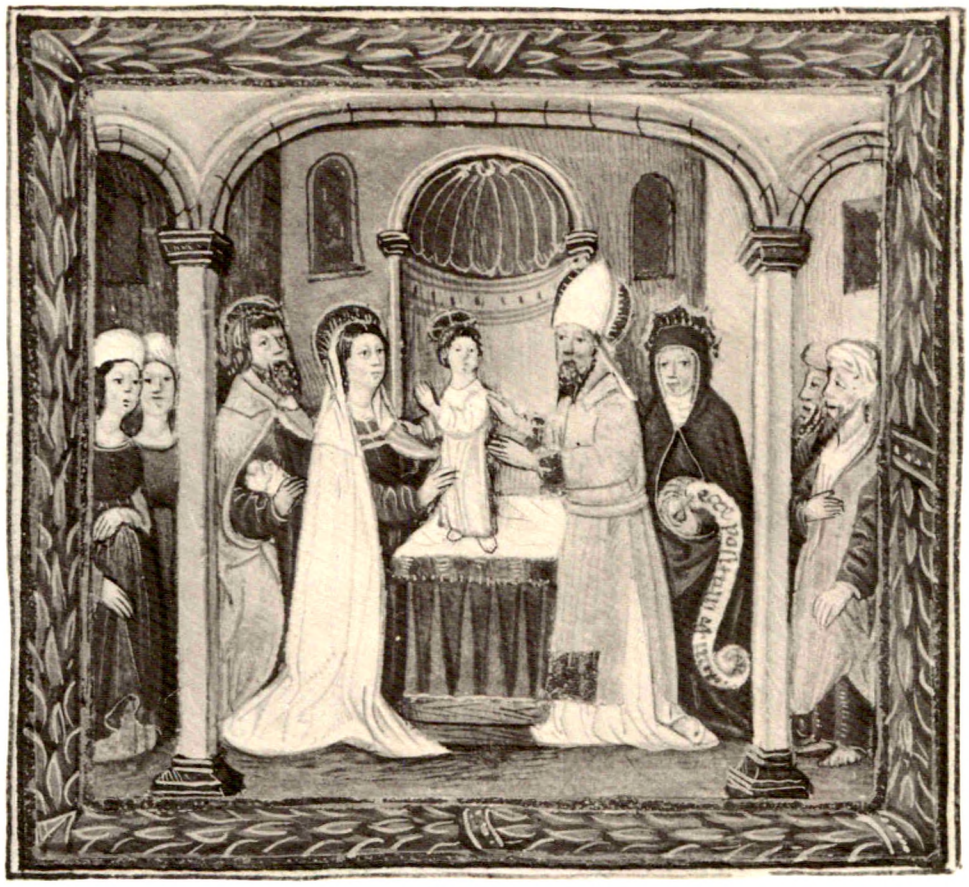
MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM /
ITALY, NAPLES, 15TH CENTURY

And when the days of her purification . . . were accomplished, they brought him to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord . . . And to offer a sacrifice . . . A pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons. — Luke 2:22–24

The purification of the Virgin and the presentation of Jesus in the Temple, based on Scripture, are often combined in iconography. The Mosaic law forbade the mother of a man-child access to the sanctuary for thirty-three days. Thereafter she presented a lamb as a sacrifice or, in the case of extreme poverty, two turtle-doves. But the day of purification also meant the child's acceptance by the high priest. Legends tell us that Simeon the Prophet found his release from God's command on that day. Simeon, one of the learned rabbis engaged in the translation of the Bible from Hebrew into Greek at the command of the Pharaoh in 260 BC, had doubted Isaiah's words: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son" and had substituted "young woman" for "virgin," only to find his translation erased by the angel of the Lord. Three times this happened, when God's purpose was revealed to Simeon and he learned that he should not see death until all had been fulfilled. On that day of the Presentation, he recognized the Redeemer and was allowed to depart: *Nunc dimittis servum tuum* — Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.

One of the earliest Presentation scenes is within Santa Maria Maggiore's brilliant mosaic of the fifth century: Mary is the *theotokos* in empress' mantle and tiara; the child wears the byzantine tunic and pallium. Later, the purification offering, the doves, are stressed: symbol of Noah, Moses, the Temple, the Holy Ghost. From the tenth century onward the Presentation becomes a feast of light, *festum candelarum*, the blessing of candles.

This miniature from the Neapolitan psalter shows the presentation of Jesus, more than it does the purification of the Virgin. Turtledoves are in the hands of Joseph, and while Simeon, that wonderful man, is missing, Anna the prophetess is present holding a scroll: *Ecce positus est* — Behold, this child is set for the fall, and rising again of many in Israel. The miniature, still and stately, is one of eight in a small psalter, written and illuminated by Matteo Felice, who had worked for the Aragonese kings of Naples. The tale is simply and refreshingly told in contrast to Southern Italian exuberance. In dress and vestment there is a contemporary touch; the Temple, indeed, might have been any chapel of the many churches in Naples.



The Massacre of the Innocents

53 MISSALE

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / ITALY, BOLOGNA, 15TH CENTURY

Then Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem.
— Matthew 2:16

Ex ore infantium — Out of the mouths of infants and sucklings, O God, thou hast perfected praise because of thy enemies. This is the beginning of the Mass of the Holy Innocents, here introduced by an historiated initial letter "E" in a missal from the Spencer Collection. The manuscript is an elaborate illuminated production of the Bologna school of the late fifteenth century and the illuminator's name Bartolomeo Bossi appears several times within the many decorative borders. With its forty-eight initial letters on almost solid gold backgrounds, the missal suffers from a slight touch of pretentiousness. And true: it was written and illuminated and gilded for a patron and a purpose. A remark at the end, *tempore di Galeacci Marescotti,* reveals the donor who had lived to be ninety-four, and is considered to have been a rather corrupt city official. To atone for his sins, perhaps, the missal was commissioned and *in christi nomine et beati petronii* presented. Saint Petronius, bishop of Bologna in the fifth century and its patron saint, is best remembered for the *riproduzione fidele* of the Holy Sepulchre which he ordered to be constructed within the Chiesa del Santo Sepolcro, and part of the Basilica di Santo Stefano built in the fourth century. His body rests below the extraordinary monument; it has never been seen without a few flowers lying before it.

When Herod saw "that he was mocked by the wise men," he was "exceeding wroth" and ordered the massacre of the first born. Yet the Holy Family, warned by the angel of the Lord, was already on its way to Egypt. Herod's unbelievably extreme jealousy and unspeakable brutality is reported by Luke. The early Church saw in the innocents the earliest martyrs. In medieval mystery plays, Herod races into the church, ranting and raving that a King of Kings has been born into the world; using foul language, at times with special dispensation; belaboring the clergy; throwing a spear at the choir; and being in his maledictions, the element of "comic relief." The Feast of the Innocents, however, has the full privileges of a martyr's day, and is often celebrated in purple with penitential rites.

paulum. Intro.

Xore
infanti
um deus
et lactentium perfe
cisti laudem proptē
inimicos tuos. ps.
Domine domin⁹

The Flight into Egypt

54 PSALTERIUM

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM /
ITALY, NAPLES, 15TH CENTURY

And when they were departed, behold, the angel of the Lord appeareth to Joseph in a dream, saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt. — Matthew 2:13

The Flight into Egypt is part of the Christmas story and lends a happy ending to potential danger. Artists from the earliest time to this day have lavished attention and imagination on it. This miniature from the Neapolitan psalter in the Spencer Collection combines two distinct events: the angel's warning Joseph in a dream to flee into Egypt — *Surge, et accipe puerum, et matrem ejus, et fuge in Aegyptum* reads the angel's scroll, as reported in Matthew — and the flight proper, with Mary, the Christ child, Joseph, and the ass led to safety by another angel. The many legends, told and painted, testify to the popularity of the event: the repose of the family during the flight; the palm tree that is shading them; the fig tree that bent down to give sustenance to the child; the robbers that gave shelter; the gipsy that foretold fortune; and finally the Fountain of Mary from which sprang the freshest water, and which is being shown to travellers near Cairo to this day! The most felicitous legend, however, is that of the "field of wheat." Herod had dispatched his bailiffs after the fugitives. The Virgin, seeing a man sowing, spoke: "should anyone ask for us, tell him the truth, that you saw us at the time of sowing." In a flash and a miracle the seed grew and ripened ready for the harvest. When the bailiffs passed, they received that truthful answer. They turned, thinking that the fugitives had passed a long time previously.

The eighty-first psalm; *Exsultate Deo adjutori nostro* — Sing aloud unto God our strength . . . , beneath the psalter's miniature introduces the Feast of the Tabernacle. Within the bottom margin is a small portrait vignette of King David with a small portable chamber organ, known as a *portative*, which enjoyed enormous popularity in the earlier days of the Renaissance. The manuscript's illuminator, Matteo Felice of Naples, gave his loving attention to the manuscript psalter's eight miniatures, all from the life of Christ. The three travellers in this peaceful miniature are free from danger, and our hearts are at ease.

uerte nos: et onde facie tua et salui erim⁹.

Exultate deo adiutori nostro:
iubilate deo iacob Sumite
psalmum et date tympanū

55 WINGFIELD HORAE ET PSALTERIUM

MANUSCRIPT IN LATIN ON VELLUM / ENGLAND, CA 1450

A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse;
a spring shut up, a fountain sealed.

The *hortus conclusus*, the Garden Enclosed, is one of the many symbols for the Immaculate Conception and as such closely linked to the Christmas story. It is also closely linked, if not based, on the exalted, Oriental love poetry of the Song of Songs, the Canticle, the Song of Solomon. How powerful, imaginative, and articulate is the poet when he speaks: "Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse, with me from Lebanon; look from the top of Amana, from the top of Shenir and Hermon, from the lions' dens; from the mountain of the leopards. Thou hast ravished my heart, my sister, my spouse."

The Garden Enclosed was an extremely well-known image to medieval man, recalling the "Golden Gate" of Anna and Joachim; the "Gate of Paradise" in the person of Mary; the "Gate that was Shut" in Ezekiel's prophecy. However, the Gospels and the many pseudo-gospels do not mention this peaceful image, directly or by interpretation. A recent discovery in Milan's Biblioteca Ambrosiana of a seventh-century pseudo-John *Evangelium*, written in Arabic, contains an interesting passage. Recapitulating many of the apocryphal events in the life of the Virgin and of Christ, it mentions the cave and not the stable; it makes much of Mary's alleged guilt; it puts her to the test according to Hebrew custom and, when she appears within an aureole of dazzling splendor, puts her accusers to shame. But more significant and here possibly for the first time, we read that the Christ child himself testified to the Immaculate Conception, His Divine Birth, His Incarnation.

Puer natus est nobis,
et filius datus est nobis,
cujus imperium super humerum ejus,
et vocabitur nomen ejus,
magni consilii angelus.

Salue
Salue uirgo uirginū stella
matutina. Sordidorū cri
minū uera medicina.
Consolatrix hominū qui
sunt in ruina. Precibz pre
cantiū mater te inclina.
Regina

The Manuscripts

This is a list of the manuscripts, together with their shelf numbers in the Spencer Collection of The New York Public Library:

Cover and title page: *Bible Historiée et Vies des Saints.* France, ca1300. MS 22
Initial letter: *De la Twyere Psalter.* England, ca1320. MS 2

1 Rudolf von Ems: *Weltchronik.* Germany, 1402. MS 38
2 *Gospel according to Saint Luke.* Russia, 15th century. Slavonic MS 1
3 *De la Twyere Psalter.* England, ca1320. MS 2
4 *Liber Genesis.* Germany, ca1470. MS 52
5 *Biblia Pauperum.* Germany, ca1420. MS 35
6 Ishaq ibn Ibrahim: *Tales of the Prophets.* Persia, 1577
7 *Bible Historiée et Vies des Saints.* France, ca1300. MS 22
8 *Psalterium.* Germany, 12th century. MS 11
9 *Les Heures de Blanche de France.* France, 1350–1360. MS 56
10 *Psalterium Graece.* Byzantium, ca1300. Greek MS 1
11 *Synaxarion of the Coptic Church.* Egypt, 17th century. Coptic MS 3
12 *The Tickhill Psalter.* England, ca1310. MS 26
13 *Biblia Latina.* Italy, 13th century. MS 25
14 *Biblia Latina.* France, ca1250. MS 77
15 *Bible Historiaus ou Hystoires Escolastres.* France, 15th century. MS 4
16 *Bible Historiée et Vies des Saints.* France, ca1300. MS 22
17 *Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis.* Italy, ca1500 MS 45
18 *The Bible in Hebrew.* Germany, 1294. Hebrew MS 1
19 *Bible Historiaus ou Hystoires Escolastres.* France, 15th century. MS 4
20 *Prophetae Minores et Acta Sanctorum.* Germany, ca1255. MS 1
21 *Speculum Humanae Salvationis.* Northern Germany or the Netherlands, ca1410. MS 15
22 *Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis.* Italy, ca1500. MS 45
23 *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis.* Netherlands, 15th century. MS 36
24 *Service Book of the Armenian Church.* Armenia, 1489. Armenian MS 2
25 *Missale.* Germany, 15th century. Manuscript Division: MS 112
26 *Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis.* France, ca1375. MS 49
27 *Leben Christi.* Germany, 1440. MS 102
28 *Synaxarion of the Coptic Church.* Egypt, 17th century. Coptic MS 3
29 *La Vie de Jesus.* France or Flanders, 15th century. MS 79
30 *Bible Historiée et Vies des Saints.* France, ca1300. MS 22
31 *Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis.* France, ca1375. MS 49
32 *Ons Vrouwen Getijde.* Netherlands, 1450. MS 152
33 *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis.* France, 15th century. MS 6
34 *Wingfield Horae et Psalterium.* England, ca1450. MS 3
35 *Bible Historiée et Vies des Saints.* France, ca1300. MS 22
36 *The Archangels Gabriel and Raphael.* Ethiopia, 18th century. Ethiopic MS 5

37 *The Four Gospels.* Russia, 15th century. Slavonic MS 2
38 *Lectionarium Evangeliorum.* Italy, 15th century. MS 29
39 *Breviarium.* Germany, 15th century. MS 63
40 Noë Bianchi: *Viaggio della Terra Sancta di Iſherusaleme.* Italy, ca1470. MS 62
41 *Bible Historiée et Vies des Saints.* France, ca1300. MS 22
42 *Psalterium.* Germany, 12th century. MS 11
43 *Dominicale et Missale.* Italy, 1463. MS 61
44 *Lectionarium et Sequentiae.* Italy, ca1520. MS 7
45 *Wingfield Horae et Psalterium.* England, ca1450. MS 3
46 *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis.* France, 15th century. MS 10
47 *Leben Christi.* Germany, 1440. MS 102
48 *Psalterium.* Germany, 12th century. MS 11
49 *De la Twyere Psalter.* England, ca1320. MS 2
50 *Speculum Humanae Salvationis.* Northern Germany or the Netherlands, ca1410. MS 15
51 *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis.* France, 15th century. MS 6
52 *Psalterium.* Italy, 15th century. MS 130
53 *Missale.* Italy, 15th century. MS 64
54 *Psalterium.* Italy, 15th century. MS 130
55 *Wingfield Horae et Psalterium.* England, ca1450. MS 3

Acknowledgement is made to the following authors, translators, and publishers for the use of material quoted in the descriptions:

W. H. Auden "The Play of Daniel" (Decca Record, DL 9402 1958); F. L. Cross, ed *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London, Oxford University Press 1957); Jack Finegan *The Archaeology of World Religions* (Princeton, N J, Princeton University Press 1952); Malcolm Letts *Mandeville's Travels: Texts and Translations* (London, Hakluyt Society 1953); Alfred W. Pollard *English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes* (Oxford, Clarendon Press 1927); *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine* translated and adapted from the Latin by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York, Longmans, Green & Co 1941); Margaret R. Scherer *Marvels of Ancient Rome* (New York, Phaidon Press for Metropolitan Museum of Art 1955); and the *Dominican Missal* (London, Sheed & Ward 1932).

All biblical quotations are from the King James Version. The quotations from the Book of James, or Protoevangelium, are taken from the English translation in M. R. James *The Apocryphal New Testament* (London 1924).

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* The book by Karl Kup upon which the exhibition is based is available from the Sales Shops at $7.50 (cloth) and $5 (paper).

The Central Building, continued

of the Christmas story, from the early prophecies through the life of the Virgin to the Nativity itself. Through January 15.

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THE GREEN THUMB — THIRD FLOOR PRINT GALLERY
From window boxes to country fields, flowers spring up in lithographs, etchings, engravings, and woodcuts, by such artists as Raimondi, Daumier, Gauguin, and Shahn. Through December.

PEN & BRUSH: THE AUTHOR AS ARTIST — ROOM 318
A Berg Collection exhibit* of art work by authors who were also artists, some amateur, some professional, from William Blake to Denton Welch. Over ninety caricatures, sketches, and finished drawings by Thackeray are on view, as well as works by thirty-nine other artists, including self-portraits by Bernard Shaw, Henry Miller, and Dylan Thomas. Through May.

THE LANGUAGE OF FLOWERS — ROOM 324
Printed herbals and other botanical works from as early as the sixteenth century, from the Arents Tobacco Collection; and, from the Arents Collection of Books in Parts, flower books in which the scientific text rivals in excellence the superbly colored plates. Through January.

FLORAL DECORATION IN MANUSCRIPTS — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH
Illuminated manuscripts from fifteenth-century France: four examples of the Book of Hours selected for the beauty and uniqueness of their floral designs. Through January.

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TECHNICAL BOOKS OF THE MONTH — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH
A monthly selection of new books received in the Science and Technology Division, and reviewed in *New Technical Books*.

UNITED STATES POSTAGE STAMPS — MAIN LOBBY
An almost complete collection of United States postal issues and airmail stamps, 1847–1926. Permanent exhibition.

HISTORY OF PRINTING — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR
Examples of the recorded word and the graphic arts from Babylonian tablets to modern press work. Permanent exhibition.

WALT WHITMAN — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR
The Oscar Lion Collection of books by and about Whitman, including first editions, manuscripts, letters, portraits, and memorabilia. Permanent exhibition.

WASHINGTON IRVING — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR
Selections from the Seligman and Hellman collections of Irvingiana consisting of first editions, manuscripts, sketchbooks, etc. Permanent exhibition.

AMERICAN VIEWS — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH
A selection of prints from the I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection. Permanent exhibition.

* An illustrated catalogue of the exhibit is available from the Sales Shops at $3.

THE LIBRARY & MUSEUM OF THE PERFORMING ARTS AT LINCOLN CENTER

111 Amsterdam Avenue

SHELBY CULLOM DAVIS MUSEUM

"TORA, TORA, TORA" — PLAZA GALLERY

Paintings by Robert T. McCall depicting scenes of Pearl Harbor commissioned by Twentieth Century Fox for the film "Tora, Tora, Tora." Through May 1.

BIL BAIRD'S PUPPETS — AMSTERDAM GALLERY

Puppets and marionettes, both finished and incomplete to demonstrate the craft of making them, from the workshops of the producer and filmmaker. Mr Baird's model of the Apollo 11 lunar module used in the television simulation is also on display. December 23 through February 14.

TERPSICHORE'S PROGRESS: THE EVOLUTION OF DANCING FROM SOCIAL PASTIME TO THEATRICAL ART — VINCENT ASTOR GALLERY

In prints, books, and photographs the revival of academic interest in dancing is traced; through social dancing, choreography and technique, choreography for spectacle, and ballet at court and in the theatre. Through February.

ISADORA DUNCAN, DANCING REVOLUTIONARY — DANCE COLLECTION

The professional career and the personal life of one of the pioneers of modern dance are described through photographs, original drawings by Grand'jouan, and her own trunk, costumes, and books. Through the winter.

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DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER

20 West 53rd Street

Limited edition books and graphic works — *Babi Yar*, *Firebird*, and *Dybbuk* — designed by Bernard Solomon, accompanied by photographs, tools, and text that serve to illustrate the process of book design. Through December.

HUDSON PARK BRANCH

10 Seventh Avenue South

Photographs by Eve Harrison, on the theme of mother love. The color photos show mothers and their children in many moods and activities. Through December.

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION

103 West 135th Street

"Cartoons of E. Simms Campbell." A selection of his works from books he illustrated and issues of *Esquire* magazine of the 1930s. Through December.